A NEW HISTORY

OF THE

BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

Dwight Worden Graham.
5-11-'08

A NEW HISTORY OF

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

WITH A RATIONALE OF ITS OFFICES

ON THE BASIS OF THE FORMER WORK BY
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D.D.

A HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. By Francis Procter.
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Third Impression, with corrections and alterations, 1905, 1907.

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

NEARLY half a century has passed since the first edition of Mr. Procter's *History of the Book of Common Prayer* was published: it has been a period full of an enthusiasm for liturgical studies which is almost, if not quite, without parallel. While these facts speak eloquently of the solidity and value of Mr. Procter's work, they also explain amply the reasons why it was necessary that it should undergo considerable change. In fact, while the general outline and plan has been retained, the greater part has been rewritten. In the first section of the book the history of the Edwardine Prayer Books has especially needed alteration, in view of much that has been discovered and printed since Mr. Procter wrote: the later history has been less altered. In the case of the Elizabethan Prayer Book the facts are still so scantily known, and in the later times they were already so fully known, that there has been little development of knowledge; while the relation of the controversies of the eighteenth century to the Prayer Book has not yet been properly investigated at all; it is a field which certainly proved barren of results, and it would probably prove barren of interest also.

But, beyond this revision of the history of the English Prayer Book since the Reformation, the attempt has been made to deal more fully with the history, both of the old Service-books, of which it was the lineal descendant, and of the old Services, which it contained in a revised form; this has necessitated a new opening chapter to the first part of the book and the entire re-casting of the second part.

While much, therefore, of the former work has been superseded, and much new matter has been added, very little has been simply omitted. The section dealing with hymns and metrical psalms no longer reappears, since full information on such points is now available in the *Dictionary of Hymnology*. Also the account of the adaptations made from the Prayer Book for the use of Nonconformist congregations is dropped, because it was very incomplete, and a full treatment of the subject would have required more space than was available or desirable in a text-book of this character. But apart from these sections there has been little or nothing omitted which could still retain its place: and, if occasionally this conservatism has occasioned a certain want of proportion in the treatment of one or another topic, this seemed on the whole less objectionable than that readers should fail to find here any genuine pieces of information which hitherto they have been accustomed to find in their "Procter."

In attempting to cover such an immense field of history, it is inevitable in a book of this scale that much should be stated very briefly and dogmatically, which would demand, if space allowed, a much fuller

discussion or a much more balanced and reserved kind of statement. Such brevity and dogmatism is all the more deplorable in a study such as that of liturgical history, in which again and again evidence is painfully deficient, even upon points of first-class importance, and where deductions have to be drawn and theories constructed from data, which are only too lamentably insufficient. The main function of the Notes in a text-book of this sort is to supplement the brevity or deficiencies of the text, partly by giving references to the sources of information, partly by referring to other books, where the points in question are more fully discussed; sometimes also by sounding a warning note that the statement in the text is very disputable, by citing objections to it or giving alternative theories; and occasionally by discussing points in detail when they are not too intricate, or when it was impossible to give a reference to any adequate discussion of them elsewhere. There are a few cases where I have been obliged to state curtly conclusions, to which I have been led by independent investigation of MSS. and other primary sources, without being able either to refer to other books for more detailed information or to give at length the grounds or sources of my conclusions. With these few cases excepted, I hope that the Notes will enable the student to verify all the statements in the text, and to pursue the subject further and in greater detail.

My first thanks are due to Mr. Procter himself (if indeed it is not an anomaly to thank him in a book which is still largely his own) for the generous confidence which has led him not only to suffer me to set about

the task of revision unhampered and unfettered, but also to be ready in every way to forward and facilitate the work. Among the many debts which I owe to friends and fellow students I must especially acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Hart, of Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, U.S.A., for revising the account of the American Prayer Book, with which he had adorned the recent editions of Mr. Procter's book, and to Bishop Hall, of Vermont, U.S.A., for his assistance in the same matter. The help with proofs and special points of the book which has been given by the Rev. F. E. Brightman and the Rev. W. C. Bishop represents only a very small part of my wider obligations to them for knowledge of the subject in general. My earliest and in many ways therefore my chiefest debt has been already recorded in the Dedication. Further thanks are due to the Rev. H. P. Currie and the Rev. T. A. Lacey for help and criticism, and to Miss Gertrude Simpson for lightening the labour of the Index.

HOUSE OF THE RESURRECTION,
MIRFIELD,
December 6th, 1900.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND IMPRESSION

A CONSIDERABLE number of corrections have been made, many of them of small moment, but some containing matter of such interest or importance that it is advisable to mention them here.

(i) Mr. Brightman has pointed out the influence of the Cologne *Antididagma* on the Liturgy of 1549, and a brief reference to this has been inserted. (ii) A mention of Calvin's criticism of the First Prayer Book is reinserted, and in its right place: it was formerly dated 1548, but this is clearly a year too early, and the letter by being placed in 1549 becomes an intelligible and valuable comment on the new book. (iii) The course of the revision in 1552 is made more clear by a letter of Peter Martyr which has not hitherto attracted the attention that it deserves. (iv) The account of the coronation of Elizabeth is corrected to the best form of compromise which can be made between the conflicting temporary accounts. And (v) a far clearer statement of the genesis of the Elizabethan Book is given. Dr. Gee has lately put forth a new theory on this point,[1] but while acknowledging how much he has done to clear up the subject, I cannot but feel that a

[1] *The Elizabethan Prayer Book*, pp. 54 and ff.

searching scrutiny of the records leads to a different conclusion, which when stated, moreover, carries more conviction with it.[1] (vi) I am convinced that there is sufficient evidence, following the line of the arguments of the Bishop of Salisbury,[2] that the Elizabethan Prayer Book was held not to forbid but rather to permit under certain restrictions the communicating the sick with the reserved sacrament; the passage to which I have referred in Hill's *Communicant instructed* leaves no room for doubt on this point, and it follows the line of Calvin's letter, also cited there. And viewed in the light of this evidence, the language of Jewel and Sparrow, and perhaps even the puzzling provisions of the Latin Book of 1560, for the first time become intelligible. It is impossible here to set out the whole argument, but I shall hope to return to it hereafter.

These are some of the principal alterations and changes that have been made. References have been added to several books which have appeared since the first edition, and the List of Principal Authorities has been greatly enlarged, in the hope that it may serve as a guide to farther study. I have profited much by the criticisms of reviewers and the kindly correction of friends: to them a large number of minor alterations are due, and I beg to return them my best thanks.

1902. W. H. F.

[1] See *The Early Years of Elizabeth* in *Church Quarterly Review*, No. LV.

[2] *Further Considerations on Public Worship.* (1901.)

PREFACE TO THE THIRD IMPRESSION

THE opportunity of a new edition has been utilized for the introduction of a number of small corrections and a few additions. There are further two alterations which, being of a somewhat larger nature, may be specially noted here. First, a clearer decision is expressed in favour of the traditional view that the Ornaments' Rubric refers to the First Prayer Book (p. 362), and a more accurate account is given of the circumstances in which it came out (p. 105). Secondly, on p. 499 the description of the English Ante-Communion Service has been materially altered. Many thanks are due to kind friends and strangers who have pointed out mistakes both great and small.

W. H. F.

MIRFIELD,
July, 1905.

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A LIST OF PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

[A.] TREATISES.

Early Period.

Warren, F. E. *Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church.* (S.P.C.K., 1897.)
A brief outline, with original texts.

Pleithner, F. X. *Aelteste Geschichte des Breviergebetes.* Kempten, 1887.)

Probst, F. *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte.* (Tübingen, 1870.)

Wordsworth, J. *Ministry of Grace.* (London, 1901.)
Deals with various subjects, chiefly of the Early Period, and is a valuable starting-point for further study.

Mediæval.

Martene, E. *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus.* 4 vols. (Venice, 1783.)
Several editions are available.

Duchesne, L. *Origines du culte chrétien.* (2nd ed., Paris, 1898.)
These two books are invaluable. Martene is a storehouse both of texts and elucidations of many different rites. Duchesne is an admirable survey of the history of the Liturgy down to the time of Charlemagne.

Batiffol, P. *Histoire du Breviaire Romain.* (Paris, 1895.) E.T. by Baylay (London, 1898).

Bäumer, S. *Geschichte des Breviers.* (Freiburg, 1895.)

Bocquillot, L. A. *Traité historique de la liturgie sacrée.* (Paris, 1701.)

Bona, J. *Opera.* (Antwerp, 1667, and later editions.)

Chambers, J. D. *Divine Worship in England in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XIXth Centuries.* (1877.)

Comper, J. *A Popular Hand-book on . . . Liturgies.* 2 vols. (1891.)

Ebner, A. *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Missale Romanum.* (Freiburg, 1896.)

Krazer, A. *De Liturgiis.* (1786.)
A useful compendium.

Le Brun, P. *Explication de la Messe.* 4 vols. (Paris, 1726.)
A comprehensive survey of Christian Liturgies.

Magistretti, M. *La Liturgia della Chiesa Milanese nel Secolo IV.* (1899.)

Probst, F. *Sacramentarien und Ordines.* (Münster, 1892.)
Die abendländische Messe. (Münster, 1896.)

Rock, D. *The Church of our Fathers.* 4 vols. (1849–53.)
Contains much interesting information as to Services in England.

Swete, H. B. *Services and Service-books before the Reformation.* (1896.)
A short and excellent summary.

Thalhofer, V. *Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik.* (1894.)

Wordsworth, C. *Mediæval Services in England.* (1898.)

Zaccaria, F. A. *Bibliotheca Ritualis.* 2 vols. (Rome, 1776.)
A useful index to previous writers, and directory of liturgical study.

[B.] TEXTS.

1. Eastern.

Brightman, F. E. *Liturgies Eastern and Western.* Vol. i. (1898.)

Contains the Eastern Liturgies, admirably edited from the MSS., with illustrations from Patristic writings.

Older editions of these Liturgies are—

Assemani, J. A. *Codex Liturgicus.* 13 vols. (Rome, 1749– .)
Hammond, C. E. *Liturgies Eastern and Western.* (Oxford, 1878.)
Neale, J. M. *The Liturgies.* (2nd ed., London, 1868.)
E.T. (2nd ed., London, 1869).
Renaudot, E. *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio.* (2nd Ed., 1847.)
Scrapion. *Sacramentary.* Edited by Brightman in *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1899, and January, 1900.
E.T. by Bp. Wordsworth of Salisbury. (S.P.C.K., 1899.)
Goar, J. *Rituale Græcorum.* (1647.)
Habert, I. *Pontificale.* (1643.)

Many modern Editions are available of the existing—

Euchologion. Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα. Containing the Sacraments.
Horologion. Ὡρολόγιον τὸ μέγα. Containing the Divine Service.

Compare—

Maclean, A. J. *East Syrian Daily Offices*, transl. from Syriac. (1894.)
Shann, G. V. *Euchology* of the Orthodox Church, transl. from Russian. *Book of Needs.* Do. (1894.) (1891.)

2. Western.

The Ancient Sacramentaries.

Leonine. Ed. Feltoe. (Cambridge, 1896.)
Gelasian. Ed. Wilson. (Oxford, 1894.)
Gregorian. See—
Pamelius. *Liturgicon.* (Cologne, 1571.)
Menard (Paris, 1642) and Migne, *P.L.* LXXVIII.
Muratori. (Below.)
Thomasius. *Opera.* (Ed. Vezzosi, 1750.) Vol. V.
Warren. *Leofric Missal.* (Oxford, 1883.)
H. B. S. *Missal of Robert of Jumièges.*
Rule. *Missal of S. Augustine's, Canterbury.* (1896.)
Gallican. See Muratori (below.)
Thomasius. *Opera.* (Ed. Vezzosi, 1750.) Vol. VI.
Neale and Forbes. *Gallican Liturgies.* (London, 1855– .)

Issued in parts and never quite completed: but most valuable.

These are collected in—

Muratori, L. A. *Liturgia Romana Vetus.* 2 vols. (Venice, 1748.)

They are also reprinted in vols. LIII. LXXII. LXXIV. and LXXVIII. of Migne's "Patrologia Latina."

Note also—

Wilson, H. A. *Index* to the Roman Sacramentaries. (Cambridge, 1892.)
Delisle, L. *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires.* (Paris, 1886.)

B.] TEXTS—*Continued.*

THE OLD ROMAN ORDINES.

Mabillon, J. *Museum Italicum.* Vol. 2. (Paris, 1689.)
Reprinted in Migne, P.L. LXXVIII.

Hittorp, M. *De Divinis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Officiis.* (Paris, 1624.)
Many editions in XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

THE LIBER ANTIPHONARIUS MISSARUM, OR GRADUAL.

Thomasius. *Opera, u. s.* Vol. V.
Pamelius. *Liturgicon.* Vol. 2.
also Migne. *P.L.* LXXXVIII.
Gerbert. *Monumenta.* (See below.)

THE LIBER RESPONSALIS, OR ANTIPHONAL.

Thomasius. *Opera, u. s.* Vol. IV.
Migne. *P.L.* LXXXVIII.

THE COMES, OR LECTIONARY.

Thomasius. *Opera, u. s.* Vol. V.
Zaccaria. *Bibliotheca.* (See above.)
Ranke, E. *Kirchliche Perikopensystem.* (Berlin, 1847.)

LATER MEDIÆVAL TEXTS.

1. ENGLISH.

Sarum Breviary. (Cambridge, 1879–86.)
Sarum Missal. (Burntisland, 1861–1883.)
Sarum Processional. Ed. Henderson. (Leeds, 1882.)
Wordsworth, C. *Salisbury Processions.* (1901.)
Sarum Manual. See Maskell : and York Manual.
Sarum Martiloge as read at Syon. See H. B. S.
Sarum Customs and Ordinal. See Frere, *Use of Sarum.* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898 and 1902.)
Sarum *Gradual and Antiphonal.* (See Plainsong Society, below.)
York Service Books. See Surtees Society Publications for Breviary, Missal, Processional, and Manual.
Hereford Missal. Ed. Henderson. (Leeds, 1874.)
Pontifical. See Maskell, below.
See Surtees Society for Egbert's and Bainbridge's.
Lacy's. Ed. Barnes. (Exeter, 1847.)
Bernham's. Ed. Wordsworth. (Edinburgh, 1886.)
For a list of English Pontificals see Frere, *Pontifical Services* (Alcuin Club Collections, IV.).
Primer. See Hoskins, *Primers, Sarum, York, and Rome.* (1901.)
Littlehales, *The Prymer.* 2 vols. (1891.) And another like book in E.E.T.S.
Maydeston. *Directorium Sacerdotum* and *Tracts.* See H. B. S.
Ordinale Exon. Ed. Reynolds, incomplete.
Legenda Exon. Do.

2. SCOTCH.

Breviarum Aberdonense. Ed. Blew. (1854.)
Breviarum Bothanum. Ed. Macray. (1900.)
Missale Ecclesiæ de Arbuthnot. Ed. Forbes. (1864.)
Missale Drummondiense. Ed. Forbes. (1882.)

[B.] TEXTS—*Continued.*

For collections of Texts now in progress see—

Auctarium Solesmense. (Solesmes, 1900.)

H. B. S. Publications of Henry Bradshaw Society; especially valuable is *The Westminster Missal.* 3 vols.

Plainsong Society. Facsimiles of *Sarum Gradual* and *Antiphonal.*

Bibliothèque Liturgique. Ed. Chevalier. (Paris.)

Paléographie Musicale. Edd. the Benedictines, of Solesmes.

Older collections of Texts are—

Gerbert, M. *Monumenta veteris Liturgiæ Alemannicæ.* Four parts. (S. Blasien, 1777-9.)

Hittorp, M. *De divinis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ officiis.* (Paris, 1624.)

Contains the Ordines Romani and the writings of Early Mediæval liturgists: a most valuable collection.

Maskell, W. *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.* 3 vols. (2nd ed., Oxford, 1882.)

A very useful collection of English Occasional Offices, with notes and dissertations.

Thomasius. *Opera.* 6 vols. Ed. Vezzosi. (Rome, 1747-50.)

AMBROSIAN, MOZARABIC, AND IRISH BOOKS.

Ambrosian Sacramentary. See *Auctarium Solesmense.*

Beroldus. *Ordines.* Ed. Magistretti. (Milan, 1894.)

Notitia Liturgiæ Ambrosianæ. Ed. Ceriani. (Milan, 1895.)

Pontificale Ecclesiæ Mediol. Ed. Magistretti. (Milan, 1897.)

The modern Ambrosian Service-books are easily obtainable.

Mozarabic Breviary. Migne, *P.L.* vol. LXXXVI.

Mozarabic Missal. Ibid. vol. LXXXV.

Liber Comicus. Ed. Morin. (1893.)

Liturgia Antiqua Hispanica. J. Pinius. 2 vols. (Rome, 1746.)

Bangor Antiphoner. H. B. S. 2 vols. Ed. Warren.

Missale Vetus Hibernicum. Ed. Warren. (1879.)

The Stowe Missal. Ed. McCarthy in *Trans. Royal Irish Acad.* XXVII. 135.

For this group see Warren, "Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church."

[C.] POST-REFORMATION TEXTS.

Antididagma, seu Christianæ et Catholicæ Religionis per Canonicos eccl. Coloniensis propugnatio. (Paris, 1549.)

Burton, E. *Three Primers.* 1834.

Documents relating to the Act of Uniformity of 1662. (London, 1862.)

A valuable collection.

Dowden, J. *Annotated Scottish Communion Office.* (1884.)

Fragmentary Illustrations. Ed. Jacobson. (1874.)

Containing documents of Bps. Sanderson and Wren.

Hall, P. *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ.* (1847.)

Fragmenta Liturgica. (1848.)

Two valuable collections of services and documents.

[C.] POST-REFORMATION TEXTS—*Continued.*

Hermann, Abp. *A Simple and Religious Consultation.* (London, 1548.)
Keeling, W. *Liturgiæ Britannicæ.* (1851.)
The text of the various editions of the B. C. P. arranged in parallel columns.

P.S. Parker Society Publications.
Include the Edwardine and Elizabethan Service Books, public and private.

Quignonez, F. *Breviarium Romanum.* Ed. Legg. (1888.)
Richter, E. L. *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen.* 2 vols. (1846.)
An invaluable collection of Lutheran Services.

Sprott, G. W. *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI.* (1871.)

[D.] BOOKS ELUCIDATORY OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

Blunt, J. H. *Annotated B. C. P.* (Revised ed., 1895.)
Burbidge, E. *Liturgies and Offices of the Church.* (1885.)
Campion and Beamont. *The Prayer Book interleaved.* (10th ed., 1880.)
Dowden, J. *Workmanship of the Prayer Book.* (1899.)
Fallow, T. M. *The Order of Baptism.* (1838.)
Gasquet and Bishop. *Edward VI. and the B. C. P.* (1890.)
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Lathbury, T. *History of the B. C. P.* (1853.)
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Contains the Text, with the later editions compared.
These two books are the result of much patient investigation: they are indispensable, but not to be followed blindly.

Pullan, L. *History of B. C. P.* (1900.)
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Selborne, Lord. *Liturgy of the English Church.* (1878.)
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Tomlinson, J. T. *The Prayer Book Articles and Homilies.* (1897.)
Warren, F. E. *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church.* (1881.)
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[E.] HISTORICAL BOOKS, &c., BEARING ON THE HISTORY.

A.C.L. Anglo-Catholic Library.
Contains the Works of Andrewes, Laud, Cosin and others.

Bruns, H. T. *Canones Apostolorum et Conciliorum.* (1839.)
Bucer, M. *Scripta Anglicana.* (Basle, 1577.)
Burnet, G. *History of the Reformation.* (Ed. Pocock, 1865.)
C.H.S. Church Historical Society's Publications.
Cardwell, E. *Documentary Annals* from 1546–1716.
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History of Conferences about the B. C. P.
Contains a large number of the principal documents.

Collier, J. *Ecclesiastical History.* (New ed. 9 vols. 1840.)
Dixon, R. W. *History of the Church of England* from 1529 to 1570. 6 vols.
Invaluable for the history.

[E.] HISTORICAL BOOKS, &c.—*Continued.*

Duchesne, L. *Le Liber Pontificalis.* 2 vols (Paris, 1886-1892.)
E.E.T.S. Early English Text Society's Publications.
Frere. *English Church, temp. Eliz. and James.* (1904.) Vol. V. of *Hist. Engl. Ch.* (Edd. Stephens and Hunt.)
Foxe, J. *Acts and Monuments.* (New ed. 8 vols. 1837.)
Gardiner, S. R. *History of England* from 1603 to 1642. 10 vols. (1883.)
Haddan and Stubbs. *Councils and Eccl. Documents.* 3 vols. (1871.)
Harduin, P. *Concilia.* 11 vols. (1715.)
Jacobs, H. E. *The Lutheran Movement in England.* (1892.)
Lathbury, T. *History of Convocation.* (1853.)
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Contain a valuable series of liturgical texts of the Reformation period, besides other writings illustrative of the history.
R.S. Rolls Series of Publications.
Stone, D. *Holy Baptism.* (1899.)
Strype, J. *Works.* (1820–1840.)
Wilkins, D. *Concilia.* 4 vols. (1737.)
W.M.G. i.e. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace.*

A NEW HISTORY

OF

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

PART I.

GENERAL LITERARY HISTORY OF THE BOOK.

A NEW HISTORY

OF THE

BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

CHAPTER I.

THE SERVICE-BOOKS IN PRE-REFORMATION TIMES.

I.

Primitive Service-books.

THE earliest information as to the services used in the Christian Church comes to us, not from the direct evidence of Service-books, but indirectly from other sources. The services were at first very free; it was only by degrees that liturgical forms of prayer were stereotyped, and until the forms had attained some fixity there was no great place for Service-books.

None of the earliest of such books have survived, but quotations from the Liturgy exist in writers of the second and third centuries, increasing in volume as time goes on: some such quotations have been surmised to exist in documents of the first century such as

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S. Clement's letter,[1] and the Didache,[2] or even in the New Testament writings.[3]

Descriptions of services are given by Pliny in his celebrated letter to Trajan[4] (*circa* 112), by S. Justin Martyr in his First Apology (c. 148)[5] and at a later date in several passages of Tertullian and others. More full than these are the descriptions dating from the fourth century, such as those given by S. Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Catechetical Lectures* delivered in Jerusalem in 348, and by S. Silvia of Acquitaine in her *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* (*circa* 385): the former are official comments on the Liturgy delivered by the Bishop,[6] while the latter are a pilgrim's descriptions of the services held in Jerusalem other than the Liturgy.[7]

At an earlier date (c. 250), the interesting document commonly called the Hippolytean Canons, contains directions and formulas, for the Liturgy and other rites, especially Ordination and Holy Baptism.[8]

When we come to the celebrated ecclesiastical manual called *The Apostolic Constitutions*, we are on the debateable land between a treatise and a service-book. The book is definitively a treatise and a compilation from many sources, but the liturgical formulas which it includes are of such magnitude that it might almost be said that a service book is incorporated in the treatise.[9] The same

[1] 1 Clem. 59—61. This and other Ante Nicene liturgical remains are given in Warren's *Liturgy of the Ante Nicene Church*. Cap. III.

[2] Capp. 9, 10. Warren, *l.c.* p. 172.

[3] *E.g.* 1 Tim. iii. 16; Eph. v. 14. Warren, *l.c.* p. 34

[4] Epistles, x. 97. Warren *l.c.* p. 51.

[5] *Apologia*, i. 6 and 65—67.

[6] Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, has collected the passages, pp. 464—470.

[7] Duchesne, *Origines du Culte chrétien*, gives the chief passages, pp. 472—503. See also *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, vol. 39 of the Vienna *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*

[8] See *Origines*, pp. 504—521. Warren *l.c.* pp. 88, 192, &c.

[9] See Brightman's *L.E.W.* 1—30, and the description, pp. xvii—xlvii. This deals only with the Liturgy. The other liturgical formulas (Books vii. and viii.) are distinguished by different type in Pitra's edition (*Iuris*

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is true also of the newly-published *Testament of our Lord*, which contains the essential parts of the Liturgy, the Baptismal and Ordination Services of an even earlier date (250—380), but in the form of a book of Church law and practice rather than that of a Service-book.[1]

The first collection to which the name of Service-book can properly be given is that of the prayers of Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis (c. 350). This is what was called in the West in later times a 'Sacramentary,' viz. a collection of the prayers said by the celebrant in the administration of Sacraments and Sacramental Rites.[2]

The earliest Service-books.

Nothing so complete is met with again till the seventh century, when the earliest MSS. of Western Service-books make their appearance. The interval between these dates is bridged over by many treatises of both the Eastern and Western Church from which information and formulas can be recovered.[3] But the continuous literary history of the Service-books proper cannot be said to begin before the seventh century.

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At that date the worship of the Church had reached a fully developed state: not only had the sacramental system of the Church its organised services, but in the west, at any rate (to which our attention is practically confined), the two other chief classes of Christian worship had attained a clear and definite position, viz., (*a*) The Divine Office, comprising the Hours of Prayer throughout the day, and (*b*) The Occasional Services, comprising under that heading such services as the

Ecclesiastici Græcorum Historia et Monumenta, Rome, 1864), p. 366 and ff., but not in Lagarde's or Ueltzen's edition. See also Warren, *l.c.* Appendix, pp. 255—319, for a translation into English.

[1] *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (ed. Rahmani) 1899.

[2] See *Journ. Theol. Stud.* (1899) I. 88, 247, and Bishop Wordsworth's translation, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book*, S.P.C.K. 1899.

[3] See the reconstructions in the Appendixes to Brightman's *Liturgies*. For the Ambrosian Rite, see Magistretti, *La Liturgia della Chiesa Milanese nel Secolo iv.* (1899).

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Dedication of Churches or the Consecration of Virgins, as well as the occasional services of the sacramental system, such as Ordination, Marriage, or the Reconciling of Penitents.

Origin of mediæval Service-books.

The Service-books required for this worship were many, and were arranged on a principle different from that which was adopted later. In the XIVth and XVth centuries it seemed desirable to collect in one volume all the various formulas (prayers, antiphons, responds, lessons, &c.) required for the performance of any particular service. At first this was not so, but just as the service was distributed among many persons, each of whom contributed his quota to it, so a Service-book was written for a particular person rather than for a particular service, and in view of the particular part assigned to him. Thus a 'Sacramentary' was written for the principal officiant at the service, and contained the celebrant's prayers, not only in the Liturgy, but also such as he would use at Baptism, Ordination, &c. On the same principle, a 'Gospel-book' was written for the deacon who read the Gospel, and an 'Epistle-book' for the subdeacon who read the Epistle, while musical Service-books were written for the choir, containing in some cases the musical parts, not only of the Liturgy but of other services, and even of the Divine Office side by side with the Liturgy. At the Divine Office, again, the readers of Lessons had their 'Legend' or 'Lesson-book' quite independently of the choir or the rest: again, the principal officiant, whose duty it was to say the Chapters and Collects, had a book of his own (a 'Collectar') written for him in view of his particular requirements.

This method of providing Service-books for individuals is all of a piece with the old view of what a service is:

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it was normally regarded, not as a simple function, performed by a minister for the benefit of a congregation, but rather as being a complex act of worship, to which many and various persons combined to contribute the various component parts: and this being so, it is only natural to find that the earliest Service-books were arranged upon this principle, so as to enable each individual, not so much to take an active part in the whole service, as to contribute his quota.[1] But later, as piety decayed, the services were said in a less dignified way; the old Solemn Mass disappeared almost entirely and even High Mass with three Ministers gave way before the custom of celebrating Low Masses without deacon and subdeacon or choir; in these the celebrant became responsible for the whole service instead of only his own proper part, and therefore he required a '*Missale plenum*,' containing all the various parts combined. Again, as the result of a similar decadence, the Divine Office was recited in private instead of in choir, and a similar fusion of all the component parts into one book became necessary. Thus, in later mediæval times, the 'Missal' arose to take the place of 'Sacramentary,' 'Gospel book,' 'Epistle book,' and the music books belonging to the Liturgy: the 'Breviary' combined the 'Psalter' with the 'Lesson-book,' the 'Collectar' and the music books of Divine Service, while other services were relegated to the 'Manual,' or, if they were proper to a Bishop, to the 'Pontifical.'

Conflicting Rites and Uses.

It must not be supposed that the Rites contained in these Service-books were uniform throughout the Western Church. The earliest Service-books introduce

[1] There are some exceptions: *e.g.* Bradshaw Society, vols. iv. and x) is The Bangor Antiphoner (Henry a composite Service-book. See p. 9.

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Two types of Liturgy.

us into a state of things in which there is a keen battle raging between two different types of Liturgy in the West;[1] one is pre-eminently Roman, as emanating from Rome and from the practice of the Pope; the other is non-Roman: and though it takes various shapes in various places, Gallican in France, Ambrosian in Italy, Mozarabic in Spain, Celtic in the British Isles, it is at bottom one and the same, and probably derives directly from the earliest Use of the Western Church apart from Rome.[2] Thus, in the liturgical sphere, the same contest was going on as is noticeable in other spheres between the central influence of Rome and the Papal services on the one side, and the general diffused traditions of Western Christendom on the other. The victory lay with the former. The Roman Liturgy, after adopting many features from the other Rites, ousted each of them in turn, with the single exception of the Ambrosian Rite, which has survived, though in a Romanised form, to the present day. The cause of the transformation seems to have been neither any inherent superiority of the Roman Liturgy, nor any urgent desire on the part of the Popes to press their Rite upon others, but simply a wish on the part of other churches to conform to the practice of the Roman church.

The position in England.

The Liturgy in use in the British Isles before the seventh century was no doubt of the non-Roman type. The missions sent from Rome introduced the Roman services, while the great Celtic missions propagated the non-Roman forms. The early policy of the former was, at S. Gregory's express direction, one of tolera-

[1] See Duchesne, *Origines*, c. iii. Les deux usages liturgiques de l'occident Latin.

[2] The Ephesine origin of these Rites is hardly a tenable view. Traces of this type are found in nearly every part of Western Christendom outside Rome. The view stated above though more tenable is far from certain. See below, pp. 313, 446 and ff.

tion,[1] but it is not clear how far it was carried out: what is clear is that these differences led to many a struggle, for the Celtic party were very tenacious of their customs and jealous of external interference; but the strong sense of gratitude to the city and see of Rome and of admiration for the Roman methods, which characterised the early English Christianity, was continually enlisted on the side of the Roman services, and as the Roman organisation of the church gradually absorbed into itself the magnificent harvest of the Celtic missionaries, so the Roman ousted the Celtic Liturgy.[2]

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Disappearance of Celtic forms

With the single exception of the curious collection known as the Bangor Antiphoner,[3] no MS. Service-books of purely Celtic origin exist: such books as there are show a mixed character in which the Roman elements predominate. For the rest, to arrive at the

[1] Beda, *Hist.* i. 27: 'Interrogatio Augustini. Cum una sit fides, cur sunt ecclesiarum diversæ consuetudines, et altera consuetudo missarum in sancta Romana ecclesia, atque altera in Galliarum tenetur? Respondit Gregorius papa. Novit fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in qua se meminit nutritam. Sed mihi placet, sive in Romana, sive in Galliarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt elige, et hæc quasi in fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone.'

[2] For the History, see Bright's *Early English Church History*. The end of the conflict was marked by the victory of Wilfrid and the Roman party at the Conference at Whitby in 664 (Bright, 194 and ff.), on the two chief points of dispute, viz., the date of Easter and the form of the Tonsure. The definite liturgical settlement was formulated at the Council of Cloveshoo in 747, thus: 'Tertio decimo definitur decreto, ut uno eodemque modo dominicæ dispensationis in carne sacrosanctæ festivitates, in omnibus ad eas rite competentibus rebus, id est, in baptismi officio, in missarum celebratione, in cantilenæ modo, celebrentur juxta exemplar videlicet quod scriptum de Romana habemus ecclesia. Itemque ut per gyrum totius anni natalitia sanctorum uno eodemque die, juxta martyrologium ejusdem Romanæ ecclesiæ, cum sua sibi convenienti psalmodia seu cantilena venerentur.' Haddan and Stubbs. *Councils*, iii. 367.

[3] Henry Bradshaw Society: vols. iv. and x.

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Celtic Liturgy itself, it is necessary to argue by analogy from Gallican and Mozarabic books which were undoubtedly akin to it; but even these are few, and many of them are full of Roman features.

Roman parentage of the later books.

Without attempting this task here, for the purposes of the History of the Book of Common Prayer it is enough to realise (i) that all the existing English Service-books are of the Roman type, with at most some small Gallican or Celtic features adopted into them; and (ii) that it is from such books that the Prayer-book is derived.[1]

Types of Divine Service.

We have, so far, been considering exclusively the Liturgy; but with regard to the Divine Service and the other offices, the case is not widely different. It is true that the battle of Rites was not a simple duel here, as it was in the case of the Liturgy. While all agreed upon Mattins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Evensong, and Compline as the Hours of daily prayer, the variety of forms in celebrating the Divine Service was considerable: it is natural to expect this in a scheme of worship which does not, like the Liturgy, go back to Apostolic ordinance, nor rest upon our Lord's injunctions, but had its origin in the free wish of various communities of people —men, women, monks, consecrated virgins, canons, secular clergy, &c.—to devise an edifying scheme for the orderly recitation of the Psalter and reading of the Bible.

Here three chief types of service stood out finally—a Benedictine type, a Gallican type, and a Roman type: the conflict was divided into two distinct battles, (i) between the Benedictine type on one side against other 'monastic' schemes of service, and, (ii) between the Roman type on the other against other non-monastic or

[1] The whole question is dealt with in Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), and the chief Scotch and Irish documents of the Celtic Rite are printed there.

'secular' types of service.[1] In the end, the Benedictine type beat out of the field all rival monastic schemes [2] and the Roman all rival secular schemes except the Ambrosian. The result here, then, is closely analogous to the result which has been indicated above in the case of the Liturgy.

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A similar history.

There is no Service-book of the British Isles extant which exhibits any Gallican form of Divine Service except the Bangor Antiphoner; all belong to one or other of the two types which ultimately won the victory, viz., the monastic, *i.e.* Benedictine type or the secular, *i.e.* Roman type. The Divine Service in the Book of Common Prayer is entirely derived from the 'secular' type of service, and this therefore alone comes into question henceforward.

With regard to other Rites, such as Baptism, Ordination, Consecration of Churches, &c., &c., the Roman model had here an even easier victory than in the case of the Liturgy or Divine Office. Certain Gallican and non-Roman features no doubt appear in such services, particularly in English and French Service-books, but here, too, the type is Roman, and these features have been imported into the services from outside without altering the general character of the Rites.

Other services.

It is thus clear that the Service-books to which the services of the Book of Common Prayer are to be ultimately traced are Service-books of the Roman type

[1] The Roman type had probably a monastic origin, but it was adopted from the monks by the secular clergy, and then came to be considered the 'secular' type of service, while the Benedictine type acquired an exclusive right to the term 'Monastic.' See below, p. 348.

[2] It is to be noted that later religious orders, *e.g.* Dominicans and Franciscans, adopted the Roman type of service. Each type contained, however, many variant species. A Cistercian and a Carthusian Breviary are both of the Benedictine type, but are not the same; the Sarum, the Dominican, and the ancient Paris Breviaries are equally of the Roman type, but they are unlike one another, and unlike the Roman Breviary.

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with some small admixture of non-Roman features. The old English Service-books, however, though all of one type, differed in detail to a considerable extent; and, indeed, there was no idea of strict liturgical uniformity, either in England or abroad, in mediæval times: it arose simultaneously both in England and abroad in the sixteenth century, and issued alike in the Book of Common Prayer and in the Tridentine revision of the Latin Services.[1] But before discussing the variations in detail between the various old English Service-books, it is desirable to get a clearer idea of the points in which they all agreed; in other words, it is desirable to realise what is meant by saying that they all belong to the Roman type.

The Roman type of service is the source of the English books.

In the first place, the Roman kalendar, in one or other form, was the basis of the English kalendars:[2] in the Liturgy, the 'Canon' or central prayer, including the consecration, was the Roman canon, and in fact the rest of the invariable framework of the public service (or 'Ordinary') was that adopted from Rome[3]: as regards the variant parts of the service, the musical elements were taken from the great storehouse of the Roman *cantilena*, and next to the Canon and Ordinary this is the most unchanging element in all services of the Roman type[4]: again, the Collects were mainly drawn

[1] A curious attempt at enforcing uniformity on Roman lines was made by Gilbert, the first Bishop of Limerick, early in the XIIth century. 'Episcopis, presbyteris totius Hiberniæ, infimus præsulum Gillebertus Lunicensis in Christo salutem. Rogatu, necnon et præcepto multorum ex vobis, carissimi, canonicalem consuetudinem in dicendis horis et peragendo totius ecclesiastici ordinis officio scribere conatus sum, non præsumptivo, sed vestræ cupiens piissimæ servire jussioni; ut diversi et schismatici illi ordines, quibus Hibernia pene tota delusa est, uni Catholico et Romano cedant officio. Quid enim magis indecens aut schismaticum dici poterit, quam doctissimum unius ordinis in alterius ecclesia idiotam et laicum fieri?' Prolog. Gilberti Lunicensis Episc. *De Usu Ecclesiastico.* Migne *Pat. Lat.* CLIX. 995.

[2] See below, pp. 324 and ff.

[3] See below, p. 469.

[4] See Introduction to *Graduale*

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from Roman sources, the nucleus of the Epistles, Gospels, and Lessons followed more or less closely the old Roman arrangement.[1]

In other words, the materials were provided from Roman sources, and the variations mainly arose (i) from a different use of the common storehouse of materials, (ii) from the introduction of new festivals or the provision for greater variety in the services.

In the Divine Office, the allotment of Psalms to the services of the week was the Roman allotment:[2] the music was largely drawn from Roman sources, though there was not the same musical uniformity here as in the Liturgy: the Lessons to some extent conformed to a common outline: *e.g.* Isaiah was read in Advent and so forth. The variations are far greater in the Divine Service than in the Liturgy, for there was far more liberty to alter or to import novelties into the former than into the latter.

But variety of Service-books.

But while the framework of the services was constant and the materials of the services were largely drawn from a common source, there still remained room for considerable variety. It is very rare to find any two early MS. Service-books quite alike: no doubt this fact is to be discounted, because so small a number of early Service-books at all is extant: but after making all due allowances it is more right to regard each MS. as a book standing by itself than to expect to find a number of books exactly alike. In England in early days it seems clear that books differing considerably from one another were not only used but deliberately provided for use side by side in the same church.[3] The inconvenience of this

Sarum. (Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society, 1894, and reprinted as *The Sarum Gradual*, 1895.)

[1] See below, pp. 522 and ff.

[2] See below, pp. 312 and ff.

[3] The Norman Conquest brought additional complications with it. Among the many foreigners who were appointed to bishoprics and abbacies was Thurstan, Abbot of

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is obvious, but it was not apparently till the twelfth or thirteenth century that any serious attempt was made to remedy it. When the influential churches had reduced their own services to order, it was natural for others in the neighbourhood to follow them, and thus there grew up in the thirteenth century, under the guidance or with the sanction of the Bishop, the Diocesan Use, *i.e.* a species of service emanating from a cathedral, radiating widely throughout the diocese and even spreading into other dioceses.[1]

The English Uses.

The history of the origin and diffusion of these Uses is very obscure: but for the present it is enough to notice that there were three principal Uses current in England from the thirteenth century to the Reformation, connected respectively with Salisbury (Sarum Use), York and Hereford.[2] Of these the first was the best known and most widespread; it may therefore be looked upon as that which has most direct bearing on the history of the Prayer Book.

Glastonbury (1083). He attempted to compel his monks to use a style of church music invented by William of Fécamp, instead of the Gregorian chant which they had taken over from Rome, and to which they were attached. The chroniclers, *e.g.* Simeon of Durham, (in Twysden *Scriptores Decem.* col. 212), John Brompton, (*ib.* 978) and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*ad.an.* 1083) give a piteous description of the tumult and bloodshed that ensued; for armed soldiers drove the monks from the chapter, and slew many of them in the church.

[1] It must be remembered that a large number of the cathedrals were served by monks, whose services were 'monastic,' and not 'secular,' and could not therefore form a model for the parish churches of the diocese. Also that the Diocesan Use never had any concern with Monastic or Conventual Churches.

[2] Other Uses, such as those of Lincoln and Bangor, which are mentioned in the preface of the Book of Common Prayer, do not seem to have possessed such a marked individuality as these three.

II.

Sarum Service-books

The Use of Sarum.

The see of Salisbury was founded to take the place of the old sees of Ramsbury and Sherborne in 1075: three years later S. Osmund became Bishop, and under his powerful and fostering hand both cathedral and chapter were built up, until in 1090 two formal documents crowned his work, and the Sarum cathedral-body was equipped with an endowment, and also with a constitution which was to become the model of many other cathedral-bodies. There is no evidence that S. Osmund's work dealt with the liturgical arrangements:[1] it was left to Richard Poore, first as Dean and then as Bishop, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the see was transferred from Old Sarum to New Sarum, and from the old Norman cathedral which has perished to the existing Early English building, both to develop more fully in his Consuetudinary the constitutional legislation of S. Osmund, and to add to this a full code of liturgical rules. This may be taken as the date of the definitive settling of the Use of Sarum. The term includes both the form of services executed in the cathedral church, and also the method of executing them: in other words, the books required for the due performance of the Use of Sarum were of two kinds, first the actual Service-books themselves, and, secondly, the books of directions explaining the method of performance.

Ritual Books.

Attention has already been called to some of the Service-books required for Divine worship. They may be classified as follows:—

(i) For the Mass. (*a*) The *Sacramentary*, containing the Ordinary, Canon, Collects, &c., said by the

[1] See for an estimate of his work ff. and Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cathe-* Frere, *Use of Sarum*, I. xiv and *dral Statutes*, ii. 860 and ff.

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celebrant. (*b*) The *Epistle-book* for the Subdeacon. (*c*) The *Gospel-book* for the Deacon. (*d*) The *Gradual*, formerly called *Antiphonarium Missæ*, or *Cantatorium*, for the Choir. (*e*) The *Troper*, or book containing the more recent musical additions to the traditional music, which, from the twelfth century onward, after the disappearance of the bulk of the tropes, consisted mainly of the sequences.

(ii) For the Divine Service or Canonical Hours. (*a*) The *Psalter*, containing the psalms and canticles. (*b*) The *Legend*, containing the Scriptures, Homilies, Lives of Saints, &c., which were read as lessons. (*c*) The *Antiphonal*, containing the musical parts of the services, and very constantly including (*d*) the *Hymnal*. (*e*) The *Collectar*, containing the short texts from Scripture and the Collects, which were said by the principal officiant.

Ceremonial Books.

The two books of directions which were needful to show the proper method and use of the Service-books, were the following: (*a*) The *Ordinal*, which (i) brought together into one the opening words of all the various component parts drawn from the various books and showed how they were to be fitted in together, and (ii) gave general directions in view of the variations of kalendar from year to year. (*b*) The *Consuetudinary*, which prescribed the ceremonial and assigned to the various persons concerned the part which each was to take in the service, according to certain rules of precedence and local custom.

In process of time, the contents of the whole of the first group were thrown together in one volume into the *Missal*, and the contents of the second group into the *Breviary*. The *Ordinal*, then, was no longer so necessary for its first purpose, and tended to become fused with the *Consuetudinary* on the one hand, and on the other

hand with the *Pie* or Perpetual Kalendar, which provided in detail for all the possible contingencies that can arise through the varying in date of Easter Day and Christmas Day: in this later form it often took the name of *Directorium.* Meanwhile it became increasingly common to insert the ceremonial directions contained in these books, into the actual Rites themselves, in the form of rubrics, though this was never, either before or since the Reformation, very fully or scientifically carried out.[1]

Sarum Service-books.

(iii) The occasional services as performed by a priest, such as Baptism, Marriage, Services of the Sick and Dead, &c., were collected in the *Manual*, while those performed by a Bishop, such as Ordination Services, Consecrations of places and people, together with Episcopal Benedictions, and very constantly the foregoing priestly services, were combined in the *Pontifical.*

(iv) The services used in the various processions, whether connected with Mass or Divine Service or independent, were in the later mediæval period often for convenience sake collected in the *Processional*: but they were chiefly made up of materials—Antiphons, Responds, Collects, &c.—drawn from other sources, and therefore a separate *Processional* was more a luxury than a necessity.

Books of Private Devotion

Together with the foregoing books required for public services, it is important also to take note of a class of books which, though designed for private use, were of considerable importance and exercised considerable

[1] It is necessary to distinguish Rite from Ceremony and Ritual from Ceremonial: a Rite is a service, a Ceremony is any action accompanying it, either necessary or subsidiary to it. This distinction was obscured in the sixteenth century, and the two terms were constantly used as synonymous: *e.g.* in the Acts of Uniformity, or title page of the Prayer Book. See also the *Rationale* (Collier, v. 106, 191), and below, p. 34. The confusion of language is still a common one, and cannot be defended. But as a fact of history it must be recognized and the ignoring of it has led to a mistaken interpretation of Reformation documents in recent times.

Sarum Service-books.

Origin of the Primer or Horæ.

influence on the development of the English Prayer Book.

The Psalter, with an appendix added to it containing Canticles, Creeds, Lord's Prayer, *Gloria in Excelsis*, &c., was the nucleus round which private devotions were gathered, just as it was the germ of the public Hour Services. Thus not only were private prayers appended to it, but also some of the Secondary schemes of Hour Services which grew up in imitation of the Primary or Canonical Hours of the Breviary; these were originally adopted, first by monks, and afterwards by secular clergy, as a series of Hours to be recited publicly through the day, supplementary to the ordinary Canonical Hours: but they were also subsequently adopted as acts of private devotion by private persons, and incorporated in their private Psalters. A similar development brought the Services of the Dead first into public use, as a secondary service supplementary to the Breviary Services, and secondly into private use, as a general act of devotion on behalf of the departed. From the Xth century onward, there are to be found *Votiva Laus in veneracione Sanctae Mariae Virginis*,[1] *Horæ de Trinitate*, *Horæ de Sancto Spiritu*, *Horæ in honore sancte crucis*, and (most commonly of all) *Horæ de Beata Virgine Maria* attached together with private prayers and for the purposes of private devotion to copies of the Psalter;[2] and from the XIIIth century onward, these additions, after acquiring a status of their own as an appendix to the Psalter, were thrown off and became a separate book, varying greatly both in its contents and in its titles. From one point of view the set services, and especially the *Horæ B.V.M.*, were the most conspicuous part of the collec-

[1] For the early English forms of *Horæ B.V.M.* see H.B.S. vol. XXI.

[2] See Hoskins, *Primers*, pp. vii. and ff.

Sarum Service-books.

tions, and consequently the name of *Horæ B.V.M.* was given to the whole: from another point of view, the educational value of the layman's book (often, no doubt, his only one) was made more prominent than the devotional; the A.B.C., *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, Devotions in English, &c. were prefixed to it and it thus became his lesson book, and was called the 'Primer.'

The *Horæ* or Primer thus formed appears with the Hours in Latin from the XIIIth century onward, and in English from the XIVth century onward;[1] the supplementary prayers were in Latin and at times in English also; from the time of the invention of printing numberless editions in Latin, or in English, or in Latin and English, were poured forth from the press. The earliest complete printed book of this class which is known is one issued by W. de Worde, *circa* 1494: its contents may be summarised as follows.

The Primer of c. 1494

1. *Orationes quotidianæ*, prayers for private use at home and at church, in Latin.

2. *Horæ B.V.M.*, in Latin, one series of seven Hours to be said without variation: but printed with the special antiphons, chapters, &c. of 'Hours of the Passion,' and the 'Hours of the Compassion B.V.M.' appended to it, so that these services could be used as alternatives.

3. Miscellaneous prayers including the *Orationes B.V.M.*, the XV Oes or prayers of S. Bridget on the Passion[2] and the *Suffragia Sanctorum* or short devotions (Antiphon, ℣ and ℟ and Collect) commemorative of a number of Saints.

4. The Seven penitential Psalms and the fifteen gradual Psalms.

[1] The early MSS. of the Primer in English have been dealt with fully by Mr. Littlehales. See *The Prymer*, 2 vols. 1891 and 1892, and *The Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer Book*. Early Eng. Text Soc., original series 105 and 108.

[2] See p. 44, note 2.

Sarum Service-books.

5. The Litany and Suffrages.

6. The Services of the Dead (*Placebo*, *Dirige* and Commendation).

7. The Psalms of the Passion, XXII—XXXI, with the selection from the Psalms known as S. Jerome's Psalter.

8. An appendix in English containing 'The XV Oes and other prayers.'[1]

Later additions.

This represents the *Horæ* or Primer in a well developed state: the collection of devotions in MS. copies was not as a rule so large, and even many of the later printed editions were less voluminous. On the other hand, fresh matter was added constantly in successive editions: other *Horæ*, e.g. *De Sancto Spiritu* in 1498, *Dulcissimi Nominis Jesu* in 1503, or the two alternative forms of *Horæ B.V.M.* as contained in the Breviary for use (*a*) during Advent and (*b*) between Christmas and Candlemas, in 1511; a votive Mass such as the *Missa de Nomine Jesu*, in 1528, a rhythmical version of the X Commandments in 1523, the Proper Prefaces at Mass in 1539, the Epistles and Gospels in English in *circa* 1537—to mention only some of the larger items. It is easy thus to see that the popularity of the Primers was great, and their position in the liturgical changes of the XVIth century an important one. They provided for the laity a simple unchanging form of Hour-services and, if they desired it, several alternative and similar forms, as well as their own private prayers to be said at home and in Church.

The Spread of Sarum Use.

The Service-books of the Use of Salisbury had acquired considerable fixity by the time of Bishop Poore's great work at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and, in fact, were beginning also to acquire that prestige which ultimately made Sarum Use the dominant Use

[1] This had a separate existence, and by Caxton, *circa* 1490. This edition had already been separately printed was reproduced in facsimile in 1869.

Sarum Service-books.

in England. Its history before that time is very obscure: if the Use as a whole may be ascribed in its settled form to Bishop Poore, it must at the same time be remembered that, as has been said already, nearly the whole of these services, as of other Western services, is drawn from a common storehouse, and very little indeed except the work of selection and arrangement is peculiar to Sarum: even the customs and ceremonies, which are really much more distinctive of a Use than the actual Rites, Sarum largely shared with other churches. It is impossible at present to trace the actual channels through which the old materials made their way to Salisbury and formed the local Use. But this much is clear, that when once the Use was formed, it was the clearness and fixity that it possessed which recommended it to others. Salisbury had already a wide reputation in the thirteenth century for being a model cathedral-body from the point of view of constitution, and this must have facilitated the adoption of Salisbury Use as a model also from the point of view of Services and Service-books. In course of time the Sarum Use was adopted in whole or in part by Wells, Exeter, Lichfield, London (St. Paul's),[1] Lincoln, and other cathedral churches besides numbers of collegiate churches and other large foundations: it was constantly called 'the Use of the English Church,'[2] and finally, in 1542, on the eve of the Reformation changes, the Convocation of

[1] The Use of St. Paul's in London continued until 1414, in which year, 'Oct. 15, Richard Clifford, then Bishop of London, by the consent of the dean and chapter, ordained that from the first day of December following, beginning then at Vespers, the solemn celebration of Divine Service therein, which before that time had been according to a peculiar form anciently used, and called *Usus Sancti Pauli*, should thenceforth be conformable to that of the Church of Salisbury, for all Canonical Hours, both night and day.' Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 24.

[2] Primers *Secundum usum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* are Sarum Primers.

Sarum Service-books.

Canterbury adopted the Sarum Use for saying the Hour Services throughout the Southern province.[1]

Other English Uses.

If little is known as to the origin and history of the Use of Sarum,[2] it must be confessed that still less is known of the history of the other English secular Uses. Lincoln and Bangor seem to have varied only slightly from Sarum, while Exeter was eclectic and combined Sarum customs with Roman features. York and Hereford were far more independent, but the only clear point in the history of either is the revision of Hereford Use under Bishop Trillek (1344–1361). This absence of information, though regrettable, is very natural. The Sarum Use had become the dominant one, partly, perhaps, because of its clearness and fixity, partly, perhaps, because the Bishop of Sarum was regarded as Precentor of the Southern Province, and more probably still because there was at Salisbury a continuous tradition of skill in liturgical matters, and the Canons of Salisbury became the referees for disputed questions.[3] There is plenty of evidence that Ceremonial and Ritual matters were hotly debated at any rate in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: liturgical punctiliousness was strong in Wiclif's day and strongly denounced by him, and even the authority of the Canons of Salisbury could not satisfy a contentious ritualist of the fifteenth century such as Clement Maydeston, the author of the popular *Directorium Sacerdotum* and other ritual handbooks. But this did not prevent the diffusion of the Sarum Use nor the supremacy of its Service-books at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

[1] Wilkins, *Conc.* III. 861. For the fuller history, see Frere, *Use of Sarum*, Introduction.

[2] The most valuable investigations that have yet been made are those of Dr. Wickham Legg in the third volume of The Westminster Missal (H. Bradshaw Soc. vol. XII), pp. 1406 and ff.

[3] See *Crede Michi* in *The Tracts of Clement Maydeston* (H.B.S., vol. vii), ed. Wordsworth.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. *LISTS OF SERVICE-BOOKS.*

Service-books.

THE Church-Books required in the Anglo-Saxon period are enumerated in the 21st of the Canons called Archbishop Ælfric's (*circ.* 1006). 'Psalter, Epistle-book, Gospel-book, Missal, Song-book, Hand-book, Gerim,[1] Passional,[2] Penitential,[3] and Reading-book.[4]' The books used in the Anglo-Norman period are enumerated among the things which the parishioners were bound to provide for the service of their church, in the fourth of the Constitutions of Archbishop Winchelsey, published in a synod at Merton (*circ.* 1300): 'legenda, antiphonarium, gradale, psalterium, troperium, ordinale, missale, manuale.'[5] A similar list had been prescribed by earlier bishops, Worcester (1240) and York (1250).[6] In addition to these, Quivil, Bishop of Exeter (1287), had ordered 'venitare, hymnare, et collectare.'[7] For the time immediately preceding the Reformation we find the following named, in the preface to a *Portiforium secundum usum Sarum* (1544), as church-books which might be printed only by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch:—'the Masse booke, the Graile, the Hympnal, the Antyphoner, the Processyonall, the Manuel, the Porteaus,[8] and the Prymer both in latine and also in english.'[9] And the statute of 1550,[10] which ordered the old church-books to be abolished and extinguished,

[1] The *compotus*, or calendar, with its calculations of Easter, &c. Arithmetic is *rím-cræft*. Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 29.

[2] Containing the passions of the Saints to be read on their festivals.

[3] A handbook of Church discipline, and not liturgical.

[4] Mansi, *Concil.* XIX. 700; Wilkins, I. 252; Johnson's *English Canons* (ed. *Ang-Cath. Libr.*), I p. 394; cp. Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, II. 350, and for another list, Ælfric's *Pastoral Epistle*, *ibid.* 384.

[5] Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Lib. III. Tit. 27, p. 251, ed. 1679; Wilkins, *Conc.* II. 280; Johnson, II. p. 318.

[6] Hard. vii. 331. Wilkins, I. 768.

[7] *Synod. Exon.* can. xii. Mansi. XXIV. 800; Wilkins, II. 139.

[8] The 'portiforium' was another name for the Breviary, and it appears in many strange forms when translated into English.

[9] Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. p. xvii. or xxi.

[10] Stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. Cap. 10, cp. the Royal Writ, *Doc. Annals*, XX.

Service-books.

described them under the names of Antiphoners, Missals, Grayles, Processionals, Manuals, Legends, Pies, Portuasses, Primers in Latin or English, Couchers,[1] Journals,[2] and Ordinals.[3]

2. THE ARRANGEMENT OF SERVICE-BOOKS.

The arrangement of mediæval Service-books needs to be understood, both because this is essential to the student who would find his way about them, and because it has left its mark upon the Book of Common Prayer. Nothing need be said of those which were merely collections of distinct services, but as to the others which had to deal with a yearly course of services—such as the Breviary, Missal, or Processional, &c.—it is necessary to point out that—(1) The services consist of (*a*) permanent and (*b*) variable parts. (2) The permanent parts stand generally in the middle of the volume, *i.e.* the Psalter as arranged for weekly recitation, together with the rest of the ferial service in the middle of the Breviary, and the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass in the middle of the Missal. (3) The variable parts are generally in three groups :

(*a*) The *proprium de tempore* or *Temporale* containing the variants required for the Church's seasons from Advent to Advent.

(*b*) The *proprium de sanctis*, or *Sanctorale* containing the variants required for the Saints' days, ranging generally from S. Andrew to S. Katherine.

(*c*) The *Commune sanctorum* containing special forms of common service prescribed for *e.g.* an Apostle, a Martyr, a Confessor, &c., and used in the case of those Saints' days which have individually little or nothing distinctive of their own, and therefore share a common service with others of the same group.

Such is the most common arrangement in mediæval Service-books, but neither in detail nor in general outline is it universal.

It is to be noted also that, for convenience sake, sometimes the system of division is broken through, *e.g.* when the services of the Saints' days after Christmas are inserted, not in the *Proprium*

[1] *Coucher* appears to have been the common name for a large book which must lie upon a desk for use: —'unum coucher magnum de usu Ebor.' Surtees Society, vol. 64, p. 235. *Couch* is connected with *collocare*: cf. *ledger*, or *ledger-book*. See Skeat.

[2] *i.e.* Diurnale, containing the Day Hours as distinct from the great night service of Mattins or Nocturns.

[3] For fuller details see Dr. Swete's *Church Services and Service-books*, Wordsworth and Littlehales, *Old Service Books*.

sanctorum, but in their chronological sequence in the *Proprium de tempore*, as is still done in the Book of Common Prayer. Service-books.

The arrangement is further complicated by the occurrence of supplementary services; for example, in the Breviary the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the services of the Dead, or the Commemorations, *i.e.* the special services which actually displaced the regular canonical hours on certain days, prescribed by the complicated rules of the Ordinal and Pie; or again, in the Missal the votive Masses provided for special occasions.

The system had, by means of these additions and substitutions, become an extremely elaborate one: the arrangement of the books and the code of directions provided by the Ordinal and other handbooks was admirably planned and executed under the circumstances, but the system was too intricate for common use:[1] it was too much to ask that each man should, before the week's services began, sit down and master the elaborate rules without which he would be sure to go wrong[2]; no doubt the complaint recorded in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer 'that there was more business to find out what should be read than to read it when it was found out,' was one which awakened a responsive echo, and did much to recommend the bald simplicity of the new Order.

[1] The people were accustomed and also greatly attached to the Sunday services of Mattins, Mass and Evensong, but in practice the pre-Reformation congregation did not expect to follow every point of the services. The people knew little of the Breviary Hours except for Sundays, and the Hours which they knew best were the little Hours of the B.V.M. in the Primer which were commonly said during Mass. (*Italian Relation*, Camden Soc., p. 23.) They were however well instructed in the Mass: the ceremonial enabled them to follow all the points, and they were taught to say prayers meanwhile. See for examples *the Lay folks Mass Book* (E.E.T.S.), and other devotions in the Primers. Preaching was common, until the uneasiness of the XVIth century stopped part of the supply, and was very popular. It was generally accompanied by some vernacular devotions, the Gospel read in English, the Bidding of Bedes, &c. (See Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, Essay IV.) or The Holy Water sprinkling. (Blunt, p. 6.)

[2] Vos igitur O emptores, O domini sacerdotes, O clerici omnes charissimi adhortor in visceribus Jesu Christi ut rubricas has in vestrum alieno sudore commodum paucas breues lucidasque effectas una cum prefata tabula non modo vigilantes perlegatis verum etiam tenaci commendatis memoriæ. Picam quoque secundum anni cursum diligenter perlegere studeatis ante primas vesperas cuiusque dominice.

The printer's address to the purchaser of Portiforium Sarum, 8vo. 1507, quoted in *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, p. xli.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLIER STAGES OF CHANGE.

Foreign Reforms.

* IT was not until the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII., when the reform movement was beginning to attract more attention in England, that the desire for some reformation of the public services came into prominence.

Abroad for some time previous to this, liturgical innovations and experiments had been going on. Luther had begun in 1523 and published his first attempts at liturgical revision [1] and so inaugurated a long series of Lutheran 'Kirchen-Ordnungen,' which were schemes of service rather than Service-books pure and simple. But similar questions were being raised among the Catholics as well as among the Lutherans, and it is necessary to take special account of two foreign reforms which were not without bearing on the course of events in England. One of these was simply Catholic from beginning to end, while the other marks the transition from Catholicism to Lutheranism.

Quiñones' Breviary.

After an abortive attempt to revise the Roman Breviary in the interests of Humanism, Clement VII.

[1] *Von ordenung gottis dienst ynn der gemeyne*, and the *Formula misse et communionis pro ecclesia Wittembergensi*. See Richter, *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, Weimar, 1846.

Foreign Reforms.

entrusted to Francis de Quiñones, a Spanish Franciscan and Cardinal of the Holy Cross, the task of bringing back the Canonical Hours to their ancient form and removing difficulties and prolixities, with the object of recalling the clergy to their neglected duty of saying the Office. After five or six years, the first text of Quignon's Breviary was published in 1535 and after six editions had been issued and had stood a hot fire of criticism, a revised form was published in 1537 which enjoyed considerable popularity. The method of reform was drastic: the psalter was rearranged entirely, the lessons were reduced to three, the first from the Old Testament, the second from the New Testament, the third a Saint's life, a homily or a passage from the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles. Everything was sacrificed to secure continuity in singing the psalter and reading the Bible. The bare simplicity of the first edition was a little relieved in the second text, *e.g.* by the reinstatement of antiphons; but though the new Breviary was welcomed by busy clergy and did something to recover the private recitation of the Office, its fate was sealed. It savoured too much of the reformed ideas: it had gone too far and too wantonly away from the old paths, and when it began to penetrate into choir and be publicly recited in church, this, which was never intended, gave it its death-blow, and in 1558 a papal rescript decreed that there was no longer any reason for allowing it to be printed.[1]

The second step in liturgical reform is that of Her-

[1] See Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, Engl. Trans., pp. 236—248. The first text, *Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum, in quo sacræ scripturæ libri probatæque sanctorum historiæ eleganter beneq. disposite leguntur*, has been reprinted by the pains of Dr. Wickham Legg (Cambridge, 1888). A large number of editions of the second text appeared.

Foreign Reforms.

Hermann's Consultation.

mann von Wied, Prince Archbishop of Cologne, who, after leaning for some time in the direction of reform,[1] made a definite move in 1542 towards reformation; on his initiative a scheme was drawn up and submitted, not only to the Landtag at Bonn in that year, but also to the leading German divines of the Lutheran party.[2] As the basis of the liturgical revision the authors took the Kirchen-Ordnung drawn up in 1533 mainly by Osiander for Brandenburg and Nürnberg[3]; and as a result of the work of Martin Butzer (Bucer), with the help of Melancthon[4] there was published in 1543 the book best known as *Hermann's Consultation.*[5] The greater part of the book was doctrinal, but half way through the

[1] See his proposal to revise the Breviary by purging out false or doubtful legends. Synod of Cologne (1536), Art. II. cap. vi. Binius *Concilia Gen.* (Cologne, 1618), IV. ii. 177.

[2] *Hermann von Wied*, von M. Deckers (Köln, 1840) pp. 71 and ff.

[3] Richter, *l.c.*, i., 176.

[4] 'Postquam veni Bonnam intellexi episcopum dedisse mandatum, ut forma doctrinæ et rituum proponenda ecclesiis conscribatur, et quidem ad exemplum Norimbergensis formæ.' Melancthon, *Epist.* No. 2706; *Opp.* V. 112. 'Scripsi vobis antea Episcopum secuturum esse formam Norimbergensem, eratque ante meum adventum institutus liber ad exemplum Norimbergense scribendus. Retinuit pleraque Osiandri Bucerus; quosdam articulos auxit, ut est copiosus. Mihi, cum omnia relegissem, attribuit articulos περὶ τριῶν ὑποστάσεων de creatione, de peccato originis, de justitia fidei et operum, de ecclesia, de pœnitentia. In his consumpsi tempus hactenus, et legi de cæremoniis Baptismi et Cœnæ Domini quæ ipse composuit.' *Epist.* No. 2707, *ibid.*

[5] This work was first published in German, *Von Gottes genaden unser Hermans Ertzbischoffs zu Cöln und Churfursten, &c., einfaltigs bedencken warauff,' &c.* (Richter, II. 30). A Latin translation was published at Bonn in 1545, '*Nostra Hermanni ex gratia dei Archiepiscopi Coloniensis et principis, electoris, &c., Simplex ac pia deliberatio,' &c*, which differs considerably from the German original. An English translation of the Latin work was printed in 1547, entitled, '*A simple and religious consultation of us Herman by the grace of God archebishop of Colone, and Prince Electour, &c. by what meanes a Christian reformation, and founded in God's worde, of doctrine, administration of the devine Sacramentes, of Ceremonies, and the hole cure of soules, and other ecclesiastical ministeries, may be begon among men committed to our pastorall charge, until the Lorde graunt a better to be appoynted either by a free and Christian counsayle, general or national, or elles by the states of the Empire of the nation of Germanie, gathered together in the Holye Ghost.*' A second English edition, 'revised by the translator thereof, and amended in many places,' was printed in 1548. This edition is that quoted here.

Foreign Reforms.

discussion of the Sacraments begins, and forms more or less complete are given incidentally for Baptism, Confirmation, The Lord's Supper, Visitation and Communion of the Sick, Marriage and Burial. The whole movement at once met with great opposition. The *Consultation*, as a scheme of service, never was in use: a reply entitled *Antididagma* was issued by the Chapter: Hermann himself was excommunicated in 1546, and though at first supported by the Emperor against the Pope for political purposes, he was deprived in 1547, and lived in retirement until his death, August 15th, 1552.[1]

These two attempts, abortive though they may seem, were not without their influence on the course of events in England. The reformed Breviary, at any rate in its earlier shape, was before Cranmer, and left its mark upon the Prayer Book; and while some of the liturgical forms inserted into the midst of the doctrinal statements which formed the bulk of the *Consultation* influenced parts of the services of the Holy Communion and of Holy Baptism, the influence of the *Antididagma* was also great. Thus it is well to notice whatever there was of external influence, which had any effect from abroad, before coming to consider the course of the history of the Prayer Book at home.

Changes in the Services under Henry VIII.

The English liturgical reform was preceded by fresh efforts to make the Bible accessible in the mother tongue. On December 19th, 1534, the Convocation petitioned Henry, amongst other things, to make provision for an authorised English version of the Bible[2]; and in 1536, in a Proclamation for Uniformity in Religion,[3] issued shortly after the appearance of Cover-

The English Bible.

[1] See Ranke's *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Berlin, 1843) iv., 329, and Deckers, pp. 148 and ff.

[2] Wilkins, *Conc.* III. 776.

[3] *Ibid.*, III. 810.

Changes in the services under Henry VIII.

dale's Bible (October, 1535), the King, though maintaining that he is not compelled by God's Word to set forth the Scripture in English, yet 'of his own liberality and goodness was and is pleased that his said loving subjects should have and read the same in convenient places and times.' In Sept. 1538 Cromwell, as the King's Vicar-General, issued Injunctions,[1] which direct a 'Bible of the largest volume in English' to be set up in some convenient place in every church, where it might be read, only without noise, or disturbance of any public service, and without any disputation, or exposition,[2] they also make special provision that the people shall be taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English. In 1542 a proposal was laid before the southern Convocation by Cranmer to amend the Service-books and to discontinue the dressing of images and setting up lighted candles before them.[3] A new edition of the Sarum Breviary[4] was issued at this time bearing the clear marks of the breach with Rome, and it was further determined that no other Breviary should be used in the province of Canterbury.[5] At

[1] Wilkins, *Concil.* III. 815. Burnet iv. 341 (ed. Pocock, Oxford, 1865.)

[2] The order is repeated in a Proclamation (6 May, 1541), which fixes the price of the unbound bible at ten shillings, or twelve shillings if 'well and sufficiently bound, trimmed, and clasped' (Wilkins, III. 856; Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 84. See an account of early English translations of the Bible in Bp. Westcott's *History of the English Bible.*

[3] Reverendissimus egit cum patribus de candelis et candelabris coram imaginibus fixis abolendis, necnon de portiferiis, missalibus, et aliis libris corrigendis et reformandis, ac nominibus Romanorum pontificum et Thomæ Becket diligentius ab omnibus presbyteris radendis et abolendis: atque de quibusdam vestimentis sericis et aliis ornamentis ipsis statuis appositis; egitque de Oratione Dominica, Symbolo Apostolorum, et Præceptis Decalogi a plebe in vulgari discendis et recitandis.' Wilkins, III. 861.

[4] '*Portiforium secundum usum Sarum noviter impressum, et a plurimis purgatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso adscriptum omittitur, una cum aliis quæ Christianissimo nostri Regis statuto repugnant. Excusum Londini per Edvardum Whytchurch*, 1541.' See *Sarum Breviary* (Cambridge Ed.), III. p. xlvi.

[5] Wilkins, III. 861, 862. See above p. 21.

Changes in the services under Henry VIII.

the meeting of Convocation in 1543, the Archbishop signified that it was the King's will that there should be a further reformation of the Service-books;[1] a committee was appointed for the purpose, and 'it was ordered also that every Sunday and holy-day throughout the year the curate of every parish church, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, should openly read unto the people one chapter of the New Testament in English without exposition; and when the New Testament was read over, then to begin the Old.' Thus the first step was taken towards liturgical reformation by introducing the reading of Scripture in English into the public service of the Church: and this was done by the authority of the House of Bishops in Convocation, who had also received the proposal to correct the Service-books. The way was thus prepared for the further substitution of English for Latin in the prayers. The first change in this respect was made in the Litany. This form of petition, used in solemn processions, had been in the hands of the people in their own tongue in the Primer certainly for a hundred and fifty years; but in 1544 circumstances led to the issue of an official version of the Litany in English.

The English Litany.

The King had issued a letter on August 20th, 1543, desiring 'general rogations and processions to be made' owing to the rain and bad weather; other troubles, such as war and pestilence, were also pressing upon people

[1] *Ibid.* III. 863: 'That all mass-books, antiphoners, [and] portuises in the Church of England should be newly examined, corrected, reformed and castigated from all manner of mention of the Bishop of Rome's name, from all apocryphas, feigned legends, superstitious orations, collects, versicles, and responses: and that the names and memories of all saints, which be not mentioned in the Scripture, or authentical doctors, should be abolished.' 'It was ordered that the examination and correction of the said books of service should be committed to the bishops of Sarum and Ely, taking to each of them three of the lower house, such as should be appointed for that purpose. But this the lower house released.' A gentle refusal to have anything to do therein. Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* I. 376.

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both at home and abroad. The people responded but slackly, and this slackness was put down partly to the fact 'that they understode no parte of suche prayers or suffrages as were used to be songe and sayde': consequently (June 11th, 1544) there were 'set forthe certayne godly prayers and suffrages in our natyve Englishe tongue';[1] to this 'Letanie with suffrages to be said or songe in the tyme of the said processyons' there was prefixed 'An exhortation unto prayer, thoughte mete by the Kinges Maiestie and his clergy to be read to the people in every church afore processyons.'[2] This litany represents the present English Litany in its actual form, with the exception of three clauses of invocation, and very nearly in its present words.[3] The work was no doubt done by Cranmer, and was probably his first essay in this direction. All the other parts of divine worship continued to be celebrated according to the several books and uses which have been noticed.

The Revised Primers.

It is important, however, to consider the relation of reform to the books of private devotion, and especially to call attention to the King's Primer, which was issued about the same time as the Litany. This was not by any means the first occasion on which the influence of the reformed views was brought to bear upon the Primer. A popular book of this nature was especially liable to such influences, and as early as 1530 complaints were made of the orthodoxy of certain Primers.[4] Four years later a far greater measure of

[1] Wilkins, *Conc.* III. 868—870.

[2] Printed as an Appendix to *Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Society), from a copy dated May 27. An edition with the plain-song and another edition with music in five parts. 'as used in the King's Chapel,' were subsequently printed by Grafton.

[3] See below, pp. 414 and ff.

[4] Wilk. *Conc.* III. 733. This has been supposed to refer to Marshall's Primer, but the reference is probably to some unknown predecessor of Marshall's book, for this appeared in

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innovation came in with the first edition of Marshall's Primer, which, while keeping in general to the traditional form, contained no Litany or *Dirige* (*i.e.* Mattins of the Dead), and introduced a new spirit in the various exhortations, expositions, and prayers which it included. The omission of the Litany and Dirige caused so much protest, that in the second edition in 1535 they were restored, with an explanatory and unconciliatory preface prefixed to each.[1] Four years later more official action was taken when, under the authority both of Cranmer as Archbishop and of Cromwell as Vicegerent to the King, Bishop Hilsey's Primer was issued, which in some respects carried innovation a step in advance of Marshall's Primer.[2] Shortly after this, about the year 1541, the King began to exercise some modifying influence on the Primers, and this led up to the issue, in 1545, of King Henry's Primer,[3] which quickly brought to an end the series of Primers of the old type.[4] This included the new form of Litany as issued in the previous year, with revised forms of the Hours of Our Lady and the Services of the Dead, besides other prayers both old and new. Here for the present things rested, both with regard to public and private worship. But meanwhile other changes were being prepared.

Marshall's,

Hilsey's,

and Henry's Primer.

There is no sign that the committee nominated by Convocation ever set to work, but it is clear that Cranmer, perhaps with Heath and Day, the Bishops of

Experiments in Reform.

1534, and was then denounced in Convocation. See Additional Note, p. 43.

[1] This second edition is printed in Burton's *Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.* (Oxford, 1834).

[2] Printed in Burton, *l.c.* p. 305.

[3] *The Primer set forth by the King's Majesty and his Clergy to be taught, learned and read: and none other to be used throughout all his dominions.* Printed in Burton, *l.c.* p. 437.

[4] It was resumed in 1554 under Queen Mary. See for the whole subject Hoskins, *Primers.*

Changes in the services under Henry VIII.

Worcester and Chichester, and others appointed by the King,[1] was busying himself with experiments in the reform of the Service-books. His earliest extant Draft follows the lines of Quignon in keeping the ancient seven Hours of prayer and the Latin tongue throughout: it was therefore probably earlier in date than this action of Convocation: it did not touch any services except those of the Hours, and as it never saw the light it had no overt influence upon them.[2] Another abortive attempt besides this First Draft was the document known as the *Rationale*, or explanation of the 'ceremonies to be used in the Church of England.' This dealt with all the old ceremonies, and probably was drawn up by the commission appointed by the King in 1540.[3] A second Draft of revised services marks a considerable step forward: the Hours were reduced to two, but Latin was retained throughout except in saying the Lord's Prayer and in reading the lessons. This second Draft seems to date from the latter years of Henry VIII. or the opening months of Edward VI.[4]

Cranmer's First Draft.

The Rationale.

Second Draft.

The Processional

It is clear also that further experiments in English services were being made. Soon after the publication of the Litany, Cranmer was busying himself with a translation of the Processional as a whole, and after making some experiments with a free hand, both as translator, adapter and reviser, he sent them to the King with

[1] See Burnet, v. 353 (Pt. II. bk. i. record lxi.) Cranmer's letter to the King, January 24, 1545/6.

[2] This draft was first printed by Gasquet and Bishop: See *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 16—29, 311—352. The document is there dated as subsequent to the action of Convocation, *i.e.* between 1543 and 1547.

[3] Dixon, *History*, ii. 229, 311. The document is printed in Collier *Hist.* v. 191—198.

[4] Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 30—39; 353—382. The reduction in the number of Hours goes along with the direction to omit Prime and Hours when a sermon was preached, which was given in the 36th of the Royal Injunctions of 1547: compare similar but fuller directions in the Royal Injunctions to Cathedrals issued in September, 1547 (Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 55, 56).

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further proposals as to the nature of the musical reform as he conceived it.[1] The whole appears to have come to nothing for the moment, though it to some extent foreshadows what was to come.

Edwardine Innovations

Edward VI. came to the throne on January 28th, 1547, and signs of change were soon evident. Liturgical innovations were carried forward, and Compline was sung in English in the Royal Chapel on April 11th, 1547[2]: there are some traces also of other experiments in English adaptations, not only of the Hours, but also of the Liturgy.[3]

Homilies and Injunctions.

In July, the First Book of Homilies was issued, and thus provision was made for a scriptural instruction of the people, that should be independent of the opinions of the parish priests; and a standard was set for the work of preaching, which, though under great restrictions, was being encouraged everywhere.[4] In the following month the Royal Injunctions were issued with the Articles of Enquiry for the Royal Visitation: both these plans were carried out by the Council acting for the Crown, and overriding episcopal authority. The Injunctions were based upon the Cromwellian Injunctions of 1536, but went much further. They demanded that, not only a Bible, but also a copy of the 'Paraphrasis of Erasmus also in English upon the Gospels' should be set up in the churches, and further that the clergy should possess these, study them, and be examined in them by the Bishops. Among the new provisions was an order for

[1] 'In some processions I have altered divers words, in some I have added part, in some taken part away: some I have left out whole either for by cause the matter appeared to me to be little to purpose or by cause the days be not with us festival days: and some processions I have added whole because I thought I had better matter for the purpose than was the procession in Latin.' See below, Additional Note, p. 42.

[2] Gasquet and Bishop, p. 58.

[3] See Additional Note, p. 42.

[4] See *Documentary Annals*, III. p. 32.

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the reading of one of the homilies every Sunday; and besides the old provision for one chapter of the New Testament to be read at Mattins, and at Evensong one chapter of the Old Testament[1] on every Sunday and Holy Day, the custom was now made general that the Epistle and Gospel at High Mass should be read in English. To make room for the chapter of Scripture a further change was directed 'that when nine lessons should be read in the Church, three of them shall be omitted and left out with their responds; and at Evensong time the responds with all the memories shall be left off for that purpose': and to make room for the sermon or homily it was ordered that 'the Prime and Hours shall be omitted.'[2] The English Litany was appointed to be said or sung by the priests and other of the choir kneeling in the midst of the Church immediately before High Mass, and this was to take the place of all the old processions. A new form of Bidding prayer was appended following upon the changes which Henry had already made in this form.[3] In the course of the Royal Visitation, further alterations were introduced, *e.g.* at Winchester Cathedral sequences were abolished: at Lincoln and York no anthems were to be allowed but those of our Lord, and they in English, set to a plain and distinct note, for every syllable one: and the public recitation of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin and of ferial Dirges was also abrogated.[4]

Action of Convocation and Parliament

These innovations were all made without reference to Parliament or Convocation: a second stage in the

[1] The former before *Te Deum*, the latter after *Magnificat*. See Royal Injunctions for Lincoln (1548) in *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, ii. 590.

[2] For the fullest directions see *Linc. Cath. Stat.* ii. 593. Cp. Blunt, 12.

[3] See the Injunctions, *Doc. Ann.* II. §§ 7, 20, 21, 23, 32, 36, and p. 21.

[4] See *Linc. Cath. Stat.* ii. 581, 592. Cp. *Doc. Ann.* XII. especially for vernacular explanations of the ceremonies to be interpolated at Mass.

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development began when these bodies met in the beginning of November, 1547. At the opening Mass on November 4, the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Credo* and *Agnus* were all sung in English,[1] and among the earliest business of Convocation was a petition to the upper house from the lower house 'that the work of the Bishops and others who have been occupied, in accordance with the command of Convocation, in examining, reforming and publishing the Divine Service, may be produced and submitted to the examination of this House.'[2] It does not seem to have led to any definite result, nor was Convocation more fortunate in the claim which it made to discuss and settle itself 'such matters as concerneth religion.' On the other hand, at the sixth session (December 2nd), the proposal for communion under both kinds was approved *nullo reclamante*, and already a bill was on its way through Parliament which included a provision to the same effect,[3] so that this change was brought about by consent of Church and State. After this, Parliament and Convocation were prorogued, and the innovations enter upon a third stage, when again they are controlled by secular authority.

concerning Divine Service

and Communion.

Early in 1548 (if not before the end of 1547) questions were submitted to the Bishops with a view to changes in the Liturgy: their answers show, among

The Order of Communion.

[1] Wriothesley, *Chronicle* (Camden Soc.), i. 187.

[2] So speaks the Latin official Record. A fuller account in a MS. of Cranmer has it thus: 'That whereas by the commandment of King Henry VIII. certain prelates and other learned men were appointed to alter the service in the Church and to devize other convenient and uniform order therein, who according to the same appointment did make certain books, as they be informed: their request is that the said books may be seen and perused by them for a better expedition of Divine Service to be set forth accordingly.' Wilk. IV. 15. Cardwell, *Synodalia*, 419. See for this Convocation Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 73–78, 449–451, and Strype's *Cranmer*, I. 155.

[3] Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, No. LXVII.

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other things, some hesitation as to the expediency of saying all the Mass in the vulgar tongue,[1] and this no doubt was not without its influence upon the next step taken in liturgical innovation. It was urgent that some provision should be made for the carrying out of the direction for communion in both kinds; the work was entrusted to 'sundry of his Majesty's most grave and well-learned prelates and other learned men in the scripture'[2] 'who, after long conference together with deliberate advice, finally agreed upon' a form; this was issued by Royal proclamation on March 8th, 1548, and further imposed by a letter from the Council to the Bishops dated five days later, and pointing to Eastertide as the time when *The Order of Communion* should come into use.[3]

This made no alteration in the Latin Mass except that the English devotions for communicants were inserted in the middle of the service, which in other respects (as was expressly stipulated) went on for the present as before. The English Order comprised the Invitation, longer and shorter Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words and Prayer of Humble Access in much their present form, together with words of administration for communion in both kinds, similar to the first half of the present words, and 'The Peace,' without the blessing annexed to it as at present.[4]

Its Reception.

The Bishops were ordered to direct their clergy to use 'such good, gentle, and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned parishioners, that there might be

[1] Burnet, v. 197 (Pt. II. bk. i. record xxv.), especially Quest. 9.

[2] The names are involved in the same uncertainty as besets the names of the compilers of the First Prayer Book. See below, p. 45.

[3] The Letter is in Wilk. iv. 31. *Doc. Ann.* xiv. The *Order* itself, Wilk. iv. 11. or in *Liturgies of K. Edward VI.* (Parker Soc.) pp. 1-8.

[4] See below, pp. 486, 487.

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one uniform manner quietly used in all parts of the realm.'[1] However, some of the Bishops were backward in directing the use of the new form; and many parish priests were so far from instructing their parishioners for their good satisfaction in the matter, that they laboured to excite them against it, and declared in their sermons that the real intention of the Government was to lay a tax of half-a-crown upon every marriage, christening, and burial.[2] Besides the opposition of the conservative section, the Council had to control the innovations of the reformers, who had already been warned 'not to bring in new and strange orders every one in their Church according to their fantasies,' but were in spite of this not by any means restrained.[3] To remedy these disorders, all preaching was forbidden by a proclamation[4] (April 24th), except under licence from the King, the Lord Protector, or the Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards was more strictly prohibited by another proclamation[5] (September 23rd), that the people might be 'the more ready with thankful obedience to receive a most quiet, godly, and uniform order to be had throughout the realm.'

Disaffection of the Clergy at it.

Preaching forbidden.

Meanwhile other changes had been made by the Council, which in January abolished the ceremonies of candles on Candlemas, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and

Further changes.

[1] *Doc. Ann.* XIV. For an account of the Latin translations of the 'Order of Communion,' and of the First Prayer Book, see p. 116.

[2] The people had this notion in Henry's time, when parish registers were ordered to be kept. This order was renewed in the Injunctions (1547).

[3] A Proclamation against them that do innovate: see *Doc. Ann.* VII. Compare the Proclamation prefixed to 'The Order of the Communion' (1548), showing that some enterprised to run before authority: and the Act of Uniformity (1549), stating that, besides the old *uses*, divers forms and fashions have of late been used in cathedral and parish-churches, concerning Mattins and Evensong, the Holy Communion, and the administration of other sacraments of the Church. Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 358.

[4] *Doc. Ann.* X*.

[5] *Ibid.* XIII.

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palms on Palm Sunday,[1] and in the following month first abrogated Holy bread, Holy water, and the service of Creeping to the Cross on Good Friday,[2] and then went a stage beyond the Royal Injunctions in abolishing not merely such images as had been abused, but 'all the images remaining in any Church or Chapel.'[3]

Abrogation of Ceremonies,

and Vernacular Services.

In May further experiments were made: 'Paul's choir and divers other parishes in London sung all the service in English, both Mattins, Mass, and Evensong, and kept no Mass without some received the communion with the priest'; and a little later 'on the 12th day of May King Henry VII.'s anniversary was kept at Westminster, the Mass sung all in English, with the Consecration of the Sacrament also spoken in English, the priest leaving out all the Canon after the Creed (? *Qui pridie*) save the Paternoster, and then ministering the Communion after the King's Book.'[4]

As time went on, these experimental forms of service were given a wider currency.[5] On the 4th of September, 1548, the Protector wrote to the Vice-Chancellor and heads of houses of the University of Cambridge to order that for the present 'you and every of you in your colleges, chapels, or other churches use one uniform order, rite, ceremonies in the Mass, Mattins, and Evensong, and all divine service in the same to be said or sung, such as is presently used in the King's Majesty's Chapel, and none other.'[6] The prescribed form accompanied the

[1] Wilk. IV. 22. *Doc. Ann.* VIII.

[2] *Doc. Ann.* VII.

[3] Wilk. IV. 22. *Doc. Ann.* IX.

[4] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II. 2. Cp. *Greyfriars Chronicle*, p. 55. The passage is not very clear.

[5] The Churchwardens' Accounts of S. Michael's, Cornhill, for 1548, contain the following entry: 'Paid to the Schoolmaster of Paul's for writing of the Mass in English and the Benedicites, V^{s}.' It is also noticeable that 'eight Sawtters in English' were bought. *Churchwardens' Accounts* (ed. Overall) pp. 67, 68.

[6] Quoted by Gasquet and Bishop, p. 147, from C.C.C.C. MS. 106, f. 495.

letter, but it does not appear to be now extant: but it is clear from the description that the Breviary Offices had been already reduced to two, and it seems probable that in other respects besides this the point occupied by the First Prayer Book as to these services had already been practically reached by way of experiment, and that little remained but to complete the work and present it for formal authorisation.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES

I. EDWARDIAN CHOIR BOOKS.

Edwardian Choir Books.

SOME traces of the forms of service employed in the King's Chapel and in other places by way of experiment may be found in some MS. choir books in the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library.

Important evidence of the spirit which guided the revision of the music is to be found in a letter sent from Cranmer to the King six[1] months after the publication of the Litany with its music, accompanying some drafts of further translations with music, of which unfortunately no trace can be found. The letter, however, strikes the keynote of such changes as are known to have been made. He writes :—

'I have translated into the English Tongue, so well as I could in so short time, certain processions to be used upon festival days.' Then, after describing the freedom which he has allowed himself as translator, to alter or add to the old rite, he proceeds :—'If your grace command some devout and solemn note to be made thereunto, (as is to the procession which your majesty has already set forth in English) I trust it will much excitate, and stir the hearts of all men unto devotion and godliness : But in mine opinion the song, that shall be made thereunto, would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note, so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly : as be in the Mattins and Evensong—*Venite*, the hymns, *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and all the psalms and versicles : and in the Mass—*Gloria in excelsis*, *Gloria patri*, the *Credo*, the Preface, the *Pater noster*, and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. As concerning the *Salve festa dies* the Latin note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough : Wherefore I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless they that be cunning in singing can make a much more solemn note thereto : I made them only for a proof to see how English would do in song. But, by cause mine English verses want the grace and facility that I could wish they had, your majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase. As for the sentence, I suppose will serve well enough.'[2]

The choir books which survive of the early years of Edward VI.

[1] Or eighteen, the date is uncertain. Oct. 7, 1544 or 1545.

[2] Cranmer, *Works*, II. 412; Collier, v. 206; printed in full from *State Papers*, I. ii, p. 760.

The Reformed Primers.

contain an adaptation of the old Plain-song of the mass to English words on the lines laid down above, as well as a number of settings for four or five voices, which are characterized in the main by a similar simplicity. They also show that several tentative translations were made and set to music before the version for use in the Prayer Book was settled. In the case of the canticles the versions of the Primers were used, as well as others which have not hitherto been traced to any printed source. There are also two Masses in English which have the Apostles' Creed instead of the Nicene Creed; this is probably due to the fact that translations of the former but not of the latter were already available in the Primers.[1]

II. THE REFORMED PRIMERS.

The Reformed Primers of Henry VIIIth's reign fall into three groups, the first connected with the name of William Marshall, the second with that of Bishop Hilsey, while the third consists of the King's Primers.[2] Besides reforming the old materials, they introduced a considerable amount of novelty. Thus Marshall's book[3] contains the offices for the hours of prayer: but a considerable portion of the volume is occupied with an exposition of Psalm li., and a harmony of the Gospel narrative of our Saviour's Passion. It has also a doctrinal instruction in the form of a dialogue between a father and his child. It contains the Dirge and Commendations: but with an admonition and warning prefixed against prayer for the dead, and an exposition of the meaning of the Psalms and Lessons read in that service. The book was denounced in Convocation[4] when it first appeared.

Hilsey's book[5] published in 1539 was intended to introduce as

[1] See *Journ. Theol. Stud.* I. 229 and ff.

[2] The grouping is only a rough one. The primer of 1540 printed by Grafton and Whitchurche in Latin and English, is drawn partly from Marshall and partly from Hilsey, and between 1536 and 1540 there were books which partly followed Marshall's and partly the old Sarum forms.

[3] The first known edition is that *circa* 1534. Its contents are given by Dr. Burton *Three Primers*, p. 31. A fuller edition was published in 1535. This has been reprinted by Dr. Burton, pp. 1—300. It is entitled 'A goodly Primer in English, newly corrected and printed, with certain godly Meditations and Prayers added to the same, very necessary and profitable for all them that right assuredly understand not the Latin and Greek Tongues. *Cum privilegio regali.*' Hoskins, p. 193.

[4] Wilkins, III. 769. Dixon, I. 140. The book, however, was extensively circulated (1534—1539), and was known to Cranmer, who transferred whole sentences from it into *The Institution of a Christian Man* (1537). Lathbury, *Hist. of Prayer-book*, p. 4.

[5] This was entitled 'The Manual of Prayers, or the Primer in English, set out at length, whose contents the Reader by the Prologue next after the Kalendar shall soon perceive,

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much doctrinal improvement as the King's Vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters could venture upon. It has 'the form of bidding of the beads, by the King's commandment,'[1] and 'the Abrogation of the Holy-days.' Many of the psalms, anthems, lessons, and hymns are changed for others of more plain sentence: also a great number of the saints invoked in the Litany are omitted, according to the Injunctions of 1536. Prayer for the dead is retained in the bidding the beads and in the *Dirige*; but the Lessons of this service are changed for others, declaring the miserable state of man's life, the condition of the dead, and the general resurrection. It contains 'an instruction of the manner of hearing of the mass,' opposing the doctrine of the sacramentaries. The book follows three main divisions—Faith, Prayer (the *Hours*, with the xv. Oes,[2] the vii. and xv. Psalms, and the Litany, &c.), and Works, concluding after passages of Scripture upon the relative duties, with an extract from 2 Pet ii., headed 'The bishop of Rome with his adherences, destroyers of all estates.' This with all preceding Primers was superseded in 1545 by 'The King's Primer'[3] and its Latin counterpart, the *Orarium*, of 1546.

This was much less pronounced, and contained, besides the Hours, the Penitential Psalms, the Litany, the Dirge and Commendations, and the Psalms and devotions of the Passion, only a short collection of Private Prayers.

and therein shall see briefly the order of the whole Book. Set forth by John, late Bishop of Rochester, at the commandment of the right honourable lord Thomas Crumwell, lord Privy Seal, Vicegerent to the King's Highness.' Burton, *Three Primers*, pp. 305—436. There was also an edition published in the same year in English and Latin. (Hoskins, *Primers*, No. 142 and p. 233.)

[1] This was carefully ordered by Henry, to omit all mention of the Pope, and to teach the people that the king was the supreme head immediately under God of the spiritualty and temporalty of the Church of England.

[2] These fifteen meditations on Christ's Passion, each beginning with 'O Jesu,' 'O blessed Jesu,' &c., composed and said daily by St. Bridget before the crucifix in St. Paul's church at Rome were a common feature in the older Primers (p. 19). Marshall rejected them as superstitious, and they were not placed in K. Henry's Primer (1545). Bishop Hilsey retained them in their usual place, before the vii. Psalms and the Litany, with an admonition prefixed: 'The xv. prayers following, called commonly the xv. Oes, are set forth in divers Latin primers, with goodly prynted prefaces, promising to the sayers thereof many things both foolish and false, as the deliverance of xv. souls out of purgatory, with other like vanities; yet are the prayers self right, good and virtuous, if they be said without any such superstitious trust or blind confidence.' Burton, *Three Primers*, p. 371. We find them again in the time of Q. Elizabeth: see *Private Prayers put forth in that Reign* (Parker Soc.), and Mr. Clay's note, p. 507.

[3] Burton, *Three Primers*, pp. 437—526, and see above, p. 33.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK.

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

THE definite history of the compilation of the First Prayer Book is wrapped in considerable obscurity. In the previous chapter an account has been given of various steps which led up to it, but when the attempt is made to ascertain accurately the names of those who compiled it and the history of their work, little evidence is forthcoming. The authors of the Order of Communion lie hidden behind the vague phrases of the Proclamation of March 8, 1547-8, under which it was issued. Other phrases similarly vague occur in connexion with the First Prayer Book in the Act of Uniformity which authorized it. There is no direct evidence of any formal commission issued for the purpose, and indirectly all the details that can be ascertained are the following. In September, 1548, a number of bishops and divines were assembled at Chertsey and also (probably during the King's stay on September 22 and 23) at Windsor, for the settlement of liturgical questions and 'a uniform order of prayer.'[1]

Its authors.

The names of these can only be ascertained by conjecture,[2] but since it is known that five bishops and four

[1] *Greyfriars Chronicle*, 56. *Journal of Edward VI.* in Burnet, v. 7 (Pt. II. i. p. 6.)

[2] No names are given by Cranmer in his letter to Queen Mary of September, 1555, (*Remains*, p. 450), nor

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divines took part at Chertsey in Ferrar's consecration to the see of S. David's on September 9, it is natural to suppose that they were of the number. They were the following: Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ridley of Rochester, Holbeach of Lincoln, Thirlby of Westminster, and Goodrich of Ely: Drs. May, Dean of St Paul's, Haynes, Dean of Exeter, Robertson, afterwards Dean of Durham, and Redman, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is noticeable as a piece of confirmatory evidence that at the service the consecration of the Eucharist, as well as the administration, was then performed in English.[1]

Forecasts of the Book.

Further signs of the work that was going on are traceable in the Protector's letter to the Vice-Chancellor &c. of Cambridge University dated September 4, wherein he orders the Colleges to follow the example of the royal chapel in divine worship 'until such time as an order be taken and prescribed by his Highness to be universally kept throughout the whole realm'[2]: and also in the 'Proclamation for the inhibition of all preachers,' issued on September 23, which speaks of his Highness' wish 'to see very shortly one uniform order throughout this his realm,' and of 'certain bishops and notable learned men' gathered together at this time for that very purpose by his Highness' commandment.[3] It is quite possible that others beside the above nine persons were concerned in the work. Fuller, in his Church History, adds the names

by Ridley in his demonstrative letter as to Hooper's attitude towards vestments. Bradford's *Works*, II. 387.

[1] The Acts of Consecration have been printed from Cranmer's Register, f. 327ᵛ, by Courayer, *Défense*, II. ii. Appendix, p. xxxvii.; and by Estcourt, *Anglican Ordinations*, Appendix, VIII.

[2] See above, p. 40.

[3] See the proclamation, *Doc. Ann.* XIII. and compare Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, ii. p. 6, and *Greyfriars Chronicle*, p. 56: both of these ascribe the proclamation to September 28, but the earlier date coincides with Edward's visit to Windsor, and his interview with the Divines there. This proclamation is more explicit than the earlier one of April 24, *Doc. Ann.* no. X.*

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of Bishops Skip of Hereford and Day of Chichester with Drs. Cox and Taylor, but evidence for these is not forthcoming.[1] It is clear however, that this body of divines, sometimes called the Windsor Commission, was a representative body drawn from both the conservative and the reforming side, and that, whatever other points of difference there may have been between them, they were at any rate all agreed in desiring a form of service in English which all could understand.[2]

The legislation.

No further light is cast upon the obscure workings of the divines till the meeting of Parliament, when the experimental stage was over and definite proposals were brought forward. It is clear that, in the meantime, the compilers of the Prayer Book had finished their work. The ecclesiastical business began on Saturday, December 15,

[1] Later writers, such as Burnet, give other lists which are less well attested. See for the whole question Gasquet and Bishop, chapter ix.

[2] Cranmer's letter to Queen Mary, September, 1555 (*Remains*, p. 450). 'But when a good number of the best learned men reputed within this realm some favouring the old, some the new learning as they term—where indeed that which they call the old is the new, and that which they call the new is indeed the old—but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts were gathered together at Windsor for the reformation of the service of the church, it was agreed by both, without controversy (not one saying contrary), that the service of the church ought to be in the mother tongue.' Compare Somerset's letter to Pole, enclosing a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, June 4, 1549. 'The conclusion, and that that ye make the extreme peril and danger, may peradventure be known to you at Rome, of a dissension amongst our bishops upon the chiefest points of religion. We here do know no such thing: but on the contrary, by a common agreement of all the chief learned men in the realm the thing of long time and maturely debated among them which had most opinion of learning in the Scriptures of God and were likeliest to give least to affection, as well bishops as other, equally and indifferently chosen of judgment, not coacted with superior authority, nor otherwise invited but of a common agreement among themselves—there was first agreement on points, and then the same coming to the judgment of the parliament, finally concluded and approved; and so a form and rite of service, a creed and doctrine of religion by that authority and after that sort allowed, set forth and established by act and statute, and so published and divulged to so great a quiet as ever was in England and as gladly received of all partes.' See *Troubles connected with B.C.P.* p. x. The Protector's opinion as to the unanimous acceptance of the First Prayer Book is, to say the least, an optimistic one. See below on this point, p. 54.

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The Debate on the Eucharist.

with a public three-days' debate in the House of Lords concerning the Eucharist,[1] founded upon a 'boke whiche was redde touching the doctrine of the Supper.' The Protector claimed this as representing the 'agreements' of the bishops except in so far as Day, Bishop of Chichester, had dissented upon three points. But Bishop Thirlby, of Westminster, tried to minimize the agreement of the bishops, and when challenged, began to explain away his own subscription to the book. There can be little doubt that the Protector was right, and that there had been a consultation of the bishops with a definite acceptance and subscription of a formal document.

It is evident from the Debate that the 'book' contained a summary of the doctrinal points involved,[2] not only with regard to the Eucharist, but also to Confirmation and perhaps other things, and that it contained the new 'Prayer of the Communion' in English, no doubt that which had been prepared for the First Prayer Book. It seems to have undergone some modification between the time, when the consultation of the bishops and its subscription by them took place, and the day when it was read in the House of Lords; at least Thirlby seems to suggest this;[3] but in any case it was confessedly incomplete and left other things 'to be treated on afterwarde.'

After this short sparring as to the nature of the agreement and subscription of the bishops, *i.e.* as to the amount of authority to be justly ascribed to the 'boke,'

[1] A full account of this from a contemporary MS. is printed as an appendix by Gasquet and Bishop, p. 395 ff. but not well handled by them in chap. xi. Mr. Tomlinson in his edition (*The Great Parliamentary Debate*) corrects some of their mistakes, but errs on the other side.

[2] It is called 'this book of the doctrine,' fol. 7a, (cp. 5a), quoted above: in both cases Gasquet and Bishop obscure this by inserting a comma.

[3] fo. 6b. 'Also there was in the booke: Oblation, whiche is lefte oute nowe.'

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the debate plunged into the general subject, and it was clear that some of the bishops, though they may have been willing, like Thirlby, to subscribe to 'the boke' when presented to them for the sake of 'unitie at home in this Realme,' yet were not at all satisfied by it, and in particular found its omissions hard to reconcile with the doctrine which they held. Further experience of it somewhat modified their attitude, and Gardiner, for example, afterwards admitted with regard to the First Prayer Book, that 'there was never more spoken for the Sacrament than in that book,' though 'he would not have made it after that form.'[1]

The Act of Uniformity.

On the day following the close of the Debate, 'the book for the Service in the Church' was read in the Commons, and from that time the first Act of Uniformity began to make its way through Parliament, and was finally carried through both Houses by January 21, 1549, a week before the end of the second year of Edward's reign.[2]

The Debate had revealed the cleavage of opinion among the bishops,[3] and the same is evident from the

[1] See the negotiations with him in 1551, printed in full by Foxe, VI. 114: cp. 169.

[2] Dixon, III. 1. The Act of Uniformity is in Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, No. LXIX. Some qualifications were appended to the Act for the benefit of scholars: that persons understanding Greek, Latin, Hebrew, or other strange tongue, might say privately the prayers of Mattins and Evensong in such tongue as they understood: and, for the further encouraging of learning in the tongues in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, that those Universities might use and exercise in their common and open prayer in their chapels, being no parish-churches, the Mattins, Evensong, Litany, and all other prayers (the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass, excepted) prescribed in the said book in Greek, Latin, or Hebrew. For such versions of the Prayer-Book see below, p. 116.

[3] Cp. *Traheron's Letter to Bullinger*, Dec. 31: 'Habita est Londini decimo nono Calendas Januarii, ni fallor, disputatio περὶ εὐχαριστίας in consessu omnium pene procerum totius Angliæ. Decertatum est acriter inter episcopos. Cantuariensis præter omnium exspectationem sententiam vestram de hoc negotio apertissime, constantissime doctissimeque defendit . . . Nunquam splendidiorem victoriam veritas apud nos reportavit.

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voting. Ten voted for the Bill and eight against it, while of the four proxies two must be reckoned in its favour, one against it, and one as neutral.[1]

Action of Convocation doubtful.

It is a disputed and doubtful question whether the Prayer Book was submitted to Convocation or not; the records of that body were burnt in the Great Fire of London, 1666, so the question cannot easily be settled; but it seems clear that no record bearing witness to such a course was known to those living at that date, such as Heylyn, the historian, who had every opportunity of knowing and every inducement to call attention to such a record if he knew of it.[2]

No official record extant.

On the other hand, it is also clear that the Convocation records of this reign were incomplete. Heylyn, the keeper of the archives, did not know of the records of the earlier Convocation of 1547, but they have now been found among the Parker papers.[3] It is therefore quite possible that the same was true of the records of the Convocation of 1548-49.

Other evidence.

For want of official records, recourse must be had to other sources. Certainly it seems very unlikely in view of the Debate in the House of Lords, and of the full discussion and vote of the bishops there, that the question came before them again in the Upper House of the two Convocations.

On the other hand, there is clear and distinct evidence that the Book had the approval of Convocation.

The King wrote to Bonner on July 23, 1549, asserting

Video plane actum de Lutheranismo, cum, qui prius habiti sunt summi ac pene soli illius fautores, nostri toti facti sunt.' *Orig. Lett.* CLII. (Parker Soc.) King Edward calls it in his journal, 'a notable disputation of the Sacrament in the Parliament-house.' Burnet, V. 7 (Pt. II. i. 6.)

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 170—172.

[2] Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 150, 151.

[3] At Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. See Gasquet and Bishop, Appendix VII.

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that the Book is 'set forth not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of the late Parliament but also by the like assent of the bishops in the same Parliament and of all other the learned men of this realm in their synods and convocations provincial.'[1]

In a further letter to the Lady Mary he speaks of 'one full and whole consent both of our clergy in their several synods and convocations, and also of the noblemen and commons in the late session of our parliament.'[2]

It's value.

It is hardly possible to have better evidence than two such letters as these written by the King, and to persons who had every opportunity of denying the accuracy of the statement if it could be denied.[3] Such further evidence as is forthcoming adds nothing to the strength of these.[4] It is true that the Edwardian Government was not scrupulous of the rights of the Church, and further was not over scrupulous of truth in defending its own policy; but the former objection cannot be raised as against a definite statement that the Convocations were consulted, nor the latter against letters written, not to bodies of disaffected subjects or others who could be deceived, but to the Princess Mary, who was very closely concerned, and to Bishop Bonner, who was a leading actor in the whole

[1] Foxe v. 726. Compare the Draft of the King's Memorial to the Sheriffs, which speaks of it as 'th' act of all our hole realm, and the common agreement of both our spiritualtie and temporaltie there gathered together.' *Troubles*, &c. p. 5. Compare p. 127. Compare also the King's Message to the Devonshire Rebels. Foxe, v. 734.

[2] *State Papers, Dom. Edw. VI.* vol. VIII. p. 51, quoted in full in Dixon, III. 148.

[3] The Princess was inclined to raise objections to the book, as having merely parliamentary authority, but was told in reply that the law was 'by long study, free disputation and uniform determination of the whole clergy consulted, debated and concluded.' Foxe, VI. 8.

[4] For example, Udall's *Answer to the Commoners of Devonshire and Cornwall*, in *Troubles*, &c. pp. 169, 171, or Cheke's reply to them, quoted in Gasquet and Bishop, p. 155.

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Conclusion.

concern. The most natural conclusion is that the letter to Bonner was strictly accurate in its phrases, that is, that the Prayer Book was held to have the assent of the bishops by their votes in the House of Lords, and was further submitted to the Lower Houses of Convocation, and won the assent of the clergy generally through their representatives there. Such a course of proceeding was not without precedent, for it was that adopted in the Convocation of 1547 in the parallel matter of Communion in both kinds,[1] and possibly also with regard to clerical marriage.

Objects of the reform.

The objects of the compilers of this first English Book of Common Prayer are stated in 'the Preface':—that 'all the whole realm should have but one Use in Divine Service; that the rubrical directions, "the number and hardness of the rules called the Pie[2] and the manifold changings of the service," should be simplified; that the Psalms should be all repeated in their order, instead of a few being 'daily said, and the rest utterly omitted'; that the Lessons should include "the whole Bible, or the greatest part thereof," in a continuous course, and the reading of the chapters should not be interrupted by "Anthems, Responds, and Invitatories"; that nothing should be read but "the very pure Word of God, the holy Scriptures, or that which is evidently grounded upon the same"; and that all should be "in the English tongue."

Wherein differing from the present Prayer Book.

The principal differences between the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. and that now in use are as follows:—*Mattins* and *Evensong* began with the Lord's Prayer, and ended with the third Collect: the *Litany* was placed after the Communion Office; in some early editions it was added as a separate sheet at the end of the volume; and the rubric after the Communion Office which directs

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, 73 ff.

[2] See p. 257.

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its use was quite general, and referred both for the form and use of the Litany to Royal Injunctions; the address to the Blessed Virgin Mary, which had been retained in Henry's Litany, was omitted, together with the similar invocations of the angels and patriarchs. The *Communion Service* began with an Introit, not in the old form, but in the form of a Psalm sung as the celebrant was proceeding to the altar; the Commandments were not read, but the nine Kyries were sung unbroken; the prayers differed from our present form, but chiefly in their arrangement; the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary was especially mentioned in the praise offered for the saints; explicit prayer for the dead was retained; the long Canon or central prayer comprised all that subsequently was divided to form three prayers—the Church Militant prayer, the Consecration prayer, and the prayer of oblation: and in it the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, with the sign of the cross twice made over the elements, preceded the recital of the Institution of the Sacrament: at the Offertory water was mixed with the wine; the words used in communicating the people were those, adapted from the ancient words, which form the first clause of those now used. The sign of the cross was retained, not only twice, in the consecration prayer and (not in its present position) in Baptism, but also in Confirmation, in the Blessings at Matrimony, and in the Visitation of the Sick if the sick person desired to be anointed: a form of exorcism, and anointing, and the trine immersion were still used in *Baptism*; the water in the font was ordered to be changed, and consecrated, once a month at least: in the *Burial Service* explicit prayer was offered for the deceased person; and an Introit, Collect, Epistle and Gospel were appointed for a Communion at a Burial. The Ordinal was not yet annexed to the book.

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General principles.

The First reformed Prayer Book, though bearing some traces of foreign influence, was, in fact, a revision of the old Service-books of the English Church. Simplicity was gained by the omission of numberless ancient features of the mediæval offices; the doctrinal reform necessitated the removal, not simply of objectionable features in the old services which were few, but still more of innocent things,[1] which were misunderstood and perverted to support the false conceptions which were current, such as the theory of transubstantiation, and other still more gross popular misconceptions of Eucharistic doctrine. In this process many a rite, such as the Communion Office or the Office of Baptism, was very much changed, and many a beautiful and valuable feature was sacrificed. But the First English Book of Common Prayer was formed, not by a composition of new materials, but by a reverent, and on the whole conservative, handling of the earlier services, of which large portions were simply translated and retained.[2]

Acceptance of the Book.

A book which thus combined old and new might hope to meet with general acceptance, both from the Conservatives and Reformers, both from the Old and New Learning, though without satisfying the more pronounced section of either party: but, at the same time, it could hardly expect to be so fortunate as not to meet with some violent opposition. The Act of Uniformity itself contemplated this; and, indeed, the whole expedient

[1] The Canon of the Mass is a case in point: nothing was more bitterly attacked by the Reformers, and a new Canon was written to take its place in the Prayer Book: but in fact, though the old Canon is obscure and unsatisfactory as compared with Greek liturgies, it cannot be said to encourage false doctrine, but rather to be an argument against transubstantiation. See the Archbishops' letter *Sæpius officio* (1897), p. 17, and below, pp. 446 and ff.

[2] So the Message to the Devonshire rebels states:—'It seemeth to you a new service, and indeed is none other but the old; the self-same words in English, which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out . . .' Foxe, v. p. 734.

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now for the first time adopted, of enforcing a Service-book by a penal statute speaks eloquently in the same sense.

Eagerness of one party.

The party who welcomed the change were anxious to make it at the earliest opportunity. The date fixed by the Act was June 9, Whitsunday, or, if the book might be had earlier, then three weeks after a copy had been procured. But as early as the beginning of Lent 'Poules choir, with divers parishes in London and other places in England begane the use after the said booke.'[1] This example must have been widely followed, for at least four editions were published before Whitsunday, two of them early in March and two of them in May, and in several cases there must have been more than one impression of the same edition.[2]

Opposition of the other.

Nor were the Conservative party slow in making their disapproval felt; and under the miserable government of the Protector and Council, there was a fire of discontent smouldering up and down the country, which hardly needed such a cause as this to cause it to break out into flame.

Risings, especially in the West.

The month of June saw the Government set in great danger from insurrections all around, and forced to secure its safety by foreign mercenaries. But in most of these risings the question of religion played little or no part: they were agrarian and social in their origin, and generally did not even annex to themselves the *odium theologicum*.[3] It was far otherwise, however, with the most conspicuous of them all, the rising in the West, which began with the religious grievances, and, though not uninfluenced by other considerations, remained in

[1] Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, II. 9. Ash-Wednesday was March 6, but the earliest dated copies extant are those of March 7. Parker, *Introduction to the Revision*, xxiii.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv.-xxvii.

[3] The Rebellion in Norfolk was however full of reformation zeal.

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the clearest way a revolt against the new changes in religion. It began upon Whit-Monday, June 10, and in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Government, spurred by fears of a French invasion, it was not subdued until after two months had passed.[1] The insurgents formulated their complaints in several sets of Articles:[2] they demanded the observance of the General Councils, the revival of Henry's Law of the Six Articles, the restoration of the Mass in Latin without any to communicate, and of the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament: Communion in one kind, and only at Easter: greater facilities for Baptism: the restoration of the old ceremonies—Holy-bread and Holy-water, Images, Palms, and Ashes. 'We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game; but we will have our old service of Mattins, Mass, Evensong and procession in Latin, not in English.' They demanded the restoration of the custom of praying by name for the souls in purgatory, and the recall of the English Bible as tending to encourage heresy: they proposed that impropriators should have to give up half the abbey lands and chantry lands in their possession for the foundation of new religious houses.

Demands of the insurgents.

Replies,

These demands were certainly thorough, and they were backed by a sturdy force of arms: it was easy to send a reply to the Articles in gentle tones, as was the King's answer,[3] or contemptuous and menacing, as was that of the Archbishop,[4] but not so easy to quell the

[1] For the history, see Dixon, III. 43 and ff.

[2] See Fifteen articles in Strype's *Cranmer*, Appendix XL. or *Troubles, &c.*, p. 145 and ff. Also a set of Nine articles printed from *Holinshed*, p. 1009, in Dixon III. 57n, and in Foxe, V. 731. The latter differ from those summarised in the text above, *e.g.* in dealing with Confirmation, The Celibacy of the Clergy, and Eucharistic doctrine.

[3] Foxe, V. 732.

[4] *Works*, *Miscellaneous* (Parker Soc.) pp. 163 and ff. or in Strype's *Cranmer*, Appendix, XL.

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rebellion, or reduce the West country to quietness. Yet the character of the Articles shows how the whole movement was due to the stiffest conservatism of men who did not wish even their least justifiable usages to be disturbed.

and a counter-reply.

Before the suppression of the revolt, an answer was given to the King's reply which suggests that as the movement proceeded it came into the hands of wiser men, for the questions were handled with far greater power and skill. Some of their points scarcely admitted of denial or refutation, as, for example, when they speak of the King's reply as not being his own, but written for him by those who had long abused his name for the ruin of the country and the oppression of the poor. Again, when they assert that their governors had passed all limits, performing duties reserved to bishops, they accurately describe the course of ecclesiastical affairs as regulated by a despotic Privy Council, from which for the time all bishops but Cranmer had disappeared. Again, in urging the doctrine of the Real Presence, and claiming that great doctrinal matters can only be settled by the consent of the whole of Christendom, they were taking up very solid ground.[1]

By the end of August the rising was suppressed, and it only remained for Lord Russell and his foreign mercenaries to stamp out all the traces of it, to distribute rewards, pardons, punishments, and, by the special direction of the Council, to pull down the bells out of the steeples in Devonshire and Cornwall, leaving only one, 'the least of the ryng that now is in the same,' to prevent their being used again in the cause of sedition.[2]

[1] See the analysis which Pocock gives of their answer (known only through a French translation) in *Troubles, &c.*, p. xviii.

[2] *Troubles, &c.*, p. 73.

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This incident, marred though it was by the touch of sordid meanness which everywhere disfigured the Council's tyrannical rule, acted, no doubt, as a clear object-lesson to the rest of England. But, nevertheless, it was necessary to take elaborate steps to enforce the adoption of the new book.

Enforcement of the Act of Uniformity.

Public disputations were held both at Oxford and Cambridge, where the Universities were already undergoing the troubles and indignities of a Royal Visitation, with a view to popularising the doctrines of the New Learning. The Princess Mary was attacked, and long negotiations followed in a futile attempt to force her to accept the Prayer Book and give up her Latin Mass. Ultimately she was allowed a dispensation for herself and her chaplains to keep to the Latin Mass in private.[1]

The Lady Mary.

St. Paul's Cathedral.

The divided sympathies of the country were graphically mirrored at S. Paul's, where the Dean (May) was eager in favour of the reforms, and the Bishop (Bonner) was steadfast against them ; and, consequently, innovations were rapidly made, but old customs lingered on longer than the reform-party approved. The Bishop seldom or never performed the new service in the Cathedral, and countenanced the retention of the old Votive Masses —*e.g.* the Apostles' Mass and Our Lady's Mass —in the chapels, and not in the quire, under the form of the Apostles' Communion and Our Lady's Communion.[2] To counteract this bad example, the Archbishop made a point of going to the Cathedral to officiate, and the Council ordered the suppression of the several Masses in the chapels, and confined the Communion to the high

[1] Dixon, *History*, III. 148.

[2] Votive Masses were additional masses said not in connexion with the ordinary liturgical course, but in commemoration of some particular saint or mystery as here, or in view of some special intention, *e.g.* against plague or on behalf of the dead. *Sarum Missal* (Burntisland) p. 735* and ff.

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altar. These were only the beginnings of Bonner's troubles, for, after a further rebuke from the Council, he was required first to celebrate in the Cathedral and then later to preach; and after his sermon he was formally denounced, tried by a special Commission, imprisoned in the Marshalsea, and finally deprived on October 1.[1]

Royal Visitation.

Meanwhile other events, designed to enforce the new book, were, in fact, showing how unstable it was as a basis for a new and lasting *régime*. A new Royal Visitation was projected, with a draft series of Articles, which went far beyond the earlier Visitation of 1547. It appears to have been designed to enforce the Prayer Book, to suppress sundry ceremonies which had escaped the ravages of previous Visitations, and to prevent the perpetuation of others in connexion with the new English Mass; but, in fact, the Visitation Articles went beyond, and were in some cases contrary to, the provisions of the Service-book. They expressly forbade some things which the book had only omitted, such as the altar lights, and the shifting of the book from one place to another:[2] but they also attacked 'oil, chrism and altars,' which the book had retained; and, with an echo of the Council's letter to Bonner, but with greater stringency than was there shown, forbade more than one Communion upon any day except Christmas Day and

[1] Dixon, III. 128. Gasquet and Bishop, 240 and ff.

[2] Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* XV. § 2. 'Item, For an uniformity, that no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, as to kiss the Lord's table; washing his fingers at every time in the Communion; blessing his eyes with the paten, or sudary; or crossing his head with the paten; shifting of the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the chalice of the Communion; holding up his fingers, hands, or thumbs, joined towards his temples; breathing upon the bread or chalice; showing the sacrament openly before the distribution of the Communion; ringing of sacrying bells; or setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time; and finally to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the king's book of common prayers, or kneeling, otherwise than is in the said book.'

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Easter Day, when provision was made for two in the book.

It is uncertain how far the Visitation ever took place; the Articles are now only known from a draft copy, and that is not now extant; but they must have been known at the time, since Ridley and Hooper based upon them their Visitation Articles of 1550.[1]

It might naturally be expected that some who clung to the old forms would watch for some turn of affairs in the political world which should restore the old books of service to their place in the churches. The fall of the Duke of Somerset was thought to be such an event;[2] and upon his being sent to the Tower in the autumn of this year (1549), it was rumored that the Latin service and the old ceremonies would be restored, 'as though the setting forth of the Book of Common Prayer had been the only act of the said Duke.' Therefore, to prevent the possibility of a return to the old service, a King's Letter[3] was issued (December 25), to call in, and burn, or deface and destroy, all the old church-books,[4] 'the keping wherof shold be a let to the usage of the said Boke of Commenne Prayers.' This Order of Council was afterwards confirmed and extended by an Act of Parliament,[5] to call in the books, and to take away images out of the churches.

The Act for the Ordinal.

By another Act of this Parliament[6] (January 31, 1550), the King was empowered to appoint six prelates and six other men of this realm, learned in God's law, to

[1] Ridley's Articles and Injunctions are in *Doc. Ann.* XXI. or his *Works*, p. 319. Hooper's in his *Later Writings*, p. 118 and ff.

[2] Hooper's *Letter to Bullinger*, Dec. 27, 1549: 'Magnus ceperat nos timor, magnus metus mentes piorum invaserat, qualem successum Christi religio adhuc herbescens in Anglia esset acceptura post lapsum ducis Somersetiæ. . . .' *Original Letters*, XXXVI.

[3] *Doc. Annals*, XX.

[4] See the list quoted above, p. 23.

[5] Statute 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10. See Dixon, III. 160.

[6] Statute 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 12.

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complete the liturgical reform by the preparation of a new Ordinal; and whatever should be 'devised for that purpose by the most number of them, and set forth under the Great Seal of England before the 1st day of April, should be lawfully exercised and used, and none other.'

The Bill was carried only after some opposition, nine bishops voting in its favour and five against it. On February 2 an order of the Council was made appointing the commissioners, but there is no list of names recorded in the Council Book.[1] It seems probable that the work of preparation was already done: it is even possible that the new form had been experimentally used at an ordination held by Cranmer and Ridley at S. Paul's before the end of 1549.[2] In any case, within a week of the appointment complaint was made at the Council Board (February 8) that Heath, Bishop of Worcester, 'wolde not assent to the boke made by the reste of the bishops and clergy.' At the end of the month he was still obdurate, and on March 4 he was sent to prison by the Council. He persisted in his refusal for eighteen months, and was finally deprived of his see on October 10, 1551.[3] At the beginning of March the book appeared,[4] and, in spite of some criticisms, was generally accepted.[5]

The preparation of the Book.

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, II. 379; or *Troubles, &c.* p. 137.

[2] Strype's *Cranmer*, 191 [Bk. II. cap. XI.].

[3] Dixon, III. 322; *Acts*, u. s., II. 388, 403, 405.

[4] '*The form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons*,' 1549, (=1550); reprinted in *Liturgies and Documents of the Reign of Edward VI.* (Parker Soc.).

[5] As early as March 5 Hooper, in a sermon in London, complained of the form of the Oath of Supremacy as especially objectionable: 'So help me God, all Saints, and the holy Evangelist.' (Hooper's *Early Works*, p. 479; cp. *Orig. Letters*, p. 81.) This was altered upon his arguments, and all mention of swearing by the saints was struck out by the King's own hand, July 20, when Hooper accepted the bishopric of Gloucester, and took the oath as amended. *Orig. Lett.* CCLXIII. (Aug. 28). *Micronius*

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

Its character.

It represented a great change from the old services of the Pontifical. The Act provided for a 'form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and other ministers of the Church'; but the book made no provision for the 'other ministers,' and thus at one blow the English Church gave up the subdiaconate as well as the minor orders, and restricted itself to the three orders which have survived of those mentioned in the Bible.

The simplification of the old rite was somewhat ruthlessly carried out, and little of the old was retained. Considerable use was made of a scheme of Bucer,[1] but his doctrinal innovations were rejected. The Ordinal[2] was not annexed to the Prayer Book for the present, but continued a separate book until, after a further reduction of its ceremonial, it was annexed to the Second Prayer Book.

The Prayer-Book in Ireland.

The Church of Ireland, which as yet had no Convocation, followed in ecclesiastical reforms the orders which were sent across from England. Edward's Act of Parliament,[3] which commanded the Communion to be given 'under both the kinds,' applied to 'the people within the Church of England and Ireland'; and the Proclamation prefixed to 'The Order of the Communion' (1548) made no distinction between the two countries. Only one attempt was made to urge the

to Bullinger. Hooper's own account of the matter is given in a *Letter to Bullinger* (June 29), *Orig. Lett.* XXXIX.

[1] *De ordinatione legitima* in his *Scripta Angl.* pp. 238—259. This must have been written in 1549, though not published till 1577.

[2] It was accepted by such a shrewd contemporary observer as Daniele Barbaro, the Venetian Envoy, as being the equivalent of the old. In his full and interesting description of the First Prayer Book and of the Ordinal he speaks of the latter as 'containing the form of conferring Holy Orders; nor do they differ (he adds) from those of the Roman Catholic religion, save that in England they take an oath to renounce the doctrine and authority of the Pope.' *State Papers, Venetian*, V. 347—353.

[3] See above p. 37.

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

Order upon the people, and this caused such an outburst of feeling against the perpetrator of it—Staples, Bishop of Meath—that both he and others thereafter took refuge in silence.[1]

It was not until February 6, 1551, that a Royal letter was sent to the Viceroy to recount how the King has 'caused the Liturgy and prayers of the Church to be translated into our mother tongue of this realm of England,'[2] and to express the Royal pleasure that Ireland should have the same benefit. On receipt of it, Sir Anthony St. Leger summoned an ecclesiastical assembly of the bishops and clergy of the various provinces, to whom he submitted the order. It was violently resisted by the Primate Dowdal, Archbishop of Armagh, and, after an altercation, he left the assembly, followed by the greater part of the bishops. Only Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, remained with Staples and three others, who made a most servile submission to the Royal command, and the Prayer Book was first used in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, on Easter Sunday (March 29, 1551).[3] Its progress was very slow. In the greater part of the country English was a tongue less understood than Latin. The larger body of bishops—with the exception of Dowdal, who fled the country—though they made no resistance, were both unwilling and incapable. A year later the Lord Deputy found great negligence, and the old ceremonies yet remaining in many places; and this experience of his probably refers only to the small anglicised portion of Ireland.[4] The

[1] Dixon, III. 404.

[2] The letter is quoted in full in Dixon, III. 413, from *Harl. Misc.* V. 563.

[3] Stephens, *MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland* (Eccl. Hist. Soc.), Introd. pp. iii. and ff. The title of the Book, which was printed at Dublin, 1551, is, '*The Boke of the common praier and administracion of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche: after the use of the Churche of England.*' Ibid. p. v.

[4] Dixon, III. 422.

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

book was published for Ireland in the same year, and remained in use till the end of the reign, for no authorisation was ever given to the Second Prayer Book in Ireland, though no doubt it was used in English circles there.[1] The Book was unpopular everywhere; and though the conservative priests, as in England, made the best of it for the moment by retaining the old ceremonial, they made no delay to restore the Latin Mass on the first news of the death of Edward.[2]

[1] Bp. Bale insisted on its use when he was consecrated by Abp. Browne, but was unable to secure its use in his diocese. Dixon, III. 498.

[2] 'The Communion was altogether like a popish Mass, with the old apish tricks of Antichrist, bowings and beckings, kneelings and knockings.' This is Bp. Bale's account from his scurrilous description of his brief experiences in Ireland, *The Vocation of John Bale to the Bishopric of Ossory*: quoted in Dixon, III. 497 and ff.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER NOTED.

The Book of Common Prayer Noted.

THE old Latin Services were each provided with their music, and the musical Service-books were just as much authoritative as the rest. When the First Prayer Book was published, the want of a similar musical counterpart soon would be felt.[1] This was never officially satisfied: strong official opinions were expressed condemnatory of all music but the plainsong,[2] and Cranmer, at least, desired a great simplification of the traditional melodies so that there should be one note only to a syllable. The tentative efforts made previously to the Prayer Book proceeded as we have seen[3] upon that principle, but a more public and permanent result was achieved by the publication in 1550 of *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, containing a full, though simple, musical directory for the Prayer Book upon the lines of the old Church music which had for a thousand years been in use[4]—that is to say, for Mattins, Evensong, Communion Service, and Burial of the Dead, with a special Mass for the funeral.[5]

At the end appeared the name 'John Merbecke,' which recalled how, in 1543, in the Royal Chapel of Windsor itself, four singing men had been condemned for heresy under the Act of the Six Articles, and three had actually been burnt in front of the castle; while the fourth, whose worst offence seems to have been the construction of a concordance to the Bible in English, was pardoned, and survived to carry out this musical reform.[6]

[1] As in the case of the Litany of 1544. See above, p. 32.

[2] 'Itaque vibratam illam et operosam musicam quæ figurata dicitur auferri placet, quæ sic in multitudinis auribus tumultuatur ut sæpe linguam non possit ipsam loquentium intelligere.' *Reformatio Legum. De div. off.* cap. v.

[3] See above, p. 35.

[4] Preface. 'In this booke is conteyned so muche of the Order of Common Prayer as is to be song in Churches.' See Grafton's original issue, or Whittingham's reprint for Pickering (1844). It did not contain the Litany, nor any direction for reading the lessons, although even to the end of the reign it was said that 'In Cathedrall Churches they utter their lessons in plaine songe.' *Brief discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort* (Reprint of 1846), p. xxix.

[5] As this does not include *Gloria in excelsis*, it is evident that it was not contemplated that this would be included in a Funeral Celebration; the rubric allowed such omission on weekdays.

[6] Foxe, v. 464. Dixon, II. 328.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK.

Revision.

NO sooner had the First Prayer Book appeared, backed by the first attempt to enforce Uniformity by Act of Parliament, than it became a bone of contention.

The failure of Uniformity.

The conservatives disliked it for its innovations and its abrogation of the old services, the reformers because it retained too much of the old and did not go far enough in innovation. For the moment, both parties were content to use it, but in doing so they put very different constructions on it. The Catholic-minded, with the Bishops of the Old Learning at their head and the precedent of the Order of Communion at their back, maintained with the new Rite as much as was compatible of the old doctrine and ceremonial.[1] There was nothing to prevent their doing so,[2] and in the absence of rubrics directing otherwise they were perfectly within their rights. The party of reform led by the reforming

[1] In October, 1550, it was reported to the Council of the service in S. Paul's, 'that it was used as the very Mass.' Council Book, Strype, *Memorials*, II. i. 237. Bucer made similar complaints; Gorham, *Ref. Glean*, p. 201. Strype, *Mem.* II. ii. NN.

[2] Indeed, the book could not be used except by applying to it a knowledge of the method of performing the Latin Service. It was assumed that the Priest would know, for example, (i) the old rules for the endings of the Collects, (ii) the old preface for Trinity Sunday and its variations from other prefaces (see below, p. 490), (iii) the rules for the saying or not saying of *Gloria in excelsis* (see above, p. 65 *n.*).

Revision.

bishops, according to the shade of the colour of their opinions, either welcomed the simplicity of ceremonial, resigning with relief the old elaborateness, or else outran the new movement itself, by declaiming against such decency and order as was still prescribed, or even by refusing conformity to it.

Thus it is one of the grim sarcasms of history that the first Act of Uniformity should have divided the Church of England into the two parties, which have ever since contended within her on ceremonial and doctrinal matters. From the first, little is heard of the former body: the blind though dogged conservatives had little chance of making any pause in such a whirl of change, and the voices even of the central body of Catholic-minded bishops and clergy, who were willing enough for reform but did not want a revolution,[1] were soon drowned in the clamour of extreme men goaded on by the extravagance of foreign divines and the shamelessness of rapacious politicians. Iconoclasm had only whetted its thirst by a

[1] The sense in which they were willing to accept the Prayer Book may be gathered from Gardiner's allusions to it in his controversy with Cranmer. For example: It teaches 'the most true and catholic doctrine of the substance of the Sacrament', that 'we receive in the Sacrament the Body of Christ with our mouth' (Cranmer's *Works* on the Lord's Supper, I. 55). He willingly argues that 'When the Church by the minister and with the minister prayeth that the creatures of bread and wine set on the altar (as the Book of Common Prayer in this realm hath ordered), may be unto us the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, we require then the celebration of the same supper which Christ made to His Apostles for to be the continual memory of His death with all fruit and effect, such as the same had in the first institution' (*Ibid.* 83, cp. 79). He approves the book on the point 'that it is very profitable at that time when the memory of Christ's death is solemnized to remember with prayer all estates of the Church (*Ibid.* 84). In conclusion, he declares that 'the effect of all celestial or worldly gifts to be obtained of God in the celebration of Christ's Holy Supper when we call it the Communion, is now prayed for to be present, and with God's favour shall be obtained if we devoutly, reverently, and charitably and quietly use and frequent the same without other innovations than the order of the book prescribeth' (*Ibid.*), and that 'the true faith of the holy mystery . . . in the Book of Common Prayer is well termed, not distant from the Catholic faith in my judgment' (*Ibid.* 92).

Revision.

Destruction of altars.

breaking down of images, and proceeded to the destruction of the altars in defiance of the Prayer Book, but under the direction of such men as Ridley, the new Bishop of London who, by a miserable alienation of the Church's property, had acquired the place of the deposed Bonner (April, 1550).[1]

The extreme men attempted in every way to prevent the moderates from interpreting the doctrine and arranging the ceremonial of the Prayer Book in accordance with Catholic precedent, and even the ceremonies expressly retained were openly denounced, both by English and foreign Reformers.[2] Their attempt might have been tolerable from men who themselves were loyal to the existing order, even though they viewed it with a sour and narrow prejudice; but their further proceedings disqualified them from being in any sense fair exponents of the new order; and the whole course of events showed

Dissatisfaction of the Reform party.

[1] Dixon, III. 197.

[2] See Hooper's letter to Bullinger, Dec. 27, 1549, rejoicing over the destruction of the altars, but complaining that 'the public celebration of the Lord's Supper is very far from the Order and Institution of our Lord': complaining also of the repeated celebrations, the vestments and candles, and that 'the mass priests, although they are compelled to discontinue the use of the Latin language, yet most carefully observe the same tone and manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed in the papacy.' *Orig. Letters*, p. 72.

Three months later, Hooper spoke of the Prayer Book as 'very defective and of doubtful construction, and, in some respects, indeed, manifestly impious.' *Ibid.* p. 79.

Calvin wrote a long letter to the Protector on October 22, 1549 (not 1548), urged a more drastic Reformation, and objected especially to the prayer for the dead in the Communion Service, the chrysom and the unction. Next he exhorted Bucer, who was now in England to urge the Protector also 'that rites which savour at all of superstition be utterly abolished.' Gorham, *Ref. Glean.* pp. 66, 115.

Bucer, in his *Censura* (1551), complained, echoing the Injunctions (see them above, p. 59): 'Sunt qui quibuscunque possunt signis nunquam satis execratam missam suam repræsentare student; et vestibus, luminaribus et inclinationibus, crucibus, abluendo calicem, aliisque missalibus gestibus, halitu supra panem et calicem Eucharistiæ, transferendo librum in mensa de dextra ad sinistram mensæ partem, mensam in eodem ponendo loco quo stabat altare, ostendendo panem et calicem Eucharistiæ, adorantibus illa vetulis aliisque superstitiosis hominibus, qui sacramentis tamen non communicant.' *Scripta Anglicana* (Basel, 1577) pp. 493, 494. Cp. pp. 465, 472.

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that they were embarked on a far more headlong career of innovation than at first was realized. The destruction of the altars was one clear indication that there was to be no finality in the position created by the Prayer Book. Ridley, who with Hooper[1] was prime mover in the destruction of the altars of Baal,[2] attempted to reconcile his action with the provisions of the Prayer Book, but in fact it was a high-handed and illegal proceeding, though accomplished under cover of an official Visitation of his Cathedral and Diocese, and backed by the civil power.[3] Notwithstanding these efforts, many altars remained with their rich hangings and jewels, and gold and silver plate; and we can hardly think otherwise than that some courtiers desired their destruction because they hoped to enrich themselves by the plunder of such valuable furniture,[4] which would not be wanted for 'an honest table.' Hence an order was issued (Nov. 4, 1550) for the entire removal of the altars, and arguments were prepared, and sent with the Council's letter,[5] to the bishops, to reconcile the parishioners to the loss of the ornaments of their churches.[6] The change, however, involved rubrical difficulties: the people had been accustomed to kneel before the altar at the time of Communion; but what should be their posture before or around a table? The

Their lawless action.

[1] See his Sermon IV upon Jonas. *Early Writings*, p. 488.

[2] *Orig. Letters*, p. 79.

[3] King Edward's Journal (in Burnet, *Hist.*). 'June 23, Sir John Gates, Sheriff of Essex, went down with letters to see the Bishop of London's injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses.' See *Greyfriars Chron.* p. 67–69, Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii. 47, for details of the changes at S. Paul's in 1550 and 1551.

[4] *Instructions for the Survey of Church-goods in Northamptonshire*, 1552. '. . . . in many places great quantity of the said plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments be embezzled by certain private men.' Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* XXVII.

[5] *Doc. Ann.* XXIV. cp. Gorham, p. 213.

[6] For the course of the Altar war, see Dixon, III. 199 and ff.

Revision.

priest also had been directed to stand before the middle of the altar fixed at the east end of the choir; but where should he stand to minister at a movable table placed for the Communion in the middle or at the western entrance of the chancel, or even in the nave of the church? All this pointed to the need of further change.

Disputes about vestments

With the same tendency, a great discussion was going on about ecclesiastical vestments. Everything which had been used under the old *régime* was unclean in the eyes of the more ardent reformers, who had foreign ideals before them and communicated with Switzerland rather than with Germany. Great attacks had been made upon the vestments, which had been retained, as well as upon the ceremonies. This matter was brought to a head by the appointment of Hooper, against his will, to the bishopric of Gloucester. He had for some time been conspicuous as a leader in the attack on the Prayer Book, but the Council reckoned on forcing their nominee to accept, not only the bishopric, but also the vestments and ceremonies which he scrupled. For nearly a whole year he remained obdurate: he carried his point about the oath[1] but could gain no support from those in power in the other respects. After a long, hot, and fruitless debate with Ridley,[2] Hooper was committed to the Fleet, by order of the Privy Council (January 27, 1551). This curious mode of compelling a bishop-elect to be consecrated had the effect desired by those in authority. Hooper yielded so far as to submit to the reduced ceremonial of the Ordinal and be consecrated (March 8), and then to preach in rochet and chimere before the King,[3] on the understanding that he would not be re-

Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester.

[1] See above p. 61.

[2] *Orig. Letters*, p. 573 (October 20, 1550).

[3] *Orig. Letters*, CXXIV. Foxe gives a quaint description of this scene. *Acts and Mon.* VI. 641.

quired to use the objectionable dress on all occasions in the retirement of his diocese.[1] Revision.

Influence of foreigners.

A further disturbing element in the situation was the formal criticism which some of the foreign divines had been requested to pass upon the Prayer Book at its first appearance. Peter Martyr (Vermigli), the Italian Austin Canon whom the Inquisition had driven out of Italy, had come by way of Zürich and Strasburg, to join the body of Lutheran and other refugees[2] whom Cranmer collected round him as early as the beginning of the reign. At the end of May 1549, he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, where his lectures raised no small commotion.[3]

Peter Martyr.

Bucer.

Martin Bucer, who as Pastor at Strasburg had watched with interest the course of events in England, was also drawn across the Channel, when in consequence of the celebrated religious compromise devised by the Emperor and known as the *Interim* (July 1548) his position in Strasburg became a difficult one.[4] He arrived in England at Cranmer's invitation in April 1549 and at the end of the year became a friendly rival of Martyr[5] in the Divinity Chair at Cambridge.

The opinion of each of these doctors was sought upon the Prayer Book, apparently in view of the raising of the question of further revision in the coming Convocation of December 1550. Hitherto there had been no such invitation, and though Bucer's influence might be trace-

[1] See Dixon, III. 213–220, 254–256.

[2] Two others who deserve special mention as compilers of services at this date were John à Lasco, who became pastor of the foreign congregations in London, and Valerandus Pollanus, who fled to England from Strasburg with a number of his French and Flemish followers, and was established at Glastonbury. These foreign congregations were allowed the exercise of their own forms of worship under Cranmer's protection, in spite of the protest of Ridley and other bishops. See *Orig. Letters* CCLXIII. and Additional Note, p. 86.

[3] Dixon, III. 66.

[4] Dixon, II. 522.

[5] *Ibid.* III. 119.

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able in the Ordinal the foreigners had had no direct part in the revision;[1] but this was now entirely altered.

Bucer's first impressions.

Bucer had already written down his first impressions in a letter sent to the Ministers at Strasburg on the day after he reached Lambeth; in this he expressed general approval with regard 'to the establishment of doctrines and the definition of rites,' but criticised with characteristic moderation the concessions made in the retention of vestments, candles, chrism, and the commemoration of the dead.[2] This was clearly a hasty review of the book, written as he made his first acquaintance with it through the medium of an interpreter.[3] His mature judgment was elaborately given from an intimate acquaintance with the book in his *Censura*, a laborious criticism extending to 28

His Censura.

[1] Dixon, II. 281 *n.* and see above p. 62.

[2] 'The cause of religion as far as appertains to the establishment of doctrines and the definition of rites, is pretty near what could be wished. Efforts must now be made to obtain suitable ministers . . . for . . the pastors of the Churches have hitherto confined their duties chiefly to ceremonies, and have very rarely preached and never catechised . . . . As soon as the description of the ceremonies now in use shall have been translated into Latin we will send it to you: We hear that some concessions have been made, both to a respect for antiquity and to the infirmity of the present age: such for instance as the vestments commonly used in the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the use of candles: so also in regard to the commemoration of the dead and the use of chrism: for we know not to what extent or in what sort it prevails. They affirm that there is no superstition in these things, and that they are only to be retained for a time, lest the people, not having yet learned Christ, should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing His religion, but that rather they may be won over. This circumstance, however, greatly refreshed us, that all the Services are read and sung in the vernacular tongue, that the doctrine of justification is purely and soundly taught, and the Eucharist administered according to Christ's ordinance, private masses having been abolished.' *Orig. Letters*, CCXLVIII. p. 535. April 26, 1549.

[3] 'Equidem cum primum in hoc regnum venissem, quæ publice dogmata quique ritus in ecclesia essent recepti: videremque eo, num meum possem ministerium his solido consensu adjungere, librum istum sacrorum per interpretem, quantum potui, cognovi diligenter; quo facto egi gratias Deo, qui dedisset vos has ceremonias eo puritatis reformare; nec enim quicquam in illis deprehendi, quod non sit ex verbo Dei desumptum, aut saltem ei non adversetur, commode acceptum. Nam non desunt paucula quædam, quæ si quis non candide interpretetur, videri queant non satis cum verbo Dei congruere.' *Buceri Prologus in*

chapters,[1] sometimes shrewd, sometimes merely perverse, always moderate and scholarly, and generally representing a middle position between the doctrine of the Church and the extravagances of extreme foreign Reformers. Revision.

While speaking with approval of the Daily Prayers and the Communion Service as entirely scriptural and primitive, and approving of the division of the sexes in church, he objects to the use of the choir for Divine Service, as being an antichristian separation of the clergy from the laity, and also inconvenient for hearing.

He speaks in terms of general approbation of the Communion Service,[2] the order that intending communicants should signify their names to the Curate, and the new directions about the form and substance of the bread, but he would 'like to add, that the usual leavened bread may be used as well as the wafer.' He objects to the use of the first part of the service without proceeding to an actual communion as 'half a Mass, yet with all the vesture of a whole Mass';[3] to the receiving of oblations from persons absent, to the practice of non-communicants remaining in church, and to certain gestures, such as kneeling, crossing, knocking upon the breast, which were practised, by many people, and allowed, though not directed, by a rubric. He objects to the use of peculiar vestments[4] at this service, because they had been abused *Communion Service.*

Censuram (*Scripta Angl.*, p. 456.)

[1] '*Censura Martini Buceri super libro Sacrorum, seu ordinationis ecclesiæ atque ministerii ecclesiastici in Regno Angliæ, ad petitionem R. Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, Thomæ Cranmeri, conscripta.*' Inter Buceri *Scripta Anglicana*, fol. Basil. 1577.

[2] 'De hac quantas possum ago gratias Deo, qui dedit eam tam puram, tamque religiose ad verbum Dei exactam, maxime illo jam tempore quo hoc factum est, constitui. Perpaucis enim verbis et signis exceptis nihil omnino in ea conspicio, quod non ex divinis depromptum Scripturis sit; si modo omnia populis Christi digna religione exhiberentur atque explicarentur.' *Ibid.* p. 465.

[3] 'Dimidiatam missam dicere vestibus omnino missalibus.' *Ibid.* p. 459.

[4] 'Non quod credam in ipsis quicquam esse impii per se, ut pii homines illis non possint pie uti.' *Ibid.* p. 458.

Revision.

to superstition, and would lead to disputes; also to the delivery of the Sacrament into the mouth and not into the hand of the communicant, and to the direction to place upon the holy table only so much bread and wine as may be sufficient for the communicants, as implying a 'superstitious' notion of the effect of consecration:[1] he allows however, that at a very early period care was taken to avoid profanation of the remains of the consecrated elements. He objects to prayer for the dead, and to the phrase, 'sleep of peace,' as implying a sleep of the soul; to the ceremonies of making the sign of the cross, and taking the elements into the hand in the action of consecration; to the prayer of invocation of the Holy Spirit, that the elements 'may be unto us the Body and Blood of Christ'; and to the mention of the ministry of the holy angels in carrying our prayers before God. He objects to the crossing at consecration and wishes to have the Manual Acts abolished, as well as the words 'who in the same night, &c.' and all that signified consecration. He approves of homilies, and proposes several additional subjects for new ones. He allows that a second Communion was anciently administered on high festivals, when the churches were too small to hold the congregation; but he dislikes the practice, implying, as it did, that there would be a larger number of communicants at Christmas and Easter than at other times, whereas all ought to communicate every Lord's Day.

Baptismal Office.

He proposes that Baptism should be administered between the sermon and the communion, because more people were present then than at the morning or evening

[1] 'Nonnulli eam sibi fingunt superstitionem, ut existiment nephas esse, si quid ex pane et vino communicationis ea peracta supersit, pati id in usum venire vulgarem; quasi pani huic et vino insit per se aliquid numinis aut sancti etiam extra communicationis usum.' *Ibid.* p. 464. This view was propounded only to be emphatically rejected.

prayers ;[1] and that the office should be begun at the font, where the congregation can hear, instead of at the church door. He observes that every scenic practice ought to be removed from divine service, and that whatever ancient ceremonies are retained should be few in number, and should be carefully explained to the people : such ceremonies in Baptism were, the putting on the white garment or chrysom, the anointing with chrism, and the signing with the cross : the exorcism also he considers to be objectionable, as implying that all unbaptized persons are demoniacs. The clause which asserts the sanctification of water to the mystical washing away of sin by the Baptism of Christ he wishes to be omitted, utterly disliking all benedictions, or consecrations of inanimate things. He wishes the phrase to be altered, that infants 'come,' whereas they are brought to Baptism : he dislikes the mode of addressing the infants, who cannot understand what is said, both at the time of signing with the cross, and in the examination which was addressed to the child, although the questions were answered by the sponsors. He approves of private Baptism in case of necessity. *Revision.*

He insists upon frequent catechizing, and that all young persons, whether confirmed or not, should be present, and that none should be confirmed before they had by their manners approved their faith, and their determination of living unto God. He desires that marriages should be solemnized only in open day, and before the congregation ; he desires that the bishops should make a law of prohibited degrees ; he approves of the ceremonies of *Catechism.* *Confirmation.* *Matrimony.*

[1] 'Cumque nec ad matutinas nec ad vespertinas preces solet ecclesia adire præstaret sane baptisma administrare statim a sacra concione cum frequentissima adhuc est ecclesia, priusquam sacræ cœnæ administratio incipiatur.' *Ibid.* p. 477. The substitution of Morning Prayer for the Lord's Service had clearly not yet begun.

Revision.

the ring and marriage-gifts, and the manner of first laying them upon the book, and then receiving them from the Minister to give to the Bride. In the office of the Visitation of the Sick he objects only to the anointing; in the Churching office to the chrysom and the offering; and, in the Burial Service, to the form of commending the soul to God, or in any terms praying for the dead. He wishes the Commination Service to be used more frequently than on the first day of Lent, three or four times in the year; the denunciations he thinks should be arranged in the order of the Decalogue. Bell-ringing he greatly dislikes, and would have it entirely forbidden, except only before service. If any Festivals were retained, besides those of our Lord, and a very few others,[1] he thinks that they should be observed only in the afternoon. He speaks of many people walking about and talking in the churches, and therefore wishes them to be shut when no service was proceeding. As additions to the Prayer Book, he wishes a Confession of Faith to be composed, shortly and clearly declaring the points that were controverted in that age; and also a larger Catechism.[2] The examination in the Ordination Service he wishes to be extended to disputed points of theology, and he desires that Ministers should be kept to their duty by annual inspections and Synods.[3]

Visitation of the Sick.

Burial.

Commination.

Festivals.

Bucer delivered this well-meaning but unsatisfactory criticism on January 5, 1551, to the Bishop of Ely, for whom it was originally written, though subsequently the

[1] 'Item quibus visitatio Mariæ matris Domini, natalis Johannis, et divi Petri atque Pauli, Martyrum, Angelorumque peragitur memoria.' Bucer, *Censura*, p. 494.

[2] 'In quo singulæ Catechismi partes, Symbolum quod vocant Apostolorum, decem præcepta, Oratio Dominica, institutio Baptismatis, Cœnæ, ministerii ecclesiastici, disciplinæ pœnitentialis, sic explicentur, ut populus in horum explanatione locos omnes religionis . . . . valeat perdiscere.' *Ibid.* p. 501.

[3] Cf. Dixon, II. 281-293. Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* v. pp. 387 sqq.

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preface was addressed to the archbishop: before the end of the next month he was dead.

Martyr's view.

In the case of Peter Martyr there is no extant document containing his criticisms of the Prayer Book, though he certainly drew up and submitted a censure of his own. We have only his own account of his criticism, in a letter to Bucer (January 10, 1551). It seems that he was not well acquainted with the contents of the Prayer Book, and that no complete Latin version was within his reach. A version, probably of the ordinary services, by Cheke, was put into his hands, and upon it he offered a set of annotations to the archbishop. Afterwards, on reading Bucer's larger treatise, he was surprised to find what the book contained, and added his approval of his friend's observations. He notices one point which he marvels that Bucer had overlooked, that if a sick person was to receive the Communion on the same day that it was publicly administered in the church, a portion of the Sacrament was to be reserved and carried to the sick person. To this Martyr objected, because he held falsely that 'the words belong rather to men than either to bread or wine.'[1]

Preparations for a Revised Book.

At the same time as these censures were prepared, some conference was held of bishops and others to prepare for future changes. The views of Bucer and Martyr were in the hands of those concerned: the latter was being assured by Cranmer that great changes were in prospect, was congratulating himself on having had such an excellent opportunity of admonishing the bishops,[2] and was

[1] Strype, *Cranmer*, App. LXI. 'Verba cenæ magis ad homines quam aut ad panem aut ad vinum pertinere.'

[2] 'Conclusum jam est in hoc eorum colloquio, quemadmodum mihi retulit reverendissimus, ut multa immutentur. Sed quænam illa sint, quæ consenserint emendanda, neque ipse mihi exposuit, neque ego de illo quærere ausus sum. Verum hoc non me parum recreat, quod mihi D. Checus indicavit: Si noluerint ipsi, ait, efficere ut quæ mutanda sint mutentur, rex per seipsum id faciet; et cum ad parliamentum ventum fuerit, ipse suæ majestatis authoritatem in-

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being insolently assured by Cheke that if the bishops were reluctant they would be coerced by the King. Both Cranmer and Ridley were anxious at this time for the abolition of the vestments, but unwilling to bring it about except 'by the general consent of the whole kingdom.'[1] All was being prepared in view of the future meeting of Convocation and Parliament: the bishops 'agreed among themselves on many emendations and corrections in the published book,' and 'the alterations on which they decided were noted in their places,' and shewn to Peter Martyr: but he from his ignorance of English gained nothing from this but the general impression that they had not gone far in reform, and that Cranmer was held back by his colleagues. Cheke again appears at this stage as the extreme man of the body of revisers:[2] but no further light is thrown either on its procedure or on its composition until we reach a letter of Cranmer[3] written after the passing of the second Act of Uniformity, which mentions by name Ridley and Martyr with 'a great many bishops and others of the best learned within this realm appointed for that purpose.'

Legislation.

The sweating sickness which prevailed in the autumn was probably the reason why Parliament, which should have met in November, was prorogued till the month of January; and with it the hopes of the reforming party were postponed.[4] Meanwhile they had to content themselves with the hopes of the reform of Ecclesiastical Law—a project which was occupying the minds of a Commission throughout the autumn and during the

terponet.' Peter Martyr, *Letter to Bucer*; Strype, *Cranmer*, App. LXI. (Jan. 10, 1551). Gorham, p. 227.

[1] *Orig. Letters*, 426, John ab Ulmis to Bullinger (Dec. 31, 1550). This illustrates their rigid attitude towards Hooper. See p. 70.

[2] Martyr to Bucer (Feb. 1551). Gorham, p. 232.

[3] See below, p. 84.

[4] *Orig. Letters*, 500; Martyr to Bullinger (Oct. 26, 1551).

opening months of 1552,[1]—and with some disputations on the subject of the Eucharist.[2]

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On January 24th, two days after the execution of Somerset, Parliament met, and Convocation on the following day. Of the acts of the latter, Heylyn professed that he could find little record: but a document which he assigns to a Convocation in 1550 and 1551 probably belongs to this date.[3]

In Convocation.

The opportunity, for which Cranmer and the reforming bishops had been waiting, was now come, for obtaining public authorisation for their further projects; the moderate party had been everywhere repressed, and their leaders among the bishops, who had submitted, however unwillingly, to the First Prayer Book, were in prison—Gardiner, who had been committed to the Tower on the morrow of his sermon on the Eucharist delivered June 29, 1548;[4] Bonner, who had used the new book, and then had also fallen victim to the tyrannical expedient of being forced to preach a test sermon;[5] Heath, who had lost his liberty over the Ordinal, Day over the destruction of altars, and Tonstal on an obscure charge of treason.[6] From the scanty and dubious records of Convocation, it seems likely that the proceedings there were abortive. There seems to have been

[1] Several commissions were issued, and their meetings are alluded to in letters of the time in a misleading way as *convocatio*. See *Orig. Letters*, 444, and also 314, which must be of the same date, cp. 447, 503, 580, 889. See Dixon, III. 351, for the history of this project.

[2] Nov. 25. Sir John Cheke, Horne dean of Durham, Whitehead, and Grindal, with Feckenham and Young on the popish side, met at the house of Sir Wm. Cecyl, Secretary of State. Cheke propounded this question: 'Quis esset verus et germanus sensus verborum cœnæ, *Hoc est corpus meum?* Num quem verba sensu grammatico accepta præ se ferebant, an aliud quiddam?' A second disputation upon the same question was held on Dec. 3rd. Strype, *Cranmer*, II. 26.

[3] See Gasquet and Bishop, 286. Their view seems far more probable than Dixon's (III. 249).

[4] Dixon, II. 520; III. 163, 220.

[5] Dixon, III. 132 and ff.

[6] Dixon, III. 320.

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no discussion upon the new draft of the book as a whole, but only upon some 'doubts' concerning the feasts, retained or abrogated,[1] and the formula and method of administering the Holy Sacrament.[2] And this is only in the Upper House; while the Lower House debated, but came to no conclusion, and deferred the question.[3]

In Parliament.

Meanwhile, the time was coming for the whole book to be put forward in Parliament with the second Act of Uniformity. About a month was occupied in the passing of the measure (March 9–April 14). The two bishops, who remained of the former opponents of the First Prayer Book, again appeared to vote against the new Bill—viz., Aldrich, of Carlisle, and Thirlby, of Norwich.[4] It was finally passed at the close of the Session on April 14, but its operation was not to begin till the All Saints' Day (November 1) following.[5]

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When the proposals were scrutinised, it was clear that the opinions of Bucer and Martyr had not been without their effect: many of the suggestions of the former had

[1] This was probably connected with the Act about fasts and Holy days passed by this parliament. Dixon, III. 436.

[2] 'The first debate among the prelates was of such doubts as had arisen about some things contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and more particularly touching such feasts as were retained and such as had been abrogated by the rules thereof: the form of words used at the giving of the bread, and the different manner of administering the Holy Sacrament; which being signified unto the Prolocutor and the rest of the clergy who had received somewhat in charge about it the day before, answer was made that they had not yet sufficiently considered of the points proposed; but that they would give their lordships some account thereof in the following Session.' Heylyn, *Hist.*, 5 Edw. § 15, but ascribed to 1550–1551. Cp. p. 79 for this Convocation.

[3] In the Convocation of October, 1553, Weston, the Prolocutor, expressly congratulated the Convocation that the Prayer Book had not had its sanction. Dixon, IV. 73.

[4] At its opening session, parliament was occupied with a Bill designed simply to enforce more rigidly the frequenting of the services of the first Prayer Book: this subsequently coalesced with the new Bill for the revised Prayer Book, and became the second Act of Uniformity. Dixon, III. 431 and ff.

[5] The Act is in Gee and Hardy's *Documents*, no. LXXI.

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The nature of the changes.

been adopted, but his conservative views had clearly not found so much favour as his proposals for alteration, and, while some of his worst suggestions were set aside, in other respects the changes made were more radical. These seem to have been dictated by the desire to be rid of such passages in the First Prayer Book as the moderate party—and especially Gardiner[1]—had fastened upon for their comfort. At the same time, for the sake of appearances, and to bridge over the gulf between the old order and the new, the alterations, important as they are, were said to be adopted only for the sake of rendering the new book 'fully perfect in all such places in which it was necessary to be made more earnest and fit for the stirring up of all Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God,' and with no intention of condemning the doctrines of the former book. And the second Act of Uniformity declared that the First Prayer Book was a very godly order in the mother tongue, 'agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church'; and that such doubts as had been raised in the use and exercise thereof proceeded rather from 'the curiosity of the minister and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause.'

No condemnation intended of the First Prayer Book.

The chief alterations now made were :—

Changes made in 1552.

In the *Daily Prayer*, the introductory Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, were placed at the beginning of the service.

In the *Communion Office*, the Decalogue was added, and the Kyries adapted to it; the Introit was omitted; and the mixture of water with the wine at the Offertory; the new Canon or long prayer of consecration, beginning with the Prayer for the Universal Church, and ending with the Lord's Prayer, which had been composed as an

[1] In his controversy with Cranmer. See above, p. 67, note.

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amendment upon the ancient Canon in the Roman Liturgy, was divided into three parts, and became the Prayer for the Church Militant, the Prayer of Consecration, and the first alternative Prayer after Communion; at the same time the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the thanksgiving for the Patriarchs and Prophets, the sign of the cross and the invocation of the Word and the Holy Ghost at the consecration were struck out from it. The order of parts was altered so that communion should immediately follow consecration. At the delivery of the Blessed Sacrament to the communicants, the second clause in each case of our present forms was substituted for the first clause, whereby direct mention was avoided of taking the Body and Blood of Christ.

In *Baptism*, the exorcism, the anointing, the putting on the chrysom, and the triple repetition of the immersion were omitted; the font was to be filled, and the water to be consecrated, whenever the service was used.

In the *Visitation of the Sick* the anointing was omitted: the curate was no longer directed to celebrate or to reserve but only vaguely to 'minister' the Communion; in the *Burial Service*, the prayers for the dead, and the special office for the Eucharist at funerals.

The rubric concerning *Vestments* ordered that neither alb, vestment, nor cope should be used; a bishop should wear a rochet, a priest or deacon only a surplice.

Doctrinal change respecting Christ's presence in the Eucharist.

The chief doctrinal alteration was in reference to the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. In the book of 1549 the Communion Service had been so constructed as to be consistent with the Catholic belief in the real presence. But the alterations in 1552 were designed to facilitate and foster the view that the prayer of consecration had reference rather to the persons than to the elements, and that the presence of Christ was not in

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the Sacrament but only in the heart of the believer The pale of Church communion was thus enlarged for the more ultra reformers, and narrowed by the attempt to exclude those who were determined to retain the primitive doctrine apart from mediæval accretions.

Publication delayed.

The interval between the close of Parliament and the date fixed for the use of the new book (November 1) was by no means uneventful. While still in embryo the book was the subject of controversy, and just before it came to the birth, a storm burst which left an ill-starred mark upon it. The extreme party among the reformers had for some time been making a dead set at the practice of kneeling at communion. The crotchety Hooper had shown his non-conforming zeal in this as in other respects, and others had followed his example. The immediate cause of the storm seems to have been the profane recklessness of John Knox, who, though a licensed preacher, had openly set aside the Prayer Book, and, taking advantage of the absence of any direction on the subject, had substituted sitting for kneeling, and common bread for wafer bread in the Communion ; he was now not content with infecting the north of England with his irreverence, but, when he came up to London as Royal Chaplain, he preached a violent sermon against the kneeling.[1] The Council awoke to the fact that in the forthcoming Prayer Book this practice, which was calling forth so much opposition, was for the first time specifically ordered ; and, thereupon beginning to repent, suspended the issue of the book,[2] already in print (September 27, 1552), under the pretext that there were

[1] *Orig. Letters*, 591. Utenhovius to Bullinger, Oct. 12, 1552.

[2] 'A letter to Grafton the printer to stay in any wise from uttering any of the books of the new service. And if he have distributed any of them among his company (of stationers), that then to give strait commandment to every of them not to put any of them abroad until certain faults

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printer's errors which needed alteration, and also wrote to Cranmer, ordering him to reconsider the question. The Archbishop had apparently at last reached the end of his tether. He had been pushed on and on by foreign influence, by Bucer first, and after Bucer's death by more extreme men from abroad: but he would go no further: in reply, he made a spirited but despairing protest[1] against altering what Parliament had settled in deference to 'glorious and unquiet spirits, which can like nothing but that is after their own fancy;' and he showed up both the crudity of the Scriptural argument which was being alleged against the custom, and also the indecency of sitting to receive, but kneeling both immediately before and after reception.

While Cranmer was conferring, Knox had a new opportunity of prosecuting his victory. The draft of the Articles of Religion applauded the ceremonies of the new Book, and when the draft was (on October 21) referred to certain censors for their opinion, Knox renewed his attack. On the 27th following—whether in consequence of this or not is not clear—a letter went forth from the Council to the Lord Chancellor 'to cause to be joined unto the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth a

corrected.' *Council Book*, Sept. 26. Dixon, III. 476.

[1] After promising to see to the correction of printer's errors, he continued: 'And where I understand further by your Lordship's letters that some be offended with kneeling at the time of the receiving of the Sacrament, and would that I (calling to me the Bishop of London and some other learned men, as Mr. Peter Martyr or such like) should with them expend and weigh the said prescription of kneeling, whether it be fit to remain as a commandment or to be left out of the book: I shall accomplish the King's Majesty's commandment herein, albeit I trust that we with just balance weighed this at the making of the book, and not only we, but a great many Bishops and others of the best learned within this realm appointed for that purpose. And now the book being read and approved by the whole State of the realm in the High Court of Parliament with the King's Majesty his royal assent—that this should now be altered again without parliament, of what importance this matter is I refer to your Lordship's wisdom to consider.'

The whole letter is in Blunt. *Annotated B.C.P.* (London, 1888), p. 21, and Tomlinson, p. 256.

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certain declaration, signed by the King's Majesty and sent unto his Lordship, touching the kneeling at the receiving of the Communion.'[1]

The Black Rubric.

Thus the Council compromised the matter by the insertion, on the eve of publication,[2] of the celebrated Black rubric,' which declared, in explanation of the rubric requiring communicants to kneel at receiving the Holy Sacrament, 'that it is not meant thereby that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or to any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood.'

Fate of the Book.

Thus against the Archbishop's will and without the consent of the Church, English religion reached its low water mark and the ill-starred book of 1552 began its brief career. Ridley officiated at its first use in S. Paul's on All Saints' Day; the choir of S. Paul's was finally devastated,[3] the organ silenced, the bishop in bare rochet, and his clergy in bare surplices filled in the details of the picture; and thereafter all communion ceased except on Sundays.[4]

[1] *Council Book*, Oct. 27, in Dixon, III. 483.

[2] From the fact that there was only three days' interval, it is not surprising that in many copies the addition was only pasted in on a fly sheet, while in others it was never inserted at all. Parker, *Introduction*, xxxii-xxxvi.

[3] This had already been almost completely done by anticipation a week previously, and the organ had been silenced a month since. *Greyfriars Chronicle*, 75.

[4] *Greyfriars Chronicle*, 76. (Cp. Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, II. 78, 79.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

INFLUENCE OF FOREIGNERS.

Influence of foreigners.

MENTION has been made of Calvin, and of Bucer and Martyr, the distinguished foreigners who, having taken refuge in England, had some influence on the course of events here. Two others deserve further notice.

V. PULLAIN.

The first of these is Valerand Pullain (Valerandus Pollanus) a Fleming by birth. He had succeeded Calvin in the pastorship of the Church of Strangers at Strasburg, but by reason of the publication of the *Interim* (1548), he was obliged to flee from that city with his congregation. These people were chiefly weavers of worsted; and on their arrival in England the Duke of Somerset gave them a home in the abbey buildings at Glastonbury, and provided them with the means of carrying on their manufacture.[1] In February 1551, Pullain published their Order of Service in Latin,[2] with a dedication to King Edward, to defend his people from those who slandered them for their change of religion and for licentiousness.[3] This book has been supposed to have furnished hints to the revisers of the Book of Common Prayer in some additions which were made in 1552 to the ancient services. The introductory Sentences, with the Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, which were then placed at the beginning of the Morning and Evening Prayer, and the Ten Commandments with the Responses, especially the last, subjoined to them, which were at the same time introduced at the beginning of the Communion Service, are supposed to be due in some degree to this publication of Pollanus. The following is the passage referred to, being the commencement of the Sunday Service:—

The Strasburg Liturgy

'*Est decalogus rithmo redditus.*'

'Die dominico mane hora octava, cum jam adest populus Pastore accedente Choraules incipit clara voce, *Leve le cuevr*, ac

[1] Strype, *Cranmer*, II. 23.

[2] '*Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum profugorum propter Evangelium Christi Argentinæ. Adjecta est ad finem brevis Apologia pro hac Liturgia, per Valerandum Pollanum Flandrum. Lond. 23 Februar. Ann.* 1551.'

[3] Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* II., ch. xxix. p. 242.

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populus accinit cum modestia et gravitate summa, ut ne quid voluptati aurium, sed serviant omnia reverentiæ Dei, et ædificationi tam canentium, quam audientium, si qui fortasse adsint non canentes.

Cum absolverint primam tabulam, tum pastor mensæ astans versus ad populum sic incipit: Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit cœlum et terram. Amen. Deinde clara et distincta voce populum admonet de confessione peccatorum, hisque verbis præit:

Fratres, cogitet nunc vestrum unusquisque se coram Deo sisti, ut peccata et delicta sua omnia simplici animo confiteatur et agnoscat, atque apud vosmetipsos me præeuntem sequimini his verbis.

CONFESSIO PECCATI.

'*Confessio Peccatorum:*' *repeated after the Minister.*

Domine Deus, Pater æterne et omnipotens, agnoscimus et fatemur ingenue apud sanctissimam Majestatem tuam, peccatores esse nos miseros, adeoque a prima origine, qua concepti et nati sumus, tam ad omne malum esse pronos, quam ab omni bono alienos; quo vitio tuas leges sanctissimas assidue transgredimur, eoque nobis exitium justissimo tuo judicio conquirimus. Attamen, Domine Deus, pœnitet sic offendisse bonitatem tuam, proindeque nos et facta nostra omnia nimium scelerata damnamus, orantes ut tu pro tua clementia huic nostræ calamitati succurras. Miserere igitur nostri omnium, O Deus et Pater clementissime ac misericors, per nomen filii tui Jesu Christi Domini nostri te obtestamur; ac deletis vitiis, ablutisque sordibus cunctis, largire atque adauge indies Spiritus tui sancti vim et dona in nobis, quo vere et serio nostram miseriam intelligentes, nostramque injustitiam agnoscentes, veram pœnitentiam agamus: qua mortui peccato deinceps abundemus fructibus justitiæ ac innocentiæ, quibus tibi placeamus per Jesum Christum filium tuum unicum redemptorem ac mediatorem nostrum. Amen.

ABSOLUTIO.

'*Absolutio.*'

Hic pastor ex scriptura sacra sententiam aliquam remissionis peccatorum populo recitat, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Ac toto hoc tempore populus magna cum reverentia vel astat, vel procumbit in genua, utut animus cujusque tulerit.

Demum pronuntiato Evangelio hoc remissionis peccatorum a pastore, rursum populus præeunte Choraule totum decalogum

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absolvit, tum pastor ad orandum hortatus Ecclesiam his verbis ipse præit.

ORATIO.

'*Oratio.*'

The Prayer after the Command-ments.

Dominus adsit nobis, ut Deum oremus unanimes :

Domine Deus, Pater misericors, qui hoc decalogo per servum tuum Mosen nos Legis tuæ justitiam docuisti ; dignare cordibus nostris eam ita tuo spiritu inscribere, ut nequicquam deinceps in vita magis optemus, aut velimus, quam tibi obedientia consummatissima placere in omnibus, per Jesum Christum filium tuum. Amen.

Hic Ecclesia eandem orationem verbis prope iisdem Choraule præeunte succinit.

Interea pastor suggestum conscendit ad concionandum. . .'

There follow the reading of Scripture, exposition and an hour's sermon, a collection, a long prayer for various needs and persons, and the service ends with creed, psalm, and blessing.

It will be seen from this extract that this service of Pollanus, which has a strong family likeness to others of the Genevan type,[1] may have furnished the hint, that the decalogue should be repeated in the public service, and suggested some phrases in the English additions of 1552.[2] But in the English book the Commandments were to be plainly recited in the hearing of the people, instead of being sung by them in metre ; and they were appointed to be said not in the Morning Prayer, but at the commencement of the Communion, or principal service. The words, '*dignare cordibus nostris eam ita tuo spiritu inscribere*,' contain the subject of the petition which was placed as the concluding response after the Commandments, '*write all these thy laws in our hearts*.' Comparing this extract with the commencement of our Daily Prayer, we must observe that there is not one strictly parallel sentence, and Pollanus gives no *form* of Absolution at all. All that can be alleged respecting the opening portion of our service is, that the hint may have been taken from two books of service used by congregations of refugees in England, which were published about this time : the one being the version of Calvin's form, by Pollanus ;

[1] Cp. *The forme of Common Prayer used in the churches of Geneva* . . . printed by Whitchurche, June 7, 1550.

[2] The Edwardine Injunctions of 1547 had ordered that they should be taught to the people in English after the reading of the Gospel with the Lord's Prayer and Creed. *Doc. Ann.* II. p. 7.

and the other, that used by the Walloons under John Laski, or à-Lasco.

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John a-Lasco.

This truly influential person was a Polish ecclesiastic of noble birth, who left his country and his honours (1538) and became one of the extremest German reformers and Pastor at Emden in East Frisia. His first visit to England was in the autumn of 1548, when he resided six months with Cranmer. The introduction of the *Interim* into Friesland compelled him to seek a shelter in England in 1550.[1] He was soon after appointed superintendent of the congregations of foreign Protestants, German and French, in London, who were incorporated by a royal charter[2] and installed in the church of the Austin Friars,[3] with permission to use their own ceremonies.[4] He published in Latin the service used by his Church.[5] His friendly intercourse with Cranmer would naturally lead to an inquiry as to the form of his worship; and that, not only with a reference to the English Service-book then under review, but that the English Government might know to what they were giving shelter and sanction. In this book there is a recitation of the commandments followed by a form of Confession and of Absolution, in which some phrases resemble the corresponding portions which were added to the second Book of Edward VI. The following are from the Confession :—

Superintendent of the foreign Protestant congregations in London.

His form of Service

contains a form of Confession and Absolution.

'. . . Neque amplius velis mortem peccatoris, sed potius ut convertatur et vivat . . . opem tuam divinam per meritum Filii tui dilecti supplices imploramus . . . nobisque dones Spiritum Sanctum tuum . . . ut lex tua sancta illi [cordi] insculpi ac per nos demum . . . tota vita nostra exprimi ejus beneficio possit.'[6]

The Absolution follows thus :—

'Habemus certam et indubitatam promissionem . . . quod omni-

[1] *Orig. Letters*, p. 560, Micronius to Bullinger (May 20, 1550), p. 483; Martyr to Bullinger (June 1, 1550). He was appointed superintendent by King Edward, on the 24th of July; *ibid.* note. Dixon, III. 231, 424.

[2] Collier, *Record*, LXV. Burnet, V. 305 (Pt. II. i. 202). *Orig. Letters*, 567, Micronius to Bullinger (Aug. 28, 1550).

[3] Now the Dutch church in Austin Friars, E.C.

[4] This was for some time limited: for an account of the services see *Orig. Letters*, 575, Micronius to Bullinger, Aug. 14, 1551. cp. 568, 570, 577. The Italians were also under Laski as superintendent. Dixon, III. 425.

[5] '*Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerii, in peregrinorum, potissimum vero Germanorum, ecclesia; instituta Londini in Anglia per Edvardum Sextum.*' *Sine loco et anno.* Other editions appeared in German, French, Dutch and Italian. Brit. Mus. *Catalogue*, II. 983.

[6] *Forma ac ratio*, pp. 69—71. Cardwell, *Two Prayer Books of Ed. VI. compared.* Pref. p. xxxii. *note.*

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bus vere pœnitentibus (qui videlicet agnitis peccatis suis cum sui accusatione gratiam ipsius per nomen Christi Domini implorant) omnia ipsorum peccata prorsus condonet atque aboleat . . . omnibus, inquam, vobis qui ita affecti estis denuncio, fiducia promissionum Christi, vestra peccata omnia in cœlo a Deo Patre nostro modis plane omnibus remissa esse.

Hooper mentions à-Lasco as alone standing on his side of all the foreigners who had any influence.[1] He was named among the thirty-two commissioners to frame ecclesiastical laws.[2] When the change came and England was no longer a congenial sphere, he returned to work on the Continent and left England, September 15, 1553.[3]

Lutheran Kirchen-Ordnungen.

It has proved very easy to over-estimate influence of foreign reformed services upon the English Rites. Apart from the *Consultation* and the Lutheran Litany, where the indebtedness is evident, and in the former case traceable to a widely current English version of that document, the parallelisms are vague. The above extracts show this to be so even in the case of documents which must have been well-known in England. Jacobs[4] from the Lutheran standpoint and Gasquet from the Roman Catholic standpoint have multiplied references to many of the countless host of German Kirchen-Ordnungen published between 1523 and 1552 : but most of the similarities are slight and such as naturally occur in documents as similar as these are in purpose and origin. The family likeness, such as it is, is collateral, not lineal.

[1] *Orig. Letters*, p. 95. Hooper to Bullinger (Aug. 1, 1551).

[2] *Orig. Letters*, p. 503, Martyr to Bullinger (March 8, 1552).

[3] *Ibid.* p. 512. See further Hardwick, *Reformation*, (London, 1886), pp 70, 82 and ff. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and for his early life, Dalton, *John a-Lasco.*

[4] *The Lutheran Movement in England*, pp. 218 & ff.

CHAPTER V.

THE ELIZABETHAN PRAYER BOOK.

In Mary's Reign.

THE death of Edward VI (July 6, 1553), the collapse of the attempt of Lady Jane Grey to mount the throne, and the accession of Mary left no room for doubt as to the immediate fate of the English Prayer Book. It was practically buried with Edward when a month later, by way of compromise, while Gardiner performed a Requiem Mass before the Queen and Council in the Tower, Cranmer performed his funeral in Westminster Abbey on August 8 with the Burial Service and Communion from the Prayer Book.[1] For some time longer the English book remained in possession as the only Service-book in legal use, and for a moment there was some possibility that the compromise adopted over Edward's lifeless body might be continued for the peace of the Church :[2] but soon controversy broke out with too raging a flame to stop short of the destruction of the adversary. The Government moved slowly, while unauthorized zeal, as once before, anticipated the law, in introducing the Latin services into the churches in imitation of the Royal

A moment of compromise.

Zeal outruns law.

[1] Dixon, IV. p. 10.

[2] No prohibition of the English service was suggested by the Queen's 'First Proclamation about Religion' of Aug. 18. See Gee and Hardy, LXXII. *Doc. Ann.* XXVIII.

In Mary's Reign.

Chapel. The Universities were the scenes of the first official action and a complete transformation both of rites and persons was speedily effected.[1]

In the midst of the excitement of change it was rumoured that Cranmer had promised to say the Latin Mass and had restored it in his own Cathedral. This drew from him a passionate repudiation of the suggestion, and a bold though exaggerated offer to defend in disputation the English Service against the Latin one as not being in accordance with scripture and antiquity.[2] This brought him to the Tower, (September 14), and was the signal also for the flight of Peter Martyr, à-Lasco and the company of foreigners who had sheltered in England.

The Prayer Book suppressed.

It was not till the close of the year that Mary's First Act of Repeal abolished the nine Acts which regulated the Edwardian settlement and restored from December 20 onward 'all such Divine Service and administration of sacraments as were most commonly used in the realm of England in the last year of our late sovereign Lord King Henry VIII.'[3] It is noticeable that this Act made no step towards Rome or Popery: that was reserved for the Second Act of Repeal of the close of 1554, which restored, and more than restored, the earlier state of things in 1529 before the breach with Rome began.[4]

[1] *Dixon* IV. 33.

[2] 'I will and by the might of God shall be ready at all times to prove against all that would say the contrary, that all that is said in the Holy Communion . . . is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed: which also His Apostles and primitive Church used many years: whereas the Mass in many things not only hath no foundation of Christ's Apostles nor the primitive Church, but also is manifestly contrary to the same and containeth in it many horrible abuses.'

He with others to help him will maintain the Edwardian Prayer Book and Doctrine to be 'more pure and according to God's word than any other that hath been used in England these thousand years.' And, moreover, 'is the same that was used fifteen hundred years past.' *Works*, I. 429. See Dixon, IV. 37 and ff.

[3] See Gee and Hardy. *Documents*, LXXIII. p. 379. The two Rites were to be allowed side by side till Dec. 20.

[4] *Ibid.* LXXVI.

In Mary's Reign.

The change of Rite was still further emphasized, when the Act became operative, by royal proclamation.[1]

The history abroad.

From this time forward the history of the Prayer Book is traced at Frankfort. Thither Pullain fled with his companions, when the refugees of various nations were driven from their homes in England, while others found shelter at Emden under the wing of à-Lasco, or at Strasburg of Martyr, or at Zurich of Bullinger, or at Geneva of Calvin. Those at Frankfort formed a considerable body. The magistrates had already assigned a church for the use of the French Protestant congregation: and when the company of English exiles settled there, they were allowed to use the same church on alternate days in the week, and at different times on the Sunday. A stipulation was, however, made that the English Service was to be brought somewhat into agreement with the French Order.[2] On this understanding Knox was invited to act as their minister; but a rival party were anxious to retain as fully as possible the English Prayer Book, and a hot and long controversy ensued. A description of the English Service-book was sent to Calvin to elicit the expression of his disapproval.[3] It is a painfully interesting document, and the first of a long series of expressions of dislike to ritual observances,

French English congregations of exiles at Frankfort.

[1] Machyn's *Diary*, 50.

[2] The actual result of this was that 'the Englishe order was perused and this by general consent was concluded that the answeringe aloude after the Minister shulde not be vsed, the letanye, surplice and many other thinges also omitted: . . . in place of the Englishe confession . . . an other bothe off more effecte and also framed accordinge to the state and time. And the same done the people to sing a psalme in meetre: . . . that don the minister to praye for thassistance off gods holie spirite and so to proceade to the sermon. After the sermon a generall praier . . . the lord's praier and a rehersall off thartycles off oure belieff. Which ended the people to sing an other psalme as afore. Then the minister pronouncing this blessinge The peace off God &c or some other off like effect, the people to departe.' *Troubles begun at Frankfort* (reprint of 1846), pp. vi, vii; cp. p. cxvii. The "Liturgy of Compromise" is printed in *The Second Prayer Book* (Ch. Service Soc. Edition 1905).

[3] See Additional Note IV. p. 129.

Restoration of the Reformation.

to primitive institutions and Apostolical order, which unhappily forms a large item in the future history of the Book of Common Prayer. A series of conflicts and compromises followed, and an attempt, made by the magistrates of the town to end the disputes by ordering all to conform to the French Order, rather naturally came to nothing. Finally the party of the Prayer Book, led by Cox and Whitehead, conquered, and the dissidents departed with Whittingham to Basel or with Knox to Geneva, leaving the congregation at Frankfort to quarrel for the future on other subjects till their time of exile was done.[1]

Accession of Elizabeth.

On the accession of Elizabeth (November 17, 1558) the people generally were more prepared to receive the religious teaching of the Reformers than they had been in the time of Henry, or even of Edward. The Protestant divines, who remained alive, came forth from their hiding-places, and with others who now returned from the Continent began once more to occupy the pulpits. The conduct of the Queen was marked by extreme caution, and the wish to strike a balance between the views, which held the field as a legacy from

Cautious Measures.

Queen Mary's reign, and the new views, which the exulting reformers were burning to proclaim. Whatever were her own views, it was more important that the Queen should hold her hand and watch the opposing parties than that she should act.[2] The Mass, therefore, still continued even in the Queen's chapel. An English Litany[3] was however meanwhile being used in the Chapel Royal. This was still legal, and the one form of English public service which is known to have been issued in Queen Mary's time: it might therefore the

[1] Dixon, IV. 684 and ff.
[2] Frere, *Eng. Ch.* V. 4 and ff.
[3] Il Schifanoya reported this (*State Papers, Venetian*) on Dec. 17, 1558.

more easily be used by Elizabeth without offence, especially if the lead of the Marian Litany was followed, in omitting the petition for deliverance from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities.[1]

Restoration of the Reformation.

About Christmas time a very important State paper of questions and advices was prepared,[2] suggesting the mode in which the alteration of religion could be most safely brought about. The 'manner of doing of it' is advised to be determined by a consultation of 'such learned men as be meet to show their minds herein; and to bring a plat or book thereof, ready drawn, to her Highness: which being approved of her Majesty, may be so put into the Parliament House: to the which for the time it is thought that these are apt men, Dr. Bill, Dr. Parker, Dr. May, Dr. Cox, Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Pilkington; and Sir Thomas Smith do call them together and to be amongst them . .'; and meanwhile to prohibit 'all innovation, until such time as the book come forth; as well that there be no often changes in religion, which would take away authority in the common people's estimation, as also to exercise the Queen's Majesty's subjects to obedience.' Another question is propounded, 'What may be done of her Highness for her own conscience openly, before the whole alteration; or, if the alteration must tarry longer, what order be fit to be in the whole realm, as an *Interim?*' To which it is replied: 'To alter no further than her Majesty hath, except it be to receive the communion as her Highness pleaseth on high

First steps towards a revival of the Reformation.

[1] The Marian Litany is at the British Museum (C. 25. b. 10). The first two Elizabethan editions were issued in 1558, one omitting and one retaining the clause in question. See print of one of them in *Liturgical Services of Q. Elizabeth*, p. 1. And see below for the whole question, in chapter xi., p. 421.

[2] For the 'Device for alteration of religion' see Burnet (ed. Pocock), v. 497; and for its relation to other similar papers of the time, see Gee, *Elizabethan, P.B.*, pp. 5–31.

Restoration of the Reformation.

feasts: and that where there be more chaplains at mass, that they do always communicate in both kinds: and for her Highness's conscience till then, if there be some other devout sort of prayers, or Memory said, and the seldomer mass.' This advice was acted upon. To put an end to the disorders that had arisen from violent sermons on both sides, preaching was forbidden by a proclamation[1] (December 27, 1558), which allowed the Gospel and Epistle, and the Ten Commandments, to be read in English, but without any exposition; and forbade 'any other manner of public prayer, rite, or ceremony in the church, but that which is already used, and by law received, or the common Litany used at this present in her Majesty's own chapel, and the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed in English, until consultation may be had by Parliament. . . .'[2] Besides the introduction of the Litany in English into her own chapel, the Queen had made some stipulations in her hearing of Mass:[3] for example

Proclamation forbidding preaching.

Sanctioning the Litany in English.

[1] Strype, *Annals*, Append. IV. or *Doc. Ann.* XLII. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 43. Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXXVII. Cp. Wriothesley, II. 143. On the extensive and somewhat indefinite authority arrogated to proclamations at this period, see Hallam, *Const. Hist.* I. 320 (236) and ff.

[2] In consequence of this there appeared on Jan. 1 'The Litany, used in the Queen's Majesty's chapel, according to the tenor of the Proclamation, 1559'; it is reprinted in *Lit. Services of Q. Elizabeth* (Parker Soc.), p. 9. A 'Confession' is prefixed, being the Confession in the Communion Service adapted to individual use: after the prayer, 'We humbly beseech thee, O Father,' &c. follows 'A prayer for the Queen's Majesty;' then the prayer for the clergy and people; then 'A Prayer of Chrysostome,' and 'ii. Cor. xiii.' with the note, '*Here endeth the Litany used in the Queen's Chapel.*' After this are prayers, 'For Rain, if the time require,' 'For fair Weather,' 'In the time of Dearth or Famine,' 'In the time of War,' 'In the time of any common Plague or Sickness,' the collect, 'O God, whose nature and property,' &c., The Lord's Prayer, The Apostles' Creed, The Ten Commandments, Graces before and after meat; ending with the words, '*God save the universal Church, and preserve our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, and the realm, and send us peace in our Lord Jesus, Amen.*' This Litany, with its arrangement of collects, is an amended edition of the unauthorised Litany mentioned above. As it was printed for general use, other prayers were added, and the book was made to partake of the nature of a Primer.

[3] *Zurich Letters*, I. VI. Jewel to P. Martyr. Ap. 14, 1559.

on Christmas Day when Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, was saying Mass before her, she sent a message to him during the singing of the *Gloria*, ordering him not to elevate the host, because she liked not the ceremony. The bishop refused and the Queen left after the Gospel: but on S. Stephen's day one of her chaplains was more compliant.[1] The ceremonies of the Coronation exhibited the same spirit of compromise (January 15, 1559). The actual coronation was performed by Bishop Oglethorpe in the old way, though perhaps the Litany was in English, just as at the Mass which followed the Epistle and Gospel were sung in English as well as Latin. Apparently the Dean of the Chapel Royal[2] celebrated, through the refusal of the bishops to adopt the Queen's use, and apparently the Queen did not communicate.[3]

Restoration of the Reformation.

The modifications of the Mass.

The real policy of the Government was first revealed by the speech of the Lord-Keeper Bacon at the opening of Parliament (January 25, 1559): that laws should be made 'for the according and uniting of these people of the Realm into an uniform order of Religion: . . . That nothing be devised or done which anyway in continuance of time were likely to breed or nourish any kind of Idolatry or superstition'; 'on the other side heed is to be taken, that by no Licentious or loose handling any manner of occasion be given, whereby any contempt or irreverent behaviour towards God and Godly things, or any spice of irreligion, might creep in or be conceived.'[4] These were the views by which the alterations now made in the Prayer Book were being guided. With regard to

Lord-Keeper's Speech at the opening of Parliament.

[1] Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. ii. p. 50; Heylyn, *Hist. Ref.* (Eccl. Hist. Soc.) p. 272, *note*. Lingard, *History*, . 5. *State Papers*, *Venetian*, Dec. , 1558, *Spanish*, I. 17; *Engl. Hist. w.* xv. 330. Sanders, *Anglican hism* (ed. Lewis), p. 242.

[2] See *State Papers*, *Spanish*, I. 6.

[3] The evidence is conflicting: contrast Nichols, *Progresses*, i. 30 with *S.P. Venetian*, pp. 17, 24, and *Spanish*, p. 25.

[4] Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. ii. p. 54; D'Ewes, *Journals*, pp. 11, 12.

Revision by Committee of Divines.

the actual 'consultation of learned men' the course of proceedings is far less clear.

There is no sign of a formal commission nor even that the divines nominated met as was proposed at Sir Thomas Smith's house. It is only possible to deduce what must have happened [1] from a letter of Guest [2] sent to Cecil when the draft of proposals was completed, in order to justify 'the order taken in the new service.' Clearly some body of divines had met and drawn up a draft Service-book, and Guest was among them in a conspicuous position: for he speaks as though the revision had been especially his work. It is clear from this letter that the book, in the shape in which it left the committee

Guest takes a leading part under Cecil.

[1] Strype says that Archbishop Parker was absent from the deliberations at least some part of the time through sickness, and suggests that Guest was appointed in his place with especial instructions 'to compare both K. Edward's Communion Books together, and from them both to frame a book for the use of the Church of England, by correcting and amending, altering, and adding, or taking away, according to his judgment and the ancient Liturgies.' *Annals*, I. ch. iv. 82; but he gives no authority for this.

[2] Strype, *Annals*, I. Orig. XIV. or Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 48. The following are the chief points: '*Ceremonies* once taken away, as ill used, should not be taken again.' *Of the cross:* no image should be set up in the church. *Procession* is superfluous'; it is better to pray in the church. 'Because it is sufficient to use but a *surplice* in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the celebrating of the Communion.' *Non-communicants* should be dismissed after the offertory. The *Creed* is ordained to be said only of the communicants. '*Praying for the dead* is not used in the Communion, because it doth seem to make for the sacrifice of the dead': 'as it was used in the first Book, it makes some of the faithful to be in heaven, and to need no mercy, and some of them to be in another place, and to lack help and mercy.' 'The *Prayer* (in the first Book) *for Consecration*, "*O Merciful Father*, &c.," is to be disliked . . . First, because it is taken to be so needful for the consecration, that the consecration is not thought to be without it: which is not true; for petition is no part of consecration: because Christ in ordaining the Sacrament made no petition, but a thanksgiving.' Also 'for that it prays that the bread and wine may be Christ's body and blood, which makes for the popish transubstantiation.' The sacrament is to be *received in our hands*. 'The old use of the Church was to communicate *standing;* yet because it is taken of some by itself to be sin to receive kneeling, whereas of itself it is lawful, it is left indifferent to every man's choice to follow the one way or the other, to teach men that it is lawful to receive either standing or kneeling.' Dr. Gee refers this to 1552: *Eliz. B.P.* 32–50.

of divines, was more favourable to Puritan opinions than was agreeable to the Queen or to her Secretary.[1] According to its provisions the surplice was allowed, but no special vestment was to be used at the Communion; all except communicants were henceforth to be sent out, apparently before the creed, and the posture of communicants, standing or kneeling, was left as a thing indifferent.

Revision by Committee of Divines.

The Divines favour Puritan opinions,

but are over ruled by the Court.

This draft Service-book was clearly different both from the First Book, which the Government is thought to have favoured, and from the modified form of the Second Book, which eventually became law. Its history is obscure: possibly it was strangled by Cecil at its birth; but more probably it was propounded to Parliament by the 'Bill for Order of Service and Ministers in the Church' of Feb. 15, or a similar bill of Feb. 16, both of which mysteriously disappeared after a single reading. A new attempt was made, and clauses sanctioning the Second Book, or some such liturgical provisions, were included in the revised Supremacy Bill, but only to be ejected from there at a later stage.[2] Then the baffled Government resolved to put forward as a compromise a form of the Second Book, modified by a few but very important alterations in the opposite direction to that of the Draft Service-Book, and calculated to conciliate the Conservatives. Meanwhile plans were laid for a great disputation on religion to be held at Westminster on March 20, in reply to the hostile attitude towards the alteration of religion taken up by the Convocation.[3] This body

[1] It has been supposed, and probably rightly, from the form of Guest's letter to Cecil, that the First Prayer Book was recommended to the divines as the basis of the new book.

[2] *S.P. Venetian*, 48, 52.

[3] This rendered impossible the submission of the Prayer Book to Convocation: but it is clear from the Supremacy Act that from the point of view of the Elizabethan government parliamentary action in Ecclesiastical matters *ought* to be conjoined with synodical action in Convocation. Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 455. Towards the end of the reign it was

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composed, as was natural, of the most convinced supporters of the Marian policy among the clergy, was engaged at this time, not in considering the new draft Service-book, but in protesting against any change, and in passing Five Articles[1] defining its position: the first three dealing with Mass and being the identical theses of the Disputation at Oxford in 1554 which brought Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley to the stake: the fourth affirming the Papal Supremacy, and the fifth denying to laymen 'the authority of handling and defining the things belonging to faith, sacraments, and discipline ecclesiastical.' To meet this opposition, the Government may well have desired to be first fortified with the Act of Supremacy and may well therefore have thought it wise to postpone the liturgical questions till by that Act the ancient jurisdiction had been restored to the Crown, and all foreign power repugnant to it had been abolished.[2] When this bill was well under way a new Uniformity Bill was introduced (April 18, 1559) to re-establish the Second Edwardine Book with certain specified amendments.[3] It was read on three consecutive days and sent

Parliament sanctions the Book with the Royal amendments.

supposed that this had been done in the case of the Prayer Book. See *State Papers*, *Dom.* Elizabeth, VII. 46, 47.

[1] See them in Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. ii. 56. Cp. Dixon, v. 89–93.

[2] See the Act in Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 9, or Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXXIX. Its history is intricate; a Supremacy bill containing the title 'Supreme Head' passed before the Easter recess: but subsequently another bill with the title 'Supreme Governor' was passed instead. (Ap. 10–29).

[3] The statute (1 Eliz. c. 2, April 28, 1559) repealed the Act of Mary, which had repealed the Act (5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 1) 'to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to the Professors of the truth of Christ's religion' (§ 1); and thus the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was re-established, 'with one alteration, or addition of certain Lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise' (§ 2). With the further proviso, 'that such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use, as was in the Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of K. Edw. VI., until other order shall be therein taken, by the authority of the Queen's majesty with the advice of her com-

Revision.

up to the House of Lords. Two strong speeches made there, one by Feckenham, Abbat of Westminster, and the other by Scott, Bishop of Chester, have been preserved and show the quality of the opposition.[1] They both alike regarded the matter as a choice, not merely between two books, but between the old and the new religion, and both alleged a good deal that was untrue against the Prayer Book. At the third reading nine bishops and nine temporal peers voted against the Act; the remaining bishops seem to have been absent. But this by itself gives an inadequate idea of the actual position of things, for the Bill was passed by a majority of three only.[2]

Alterations made in 1559.

Abp. Parker's note of the alterations.

Rubrics.

The following variations[3] of the Elizabethan from Edward's second Prayer Book were noted by Archbishop Parker[4] for the Lord Treasurer Burghley. The first rubric now directed 'the Morning and Evening Prayer to be used *in the accustomed place* of the church, chapel, or chancel,' instead of '*in such place as the people may best hear.*' The second rubric, which had forbidden all ecclesiastical vestments but the *rochet* and the *surplice*, gave way to the rule of the Act that '*the minister at*

missioners appointed and authorized under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realm' (§ 13), and that further rites or ceremonies may be ordained and published by the same authority. See the act in Gee, *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 22, or Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXXX. The books printed in this year (1559) differ from each other in small particulars, chiefly in the collects at the end of the Litany. See *Liturg. Services of Q. Eliz.* (Parker Soc.), and Mr. Clay's Pref. pp. xii.–xv.

[1] Printed in Strype, *Annals*, I. Orig. IX. and X. and in Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 98–117. Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, also spoke strongly. *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 66.

[2] Feria's despatch of May 10 to King Philip, *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 67; or K de Lettenhove, *Relations Politiques des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, I. 346.

[3] They are considerably more than are specified in the Act. Some further changes were made under the authority granted by the Act to the Queen, acting with the Ecclesiastical Commission or the Metropolitan, such as a new Calendar in 1561, an alteration in the collect for S. Mark's Day, probably not later than 1564, and some inconsiderable verbal additions, certainly not later than 1572. Clay, *Liturg. Serv. of Q. Eliz.*, p. xv.

[4] Clay, *ibid.* p. xiv. Lansd. MS. 120, printed in Strype, *Annals*, I. iv. p 84.

Alterations made in 1559.

the time of Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of K. Edward VI.' In the Litany the words, '*from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities*,' were finally omitted; the suffrage for the Queen was altered by the addition of the words, *strengthen in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life;* the prayers for the Queen, and for the clergy and people, with the collect, '*O God, whose nature and property, &c.*,' were now placed at the end of the Litany: of two collects for time of Dearth, one was omitted, as also was the note to the Prayer of S. Chrysostom, '*and the Litany shall ever end with this collect following.*'[1] In the Communion Service the words used at the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants combined the forms of Edward's first and second Books.[2]

Litany.

Communion Service.

Further it is important to note that the Declaration touching kneeling at the Communion was omitted.[3]

The Ordinal.

The Ordinal[4] differed from that of 1552 only in the form of the oath. It is styled 'The Oath of the Queen's sovereignty,' instead of 'The Oath of the King's supremacy'; and it is directed 'against the power and authority of all foreign potentates,' instead of 'against the usurped power and authority of the Bishop of Rome.'

The restoration of the Prayer Book met with surprisingly little opposition. Already by the end of the

[1] These alterations had all been anticipated in the Litany of Jan. 1, 1559. See p. 96. The suffrage for the Queen was in fact more altered than Parker noted.

[2] The early Elizabethan books vary greatly (especially in the additions to the Litany), and it is not clear what edition Parker used in making the foregoing incomplete summary. See Clay *u. s.* xii—xv.

[3] Though omitted from the Prayer Book, this Declaration was not forgotten: Bishops Grindal and Horne in 1567 say that it continued to be 'most diligently declared, published, and impressed upon the people.' *Zurich Letters*, LXXV. vol. I. p. 180. (Parker Soc.)

[4] See below, p. 115.

Acceptance of the book.

previous year in some places the greater part of the people had 'entirely renounced the Mass,' and were beginning in January to bring back the Prayer Book, while in others devout congregations still flocked to the Latin Mass.[1] While Parliament was prolonged through interminable disputes, a further step was taken in the Royal Chapel, where, on Easter Day, 'Mass was sung in English according to the use of King Edward,' and after it the celebrant took off his vestments and gave Communion in both kinds, vested only in a surplice, to the Queen and many peers.[2]

The Act of Uniformity specified the feast of the Nativity of S. John Baptist as the day on which the revised Prayer Book was to be used. Parliament was dissolved May 8; on the Whitsunday following (May 14) the Queen caused the Edwardine service to be read in her chapel, while a number of parish churches and the monks at Westminster made haste to follow suit[3]; and on the following Wednesday it was read before 'a very august assembly of the court' at S. Paul's,[4] which was otherwise the only London church which retained the Latin Services up till June 11.[5]

The Prayer Book generally accepted by the clergy.

Thus the actual transition was very quietly accomplished. The resistance of the bishops and principal clergy was both strenuous and solid, but this does not seem to have been the case ultimately with the rank and file, though no doubt a large body of them deprecated change.[6] Still, of the whole body of clergy, it

[1] *State Papers, Venetian.* Despatches of Jan. 2, Jan. 8, and Feb. 6.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 57. In view of Easter a proclamation was issued, authorizing but not enforcing communion in both kinds. (March 22.) See Gee, *Eliz. P.B.*, p. 255.

[3] Wriothesley, II. 145. *State Papers, Foreign*, May 28, 1559. 'The most part of the monks at Westminster have already changed their coats.' The book had been in use even earlier. See *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 66, 69.

[4] Strype, *Grindal*, p. 24.

[5] Despatch of Il Schifanoya, May 30. *u.s.* p. 94. *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 76. Cp. Machyn, 200.

[6] For a specimen of the opposition, see *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 79, 82, 89.

Acceptance of the book.

appears that not more than some 200 were deprived during the years 1558-1564, a state of things which is in marked contrast with the wholesale policy of deprivation by which the Marian ecclesiastical policy was carried through.[1]

Royal Visitation.

In the summer of this year a Royal Visitation was ordered, with the intention of carrying out the new ecclesiastical policy and requiring subscription to the settlement of religion as provided for in the Supremacy Act, the Uniformity Act, and the Visitation Injunctions. These last were drawn mainly from the Edwardine Injunctions, revised up to date and enlarged by the addition of new matter since 1547.[2] Some of these new Injunctions dealt especially with the burning questions of the hour, *e.g.* the Royal Supremacy,[3] which was still viewed by the country with misgiving, and the destruction of altars, which had been going on in riotous and unauthorised fashion, and was now to be regulated. There was great difficulty in prevailing upon the Queen to accede to this under any terms; and she would not order their removal unconditionally.[4] A long string of reasons was prepared, *Why it was not convenient that the Communion should be ministered at an altar*,[5] and had apparently the effect of overcoming the Royal opposition. An Order[6] was subjoined to the Injunctions, declaring that the matter seemed to be of no

The Injunctions.

Removal of Altars.

[1] The whole of this subject has been fully investigated by Dr. Gee in his *Elizabethan Clergy* with the above result. See there p. 251, and Frere, *Marian Reaction*, p. 86.

[2] Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* XLIII. or (as collated with the Edwardine Injunctions) in Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXXVIII. or *Elizabethan Clergy*, pp. 46 and ff.

[3] Cecil was responsible for this. *Letter of Abp. Parker to Lord Burghley* (April 11, 1575), 'Whatsoever the [Queen's] ecclesiastical prerogative is, I fear it is not so great as your pen hath given it in the Injunctions.' *Parker Corr.* p. 479.

[4] Compare Tonstal's letter on the subject in August, 1559. *S.P. Dom.* VI. 22. Gee, *Eliz. P.B.* 144.

[5] Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. xii. p. 160.

[6] For its authority see below, p. 365.

'great moment, so that the Sacrament be duly and reverently ministered; yet for uniformity . . . . it is ordered that no altar be taken down but by oversight of the curate of the church and the churchwardens . . . . and that the holy table in every church be decently made and set in the place where the altar stood,' and at Communion time should be so placed within the chancel that the minister might be conveniently heard, and the communicants conveniently communicate.

Royal Visitation.

This Royal Order, however, did not quell the controversy. In the next year the bishops drew up a paper of '*Interpretations and further considerations*,'[1] upon the meaning of these Injunctions, for the guidance of the clergy; where they direct 'that the table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church, before the chancel-door, where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great feasts of receivings, and at the end of the Communion to be set up again, according to the Injunctions.' By a similar order, overriding the rubric or explanatory of it, wafers were to be used for sacramental bread, and careful regulation was made that they should be larger and thicker than before. On the question of vestments and ornaments the Act of Uniformity had fixed upon the second year of Edward VI. as the standard, thereby disallowing the Puritanical bareness of ornament which had marked Edward's second Book, and which Guest himself would have continued. Many were of Guest's opinion and rebelled against the rubric; others wished to abolish even the surplice. To cover such rebellion a plea was put forward[2] that the rubric had in view not ceremonial but royal spoliation. Accordingly a fresh spoliation followed both official and unofficial, until within a few months many of the

The Bishops interpretation of the Injunctions.

[1] Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. xvii. p. 213; Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* p. 236.

[2] 'Our gloss upon this text,' said Dr. Sandys in a letter to Dr. Parker

Royal Visitation.

rubrical ornaments were rarely in use or even retained.[1] The new bishops on coming into power could do no more to stem the devastation than stipulate in their 'Interpretations' of the Injunctions for the use at least of the surplice and cope.

Chanting and Psalmody.

These Injunctions also regulate the use of music in worship. In collegiate and some parish churches there were bequests for the maintenance of a choir. This laudable service of music was to be retained; the old plainsong music of the church is prescribed for general use in these terms—'a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same might be as plainly understanded as if it were read without singing.' This no doubt also included simple harmonized services; but, besides this distinct song, 'music'—that is, florid music in distinction to plainsong—was permitted in the form of a hymn or such like song, to be sung at the beginning or end of the Morning or Evening Prayers 'in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understanded and perceived.'[2]

In 1560 the Book of Common Prayer was published

of April 30, 1559, 'is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the mean time shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen.' *Parker Corr.* p. 65. Strype, *Annals*, I. 83.

[1] The crucifix, candles and vestments were for a time removed from the royal chapel, but they were brought in again almost immediately on Oct. 9, 1559, *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 105, and the crosses were ordered elsewhere. *Ibid.* 126, 128. For the Ornaments rubric see below, p. 362.

[2] The same technical use belongs to the word 'musique' in French, in contradistinction to the old plain chart. Genevan psalmody also came in under this proviso. On April 7, 1559 at a funeral conducted in Genevan fashion 'they sang *Pater noster* in English both preachers and other, and . . . . of a new fashion.' So Machyn recorded (p. 193) with a similar entry in September. See his *Diary*, p. 212, quoted in Strype's *Grindal*, p. 27) 'which custom was about this time brought also into S. Paul's.' See also *ibid.* p. 37. Cp. Reynolds, *Chapter Acts of Exeter Cathedral*, 1891. p. 53. See Additional Note II. p. 125.

Latin Version.

in Latin, upon the petition of the Universities, and with the Royal Letters Patent authorising its use among the learned. Walter Haddon has been called the author of this version ;[1] but he followed a translation of the book of 1549, by Alexander Aless, to such an extent that it cannot be considered a faithful rendering of its presumed English counterpart.[2]

Liber Precum Communium.

Service in the Irish Church.

In Ireland, as it has been pointed out, the use of the Book of Common Prayer, at the death of Edward VI., rested on the Royal Prerogative only, and insecurely at best ; the book of 1552 was not ordered for observance there during the short period in which it was used in England. No Act was passed in Ireland in Queen Mary's reign to prohibit the use of the English Service-book ; however, it was disused from the death of Edward VI. until August 30, 1559, when the English Litany was sung in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, on the occasion of the Earl of Sussex taking the oaths as Lord-Deputy. Part of his instructions were 'to set up the worship of God as it is in England, and to make such statutes next Parliament as were lately made in England.' Therefore, on the meeting of the Irish Parliament, in January 1560, the second business which they took in hand was to pass in the face of great opposition[3] an Act of Uniformity, following almost verbatim the English Act of the preceding year, and authorizing the Prayer Book which had been put forth in England.[4] All other books of service were set aside ; and the Parliament was then confronted with the difficulty of supplying the Irish churches with Prayer Books—a diffi-

Irish Act of Uniformity.

[1] Heylyn, *Hist. Ref.* 2 Eliz. § 19. But see Clay, *Liturgies of Elizabeth.* (ed. Parker Soc.) p. xxiv.

[2] See Additional Note i. to this chapter, p. 116.

[3] *State Papers, Spanish*, I. 128.

[4] Stephens, *MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland* (Eccl. Hist. Soc.) Introd. pp. viii. cli.; Mant. *Hist. of the Church of Ireland*, I. p. 258.

Irish Act of Uniformity.

culty arising from the circumstance that in most places the priests did not understand English, that there was no Irish printing-press, and that few could read the Irish letters. Their strange expedient was, by a special additional clause, to sanction the use of all common and open prayer in the Latin tongue.[1] And it appears that Haddon's Latin version was completed with this object; for it comprehends the Occasional Offices, which would not have been required if it were only for the use of college chapels.[2]

Common Prayer in Ireland allowed to be in Latin.

Additional Services.

In this year also appeared the first of a long series of Additional Services. It was 'to be used in common prayer thrice a week for seasonable weather and good success of the common affairs of the realm.' Such additions to the usual service were frequently ordered during this reign, and were not held to be infringements of the Act of Uniformity:[3] the practice is, indeed, far older than the English Prayer Book; but, as one of the means of bringing prayers in the English tongue into use, it was now specially adapted to interest the people

[1] 'And forasmuch as in most places in Ireland there could not be found English ministers to serve in the churches or places appointed for Common Prayer, or to minister the Sacraments to the people, and if some good mean were provided for the use of the Prayer, Service, and Administration of Sacraments set out and established by this Act, in such language as they might best understand, the due honour of God would be thereby much advanced; and for that also, that the same might not be in their native language, as well for difficulty to get it printed, as that few in Ireland could read the Irish letters:' it enacted, 'That in every such church or place where the common minister or priest had not the use or knowledge of the English tongue, he might say and use the Mattins, Evensong, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Administration of each of the Sacraments, and all their common and open Prayer, in the Latin tongue, in the order and form mentioned and set forth in the book established by this Act.' Stat. 2 Eliz. c. 2. (Ir.); Stephens, *MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland*, pp. xi. and clxiv. and ff.

[2] Part of the Prayer Book had been translated into Latin for this purpose as early as 1551. The translator was a Mr. Smyth, who is said to have received twenty pounds for his labour. (*Original Letters and Papers*, edited by E. P. Shirley, Lond. 1851, pp. 47, 48.)

[3] In the volume of *Liturgical Services of Elizabeth* (Parker Soc.), Mr. Clay has reprinted forty such Elizabethan Occasional Forms of Prayer.

The Kalendar.

in the public worship generally, when it was thus applied to some pressing necessity.[1]

Successive changes in the Kalendar of Lessons.

One point specified in the Act of Uniformity, in which a change had been introduced into the Prayer Book of 1559, is the 'addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year.' The Kalendar (1549) contained the chapters to be read at the daily Mattins and Evensong; the Proper Psalms and Lessons for Feasts were given with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels. In 1552 the 'Proper Psalms and Lessons for divers feasts and days, at Morning and Evening Prayer,' were placed before the Kalendar. In 1559 this part of the book assumed more of its present shape, having Proper Lessons to be read for the First Lessons, both at Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer on the Sundays throughout the year, and for some also the Second Lessons,' in addition to the 'Lessons proper for Holy Days,' and the chapters for ordinary days in the Kalendar. All was not, however, quite satisfactory. On January 22, 1561, a letter was issued to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners,[2] directing them 'to peruse the order of the said Lessons throughout the whole year, and to cause some new Kalendars to be imprinted, whereby such chapters or parcels of less edification may be removed, and other more profitable may supply their rooms.'[3] This commission was also to consider the decays of churches, and unseemly keeping of chancels, and to order the Commandments to be set up at the east end of the chancel, to be not only read for edifica-

Commission to amend the Kalendar.

[1] Strype, *Cranmer*, i. 29.

[2] Appointed under the Act (see above, p. 100). See *Doc. Ann.* XLV*. In this letter (*Doc. Ann.* I.V.), Matthew (*Parker*) archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund (*Grindal*) bishop of London, Dr. William Bill the Almoner, and Walter Haddon, one of the Masters of Requests, were especially named, two of whom were to be always present.

[3] Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* LV.

The Kalendar.

tion, but also to give some comely ornament and demonstration that the same is a place of religion and prayer: to secure uniformity in Cathedrals and parish Churches and a right use of the Latin Prayer Book in Colleges. With regard to the lectionary little was in fact done, for only the First Lessons for Whit-Sunday were changed, and one error corrected.[1] No further alteration in the Kalendar was directed in the Queen's letter; yet we find that it was revised in other respects.[2] Tables of the Movable Feasts, and for determining Easter, were added: and the names of saints, which had been omitted from the First Edwardine Prayer Book, were inserted almost as they stand in our present Kalendar.[3]

Names of Saints inserted.

Subsequent history of the book.

The Elizabethan compromise was never fairly accepted: the Ornaments' rubric was from the first set aside, and the authorities found that they had all that they could do in enforcing the use of the surplice and cap.[4] In spite of such concessions the Puritan party

[1] Deut. xvi. and Wisd. i. were substituted for Deut. xvii. and xviii. as the First Lessons for Whitsunday; and for Evensong of the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, 4 Kings xix was corrected into 4 Kings ix. A few further changes were made at a later date. Clay, Preface to *Liturgical Services of Q. Eliz.*, p. xv. Perhaps less care was taken in revising the lists of daily Lessons from the discretion which was allowed of reading other chapters than those appointed. The clergy were enjoined to use this discretion in the Admonition prefixed to the Second Book of Homilies (1564). And Abbot, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury (1611), writes that in his time it was 'not only permitted to the minister, but commended in him, if wisely and quietly he do read canonical Scripture where the apocryphal upon good judgment seemeth not so fit; or any chapter of the canonical may be conceived not to have in it so much edification before the simple as some other part of the same canonical may be thought to have.' Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I. p. 294, *note.*

[2] See the reprint in *Lit. Services of Q. Elizabeth*, p. 435.

[3] With the Festivals of our Lord, the Purification and Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the festivals of S. John the Baptist, the Apostles and Evangelists, S. Michael, All Saints, and Holy Innocents, the Kalendar (1559) had contained only the names of S. George and S. Lawrence, Lammas, and some editions also S. Clement. For the full discussion of the Kalendar, see below, pp. 321—341.

[4] The Advertisements issued by the Archbishop in 1566, without the Queen's authority but with some

Subsequent History.

became more and more hostile: some conformed, some remained in the Church as non-conforming members, while others, deserting the true Puritan position, went out to form various sects; but the history of Elizabeth's reign is to a considerable degree the history of a relentless conflict between Puritanism and Churchmanship, with the Prayer Book as its chief battle ground. Moreover, there were recusants and separatists on the Conservative side as well as on the Reform side, and in the fight between the English Church and those who clung to the Roman obedience, the Prayer Book was again an important battle ground. In the early days of the reign there is good reason for believing that the Pope Pius IV. was prepared to recognize the Prayer Book in return for a recognition of his own supremacy:[1] but the conflict became more and more embittered as the Roman authorities declared against all attendance at the English Services,[2] and when Pope Pius V. published his Bull of excommunication (1570): from that time all prospect of conciliation on that side was shut out of view.

Puritan Opposition.

On the other side the attack was constant and unrelenting, and the disobedience was obstinate and widespread. The origin of it lies back in the history of the Marian Exiles, to which reference has already been made. The dislike of the Prayer Book, which led to scandalous scenes among the English exiles at Frankfort, and which was emphatically expressed by Knox and those who owned his leadership, was increased by the natural results of so bitter a dispute. The noisiest of

measure of Royal approval, attempted to enforce as vestments only the surplice in parish churches, and the Cope at the Eucharist in collegiate and cathedral churches. Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXXXI. *Doc. Ann.* LXV.

[1] Recent research tends to confirm this old tradition. See Morris, *Church Hist. Soc. Tract*, LIX.

[2] The decision (Oct. 2, 1562), is printed in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XV. 531. (July 1900),

Subsequent History,

the malcontents were compelled to leave Frankfort, and carried off with their party the honours of martyrdom for the Protestant religion. Supported by the authority of Calvin, himself a host in a battle of opinion, their ideas of a fitting Christian service became more clearly developed, and were embodied in Knox's Genevan 'Form of Prayers.'[1] Hence, when the exiles were able to return to England after the death of Mary, the Genevan faction, or, as we may now begin to call them, the Puritan party, was the more prepared to find fault both with the Liturgy and with Episcopacy. And their annoyance must have been great, when the revision of the Prayer Book at the opening of Elizabeth's reign went in all respects directly contrary to their wishes, sweeping away several of the Puritan portions of Edward's Second Book, and bringing back some of the discarded ceremonies and vestments of earlier times.

In Convocation.

As early as 1562 a determined attempt was made in Convocation to abolish the ceremonies against which Puritan opposition was to wage such a lengthy contest. Lay baptism, the Cross in baptism, kneeling at communion, every sort of vestment from copes and surplices to gowns and caps, and, in fact, the prescribing of any ceremonial at all, alike met with condemnation at the hands of an influential party, headed by Bishop Sandys, Dean Nowell of S. Paul's and other men of weight.[2]

Eventually, six articles were submitted to the lower house for the abolition of all festivals except Sundays and the feasts of our Lord, organs, the Cross in baptism,

[1] *The Form of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments, &c., used in the English congregation at Geneva, and approved by the famous and godly-learned man, M. John Calvin.* First published both in Latin and in English at Geneva in 1556. For its later history see below, pp. 132, 143: and for the whole subject see Sprott and Leishman *The Book of Common Order*, pp. xiv. xv. 237-241.

[2] Dixon, v. 384 and ff.

and compulsory kneeling at communion, all vestments except the surplice, and the facing of the minister away from the people: after a great contest these revolutionary proposals were lost by only one vote.[1]

Subsequent History.

In 1571 a bill was brought into Parliament by Mr. Strickland 'for Reformation of the Book of Common Prayer,' mainly aimed, as it seems, against the disputed ceremonies. The house was warned that ceremonial matters were reserved to the Queen's authority, and in a few days Strickland was called before the Council for infringing the Royal prerogative; it was only after some days and after some protests from the House, that he was allowed to resume his place in it.[2]

In Parliament. First Attempt.

In spite of such an exhibition of Royal displeasure, another like attempt was made in the following year. A bill for Rites and Ceremonies was read three times in the Commons, and referred to a committee: but two days later a Royal message ordered 'that from henceforth no bills concerning religion shall be preferred or received into this house unless the same should first be considered and liked by the clergy.'[3] The agitation against the Prayer Book was at this time going on all over the country, and six months later drew from the Queen 'A proclamation against the despisers or breakers of the orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.'[4]

Second Attempt.

On the other side there appeared the two celebrated 'Admonitions to the Parliament,' which, with the 'Books of Discipline,' marked a new stage of the contest[5]; in this the Puritan party advanced from a position of mere criticism of ceremonies and details to a general

[1] Cardwell, *Conf.*, p. 117. Strype, *Ann.*, I. ch. XXIX. p. 335.

[2] Strype, *Annals*, II. ch. VII. pp. 54 and ff.; D'Ewes, 166-168, 175, 176. Paget, *Introduction to Hooker*, Book V., pp. 33, 237.

[3] Strype, *Annals*, II. ch. XIV. p. 125. D'Ewes, 207, 213.

[4] *Doc. Ann.* LXXIX.

[5] Frere, *Engl. Ch.* V. 178.

Subsequent History.

assault upon Episcopacy, and the whole Church system, coupled with insidious attempts to introduce secretly the whole Presbyterian system of discipline in its place.[1] In the *First Admonition* the Prayer Book was described as 'an unperfect Boke, culled and picked out of that Popishe dunghil the Portuise and Masse boke, full of all abominations,' and twelve pages were devoted to a detailed attack upon it.[2] After this it could only be expected that the Puritan party, as it grew in strength and boldness, would make some deliberate effort to supersede it by another book.

Third Attempt.

Undeterred by the fear of infringing Royal prerogative or of usurping the clergy's right of initiative, further opposition to the Prayer Book appeared in Parliament in 1584, and a petition from the Commons to the Lords complained among other things that Ministers were 'molested . . . for omitting small portions or some ceremony prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer,' and asked that 'such Ministers, as do use the Book of Common Prayer . . . and none other, be not from henceforth called in question for the omission or change of some Portion or Rite as is aforesaid, so their doings therein be void of contempt.' To this petition the Archbishop of Canterbury gave answer, and utterly disallowed the article in question. In connexion with these petitions two attempts were made to procure the authorization of another Prayer Book, the first in this parliament by Dr. Turner, and the second in the ensuing parliament by Mr. Cope. The proposed book and the accompanying petition were in neither case read to the house, but on the second occasion (Feb. 27, $158\frac{6}{7}$) the proposal found much support and was being dis-

[1] See Paget, *l. c.*; Ch. 2, "The Puritan Position." Frere, *l. c.* 231.

[2] See the reprint in C.H.S. Tract LXXII.

Subsequent History.

cussed when the house rose: three days later Cope and his three chief supporters were sent to the Tower by the Council. The Queen sent for both of the sets of proposals, and the house was instructed that 'her Majesty had for divers good causes best known to herself thought fit to surpress the same, without any further examination thereof.'[1] This was not by any means the end of the book, for it was already in secret use among bodies of separatists in one or other form, and, probably in the interval between the two Parliaments, had appeared in print.[2] But after these failures, Puritan opposition became more humble in tone and more secret in its methods. The disloyalty to the Prayer Book went on, both as regards the services and ceremonies, and also as regards the whole system of discipline. Emasculated editions of the Book were published, and no doubt used, though illegally;[3] but in spite of all such secret attempts, nothing formal was done until the reign of Elizabeth was at an end.

In conclusion a curious attack on the legal position of the Ordinal must be recorded, devised by Bonner in 1564. On being summoned by Bishop Horne to take the oath of Supremacy, he refused, alleging in defence many legal technicalities to prove that in the eye of the law Horne was no bishop. His strongest plea was that the Ordinal, being a separate book from the Book of Common Prayer, was not legal, as it was not expressly mentioned in the Act of Uniformity. These technicalities were held to be so far real, that it was decided in 1566 to pass an indemnifying Act to end the case, by declaring the consecrations good and perfect in the eye of the law, and the Ordinal of Edward to be in force.[4]

[1] D'Ewes, *Journals*, 339, 410-412.
[2] See Additional Note v. p. 131.
[3] See Additional Note vi. p. 133.
[4] Dixon vi. 29 and ff.: 146 and ff.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

I.—VERSIONS OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

Latin Versions.

The Order of Communion translated by Coverdale;

THE 'Order of the Communion' (March 1548) was sent to Frankfort, as soon as it was published. There Miles Coverdale translated it into German, and also into Latin; the Latin copy was sent to Calvin, with some idea that he would approve and cause it to be printed.[1] This, however, does not seem to have been done. Another translation was made, and was immediately printed in London.[2] The initials of the translator are 'A. A. S. D. Th.,' which are those of Alexander Aless, or Alane, a Scotch divine and physician of known reformed opinions in the time of Henry VIII.,[3] who afterwards translated the entire Prayer Book of 1549. This was published at Leipsic on January 5, 1551, the same day on which Bucer's *Censura* was finished[4]: the object of the translation was to make known the progress of the reformed doctrines and practices '*pæne patriæ ipsius*,' among the foreigners with whom he had lived, '*vel ad exemplum, vel consolationem, vel etiam dolorem aliquorum*'; and it was published at that particular time when a convention to debate upon ecclesiastical matters was expected to be held under the auspices of the Emperor Charles V.[5]

and by Alexander Aless.

The First Prayer Book also.

[1] *Orig. Lett.* xix. Coverdale to Calvin (March 26, 1548).

[2] *Ordo distributionis sacramenti altaris sub utraque specie et formula confessionis faciendæ in regno Angliæ.* Hæc Londini (? Lipsiæ) evulgata sunt octavo die Martii anni MDXLVIII.

[3] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 378.

[4] Aless's work appeared with two forms of title, one omitting parts of what was given in the other, thus:—'*Ordinatio Ecclesiæ, seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici, in* [*florentissimo*] *Regno Angliæ, conscripta sermone patrio et in Latinam linguam* [*bona fide*] *conversa, et* [*ad consolationem Ecclesiarum Christi, ubicunque locorum ac gentium, his tristissimis temporibus,*] *edita ab Alexandro Alesio, Scoto,* [*Sacræ Theologiæ Doctore.*] *Lipsiæ, M.D.LI.*' It was reprinted with the *Censura* in Bucer's posthumous *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 370, but was not connected with it, unless, perhaps, it supplied the editor with a suggestion as to the title to be prefixed to the *Censura*. See Dixon, III. 284.

[5] Proemium Alesii, in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 375. *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Soc.), pp. xxiv. and ff.

Latin Versions.

Variations of Aless's Version from the Prayer Book (1549).

As to the work itself, it cannot be said to come up to those expressions of good faith and of simple honesty as a translation which Aless put forth in his title-page and preface. Some portions, which had been altered in translating from the Missal, are given in their old Latin words (*e.g.* among the Collects, that for S. Stephen's Day, Second Sunday in Lent, &c.), some clauses are interpolated (*e.g.* in the Collect for the Purification, the words, '*justusque Simeon mortem non vidit priusquam Christum Dominum videre mereretur*'); some phrases are curiously changed (*e.g.* in the Collect for S. Thomas's Day, 'suffer to be doubtful' is rendered *dubitantem confirmasti*, and in the Collect for S. Philip and S. James, the words, 'as thou hast taught S. Philip and other the Apostles,' are rendered *id quod sancti Apostoli tui Philippus et Jacobus crediderunt et docuerunt*); and some parts must be called compositions of the translator (*e.g.* Collect for S. Luke's Day). Similar variations are found in other parts of the book.

The opening of the Litany is thus given:

Cantores.	Chorus.
2. *Pater de cœlis Deus.*	
2. *Fili redemptor mundi Deus.*	*Miserere nobis.*
2. *Spiritus sancte Deus, ab utroque procedens.*	
Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus.	

The petition, 'to give to all nations,' is rendered *Ut omnibus Christianis pacem*, &c.

In the Communion Office, the second Collect for the King is almost entirely an independent composition: *Omnipotens æterne Deus, in cujus manu corda sunt Regum, qui es humilium consolator, et fidelium fortitudo, ac protector in te sperantium, da Regi nostro Edvardo sexto ut super omnia, et in omnibus, te honoret et amet, et studeat servare populo suæ Majestati commisso pacem, cum omni pietate et honestate, per Christum Dominum nostrum.* Then in the rubric, 'the priest, or he that is appointed, shall read the Epistle,' is *Sacerdos aut subdiaconus*; and 'the priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel,' is *Sacerdos aut diaconus.* 'The most comfortable Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,' is *Sacramentum plenum consolationis, Hoc est, corpus et sanguinem Christi.* The whole sentence beginning, 'And if any man have done wrong to any other, &c.,' is omitted; it was inserted in 1549, and Aless in this part retained his translation of the office of 1548. The rubric directing communicants to 'tarry still in the quire . . . the men on the one side, and the women on the other side,' is rendered, *Tunc*

Latin Versions.

communicaturi pervenient in chorum, vel locum vicinum, viri a dextris, mulieres a sinistris separatim et disjunctim genuflectant. The rubric directing the preparation of the elements is, *Tunc sacerdos tot hostias calici aut corporali imponet*, i.e., 'so much bread . . . laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose.' The Absolution widely differs from the English, which is our present form : *Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui suam potestatem dedit Ecclesiæ, ut absolvat pœnitentes a peccatis ipsorum, et reconciliet cœlesti Patri eos, qui suam fiduciam collocant in Christum, misereatur vestri*, &c. : this Aless took from Hermann's 'Simplex ac pia Deliberatio.'[1] The form of words at the delivery of the elements is rendered, *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quod traditum est pro te, conservet corpus tuum, et perducat animam tuam ad vitam æternam. Sanguis . . . qui pro te effusus est, conservet animam tuam ad vitam æternam.* The second clause of the concluding blessing is omitted, since Aless retained the short form of his previous version of the office of 1548. In the Office of Baptism all mention is omitted of the anointing after putting on the chrysom.

These notices of the carelessness of Aless in his version of the Prayer Book of 1549 are more than historical curiosities. The English Book was much altered, as we have seen, in 1552, and was again revised at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Then it was advisable that the revised book should appear also in Latin, in accordance with a privilege reserved to the Universities, in the First Act of Uniformity, which allowed public service other than the Eucharist to be performed in Greek, Latin, or Hebrew in the chapels of colleges.[2] In 1560 there was issued the Elizabethan Latin Prayer Book, and prefixed to it were Royal Letters Patent dated April 6, which gave permission that the whole of the services, including the Eucharist, might be said in such chapels in Latin, provision being also made for an *English* Service and Communion, at least on festivals. And all ministers were exhorted to use this Latin form privately on those days on which they did not say the public prayers in English in their churches.[3]

The Universities and the Latin Service.

[1] See above, p. 28.

[2] Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, LXIX. p. 364.

[3] Reprinted in *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 299 and ff. and the letters patent in *Doc. Ann.* L. Doubts have been cast on the genuineness of these letters patent : there is no trace of them in the Public Records, but the book was acknowledged by the Queen as authorized by the Crown in a Commission of Jan.

Latin Versions.

Walter Haddon (1560) follows Aless's version of the Prayer Book (1549).

The authorship of this Latin version has been given to Walter Haddon.[1] He was probably editor, or one of the editors;[2] but the real basis of the work was the old translation of the Prayer Book of 1549 by Aless. And so little care seems to have been taken to bring the Latin into agreement with the revised English Book, that it has been suspected that this apparent carelessness was intentional, and that, by means of this Latin version, the Universities and public schools, and the clergy in their private devotions, would become reconciled to the observances of the First Book of Edward VI.[3]

Haddon's Version (1560) compared with Aless's (1549), and with the English Prayer Book (1559).

The book is entitled, *Liber precum publicarum, seu ministerii Ecclesiasticæ administrationis Sacramentorum, aliorumque rituum et cæremoniarum in Ecclesia Anglicana. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.* The letters patent of Elizabeth stand in the place of the Act of Uniformity. The 'Preface' is Aless's, with a few verbal corrections of Latinity, and omitting, as not suiting the intention of the book, the directions for Daily Prayer in the parish churches, and the permission to clerks to say the Morning and Evening Prayer privately in any language they understand. The Kalendar has a name attached to almost every day:[4] and a chapter is added, *De anno et partibus ejus.* The Athanasian Creed is placed after Morning Prayer, instead of after Evening Prayer, which was its position in the English Book. The opening of the Litany is correctly given. Of the Collects, that for S. Stephen's Day, which Aless had taken from the Missal, Haddon altered partially, as also that for S. Mark's Day. In those for the Annunciation, and the 8th and 11th Sundays after Trinity, Haddon retains Aless' variation from the English. That for S. Andrew's Day Aless had given rightly enough from his copy; but a new Collect was substituted in 1552: Haddon's Latin, however, remains as a transcript from Aless.

Communion Service.

In the Communion Office, the rubric after the Decalogue, 'The Priest standing up, and saying,' is rendered, *Tunc per ministrum stantem ad sacram mensam, legetur. . . .*, determining the Priest's position by these additional words to be the same as that directed by the fourth rubric before the Office, *ad mensæ septen-*

22, 1562. See Strype's *Parker*, II. Doc. xv., Dibdin, *Reservation* (Ed. Franey, 1899), p. 53.

[1] Heylyn, *Hist. Ref.* 2 Eliz. § 19.

[2] Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* VI. 299.

[3] See Clay, *Eliz. Liturgical Services*, Pref. pp. xxi. and ff. The letters patent, however, call the book 'convenientem cum Anglicano nostro publicarum precum libro.'

[4] For the Kalendar see below, pp. 337—341.

Latin Versions.

Haddon's Version (1560) *compared with Aless's* (1549), *and with the English Prayer Book* (1559).

trionalem partem. The rubric before reading the Epistle agrees neither with the English, nor with Aless's Latin, but is a translation of that of 1549: *Post has Collectas, sacerdos, seu quis alius minister ad id deputatus, legat Epistolam, in loco ad id assignato, et sic incipiat.* The Absolution is taken from Aless, *Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui suam potestatem dedit Ecclesiæ, ut absolvat . . . misereatur vestri . . .*, but the words *Per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum* are added, making the conclusion resemble the English without regard to what has gone before. The proper Prefaces remain as Aless had taken them from the Missal, without noticing the omissions or changes of the English; yet, in that for Easter, where Aless has '*Ipse enim verus est Agnus*,' Haddon gives *Ipse enim est vere Agnus.*

Visitation of the sick.

In the Office of Visitation of the Sick, the opening versicle 'Send him help from the holy place,' taken from the Sarum Ordo, '*Mitte ei Domine auxilium de sancto*,' had been rendered by Aless '*Mitte ei Domine angelum de sanctuario*,' which Haddon retained, adding *tuo* as a correction from the English; a blunder was made in printing, so that the sentence is, *Mitte* eum *Domine angelum de sanctuario tuo.* In the exhortation, the words, 'that Almighty God is the Lord of life and death,' are rendered as they were by Aless, *Christum esse Dominum mortis et vitæ:* and the directions about making a will, declaring debts, &c., are arranged as they stand in Aless' version. The rubric allowing a special confession is worded so as to direct a private confession: *Si ægrotus sentit suam conscientiam gravatam esse aliqua in re, de illa sacerdoti privatim confiteatur;* still following Aless. The office of 1549, which Aless translated, ended with a form for anointing, if the sick person desired it: and after the prayer followed the words, '*Usquequo Domine?* Psalm xiii.' Aless omitted all mention of the anointing, and the prayer which was to accompany it when used; and gave in its place his own direction, '*si videtur commodum, dicatur etiam hic Psalmus, pro usitata ante hæc tempora unctione.* 14. *Usquequo Domine*,' &c. This ceremony was omitted in 1552, and of course did not appear in the English Book of 1559, yet Haddon concludes his office with Aless's direction, changing, however, his word '*unctione*,' '*si videtur commodum, dicatur etiam hic Psalmus, pro usitata ante hæc tempora visitatione. Psalmus xiiii.*'

Reservation of the Holy Sacrament,

In the Office of Communion of the Sick, the error of the press, of giving notice *postridie*, is continued from Aless, and the following rubrics are drawn from the same source: '*Quod si contingat eodem die Cœnam Domini in ecclesia celebrari, tunc sacerdos in cœna*

Latin Versions. and Private Celebration.

tantum Sacramenti servabit, quantum sufficit ægroto: et mox finita cœna [*Missa*, Aless] *una cum aliquot ex his qui intersunt, ibit ad ægrotum, et primo communicabit cum illis* [*eos*, Aless] *qui assistunt ægroto* [*ægro*, Aless] *et interfuerunt cœnæ, et postremo cum infirmo* [*infirmum*, Aless]. *Sed primo fiat generalis confessio, et absolutio, cum Collecta, ut supra est præscriptum. Sed si infirmus illo die petat Communionem, quo non celebratur cœna, tunc sacerdos in loco decenti, in domo ægroti, celebrabit cœnam hoc modo.*

Oremus. Omnipotens æterne Deus, &c.
Epistola. Heb. xii. Fili mi, &c.
Evangelium. Joan. v. Amen, amen dico vobis, &c.
Minister. Dominus vobiscum.
Responsio. Et cum spiritu tuo.
Minister. Sursum corda, &c.
usque ad finem, ut supra dictum est.'

We cannot help noticing that Haddon has altered Aless's Latinity, and substituted *cœna* for *missa*; which shows that the reappearance of this rubric in 1560 was not the mere result of carelessness, but that the attempt was made to give these directions to the clergy for their guidance in administering the Communion to the Sick, at least within the walls of the colleges. The English Office also merely gives a Collect with its Epistle and Gospel, without any further directions; which leaves the whole matter in an ambiguous position. (See further on this subject below, p. 628.)

If the Service of Visitation and Communion were used at one time, the minister was directed to omit the concluding verse and benediction of the Visitation Service, and to go straight to the Communion: but nothing was said about beginning otherwise than at the commencement of the Communion Office. In this Latin form, however, Haddon still follows Aless, and, by ending his rubric with the words *hoc modo*, directs the service of private Communion to begin with the proper Collect, and Epistle and Gospel; and then, by adding '*Dominus vobiscum*,' and '*Sursum corda*; *usque ad finem, ut supra dictum est*,' directs the Communion Office to be taken up at those words, proceeding to the Preface, Prayer in the name of the Communicants, Prayer of Consecration, Distribution of the Elements, and so on to the end; thereby omitting the Confession and Absolution, which occur in a previous part of the service. In giving this direction, Aless had correctly rendered the service of 1549; but the position of its several parts had been changed, and

Latin Versions.

Haddon's Version (1560) *compared with Aless's* (1549), *and with the English Prayer Book* (1559).

the same direction in 1560 was without meaning. This part of Haddon's work is a careless transcript of Aless, though the insertion of the above-mentioned rubric cannot have this excuse.

In the first of the rubrics at the end of the Office, directing the order in which those who are present are to receive the Sacrament, Haddon alters Aless's Latin, and omits the second and fourth rubrics. The second was perhaps dropped on the plea that the book was intended for learned societies, whose members did not need the curate's instruction: and possibly, the fourth, permitting the priest alone to communicate with the sick person in time of contagious sickness, may have been omitted from a charitable hope that in such fraternities the sick man would not be quite deserted; or because the order for communicating the sick with the reserved Sacrament made such a stipulation less necessary.[1]

Appendix to Haddon's Version,

The *Celebratio cœnæ Domini in funebribus*, *si amici et vicini defuncti communicare velint*, and a service '*In commendationibus Benefactorum*,' form an Appendix to the book, opening with a quotation from S. Augustine (De Civit. Dei, 1. 12): '*Curatio funeris, conditio sepulturæ, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum.*' A proper Collect, Epistle and Gospel are appointed for communion at funerals. The Collect is the original form of the present second Collect at the end of the Burial Service; the Epistle, 1 Thess. iiii. [13—18], and the Gospel, Joan. vi. [37—40]. This was transcribed from Aless's version of the Service of 1549. A second Gospel was now added '*vel hoc Evangelium.*' Joan. v. [24—29.]

'Celebratio' Cœnæ Domini in funebribus.'

The Commemoration Service ran as follows. A form, analogous to it is still used in college chapels and elsewhere.[2]

[1] L'Estrange justifies this order (*Alliance*, p. 300), because learned societies would be less prone to error and superstition; as he also justifies the permission to celebrate the Eucharist at funerals (p. 304), because the whole book was compiled for men of discerning spirits. But we can hardly avoid Mr. Clay's observation (*Elizabethan Liturg. Services*, Pref. p. xxviii.): 'Was this design, or the result of haste and inattention? Did Haddon mean (of course in obedience to command) to prepare a book which should allow of such reservation or did he merely transcribe what Aless had previously, and correctly, given? Many reasons induce us to think that, if Haddon was careless (and he cannot be wholly excused) he ever remembered what he was about, and still fulfilled his appointed task.'

[2] An English form, which differs slightly from that here given, both in its materials and their arrangement, was prescribed in 1570 by Elizabeth for the use of colleges in the University of Cambridge.

'*In commendationibus Benefactorum.*

Latin Versions.

In commendationibus Benefactorum.

Ad cujusque termini finem, commendatio fiat fundatoris, aliorumque clarorum virorum, quorum beneficentia Collegium locupletatur. Ejus hæc sit forma. Primum recitetur clara voce Oratio dominica. Pater noster, &c. *Deinde recitentur tres Psalmi,* 144, 145, 146. *Posthæc legatur cap.* 44 *Ecclesiastici. His finitis sequatur concio, in qua concionator Fundatoris amplissimam munificentiam prædicet: quantus sit literarum usus ostendat: quantis laudibus efficiendi sunt, qui literarum studia beneficentia sua excitent: quantum sit ornamentum Regno doctos viros habere, qui de rebus controversis vere judicare possunt: quanta sit scripturarum laus, et quantum illæ omni humanæ auctoritati antecedant, quanta sit ejus doctrinæ in vulgus utilitas, et quam late pateat: quam egregium et regium sit* (*cui Deus universæ plebis suæ curam commisit*) *de multitudine ministrorum verbi laborare, atque hi ut honesti atque eruditi sint, curare: atque alia ejus generis, quæ pii et docti viri cum laude illustrare possint. Hac concione perorata, decantetur,* Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.

Ad extremum hæc adhibeantur.

Minister. In memoria æterna erit justus.
Responsio. Ab auditu malo non timebit.
Minister. Justorum animæ in manu Dei sunt.
Responsio. Nec attinget illos cruciatus.

Oremus. Domine Deus, resurrectio et vita credentium, qui semper es laudandus, tam in viventibus, quam in defunctis, agimus tibi gratias pro fundatore nostro N. cæterisque benefactoribus nostris, quorum beneficiis hic ad pietatem et studia literarum alimur: rogantes, ut nos his donis ad tuam gloriam recte utentes, una cum illis ad resurrectionis gloriam immortalem perducamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.'

The object of this Latin Book, as expressed in Elizabeth's letters patent, authorizing or enjoining its use, was such as not to require the Occasional services, except those for the Visitation of the Sick, and Burial. However, it appears that when the book was first printed, it contained the Occasional Offices, but added out of their

will be found in chap. 50 of her statutes, entitled 'De ordinationibus collegiis præscriptis.' See also the *Service appointed for Obiit Sunday,*' ed once in every quarter in S. George's Chapel, Windsor, for the Companions of the Most Honourable and Noble Order of the Garter, in Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book,* p. 302 [p. 484, ed. 1884].

Latin Versions.

The Occasional Services added to Haddon's Version for use in Ireland.

order after the Burial Service; from which we may suppose that it was at first intended to end the volume at this point. The reason for this addition is conjectured [1] to have been a clause in the first Irish Act of Uniformity, passed in January of this year, sanctioning the Latin tongue in places where the common minister or priest had not the use or knowledge of the English tongue.[2] And Haddon's Latin version, which had been prepared, and, it may be, printed for the use of the learned in England, hastily received the addition of the services of Public and Private Baptism, Confirmation, with the Catechism, Matrimony, and Churching of Women, that it might exhibit the necessary parochial services, for the use of the unlearned in Ireland. In any case, two editions of the book appear to have been printed in the same year; one containing these Occasional Offices, and the other with the above-mentioned Appendix in their place. In both editions, or forms of the edition, the Commination Service was omitted, although Aless had translated it, and no reason can be given for this omission.

Two editions of Haddon's Version printed in 1560.

The discrepancy between this Latin version and the English Book of Common Prayer was felt at the time. Strype [3] says that in 1568 'most of the colleges in Cambridge would not tolerate it, as being *the Pope's Dreggs*'; and that 'some of the Fellowship of Benet College went contemptuously from the Latin Prayers the master being the minister then that read the same.' Whitaker the Master of S. John's College, in 1569 dedicated a small Prayer Book in Greek and Latin [4] to his uncle, Dean Nowell, in which he endeavoured to account for this discrepancy, on the plea that it only arose from the expansion or contraction of the original in the translation.

A correct Version published in 1571.

In 1571 another Latin version was published, intentionally made to exhibit a close resemblance to the English Book in its complete state, with the new Kalendar prepared in 1561. The Act of Uniformity is prefixed; the Occasional Services are arranged in their order; and at the end is Munster's translation of the Psalms

[1] Clay, *Eliz. Services*, Pref. p. xxiii. *note*; it is strange in that case that it is not mentioned in the Letters Patent: but the Irish Act clearly contemplates some book, and it was actually in use. See Dwyer, *History of Killaloe*, p. 67.

[2] Above, p. 108; Mant, *Hist. of the Church of Ireland*, I. 260.

[3] *Life of Parker*, p. 269.

[4] 'Liber Precum Publicarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in juventutis Grecarum literarum studiosæ gratiam Latine Græceque editus.' Like the small English Prayer Books of the period, called 'Psalters,' it contains only the Morning and Evening Prayers, the Litany, the Catechism, and the Collects. Marshall, *Latin P. of Charles II.* p. 43, Clay, *Eliz. Services*, Pref. p. xxii.

[5] *Ibid.* p. xxxi.

In this book the peculiarities of Haddon's version (1560) are avoided; yet even here we find traces of Aless's original translation, and the *postridie* notice of Communion of the Sick, and the Collect for S. Andrew's day (altered in 1552), remained in Latin according to the form of 1549, through the whole reign of Elizabeth.[1]

Latin Versions.

The First Prayer Book (1549) was translated into French for the use of the King's subjects in Calais and the Channel Islands; and care was taken to amend the translation in 1552, so that the French version should still represent the English book of Common Prayer in its altered state.[2]

Translated into French.

The Prayer Book first appeared in Welsh in 1567,[3] and in Irish for the first time in 1608.[4]

II.—MUSICAL SERVICES.

The only musical book which can claim any sort of official position is a collection printed by John Day in 1560, with the title *Certain Notes set forth in foure and three parts to be song*, and again in 1565 called *Morning and Evening Prayer and Communion, set forthe in foure partes to be song in churches.* It contains services by Causton, Heath, and Knight, and a collection of Anthems, 'Prayers' &c. by Tallis, Hasylton, R. Johnson, Shepherd and Okeland. The settings of the Communion Service comprise not only *Sanctus* and *Gloria in Excelsis*, showing that the bad custom of singing only the first part had not yet come in, but an Offertory sentence as well. The *Venite* is set anthem-wise, for Anglican Chants were not yet invented for many years to come and the old Gregorian tones to the Psalms went on almost without a rival to the end of the XVIIth century.

[1] Clay, *Eliz. Services*, Pref. p. xxxii. 'In 1615, if not before, an abridgment of this Latin Prayer Book appeared, entitled *Liber Precum Publicarum in usum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Christi, Oxon.* It contains the Morning Service, the Athanasian Creed, the Evening Service, the Litany and its Collects, followed by the Psalter: then come four prayers (Pro officio totius Ecclesiæ in communi, Pro Rege, Tempore pestilentiæ, Pro Docilitate, of which the last two were taken from the *Preces Privatæ*) two graces, a prayer for the sovereign and people, with one for their founder Henry. This, enlarged by the additional Collects after the Litany, introduced in 1604 and 1662, is still daily used for short Latin prayers during term time.'

[2] The first Prayer Book was translated into French by command of Sir Hugh Paulet, governor of Calais. This was corrected by the English revised Book, 'in all the alterations, additions, and omissions thereof,' at the instance of Goodrich, the Bp. of Ely and Lord Chancellor. Strype, *Cranmer*, II. 251. See Collier, VII. 705.

[3] Translation by W. Salesbury and Bp. Richard Davies: Marshall, *Latin Prayer Book of Charles II.* p. 8.

[4] Brit. Mus. *Catalogue*, ii. 975. Below p. 143.

III.—BOOKS OF PRIVATE DEVOTION.

Books of Private Devotion.

The old custom of the English Church, in having Books of Private Devotion for the people, following in a great measure the order of the public services, but containing also forms of more constant prayer, was still retained in the early period of the Reformation.

Two series of Reformed Primers; one dating from 1545, continued until 1575.

We may consider that there were two series of reformed Primers. The one derives from that of Henry VIII. (1545),[1] the other from the Edwardine Primer of 1553. The first was often reprinted with successive alterations, showing the steady advancement of religious opinion. Edward's first Primer (1547) was a republication of this ;[2] so also was that of 1549, with the Litany as amended for the Book of Common Prayer by the omission of the invocations of the Virgin Mary, the angels, and the patriarchs. Alterations of this sort were ordered by the Act of Parliament (3 and 4 Edward VI.) 'for the abolishing and putting away of divers books and images,' which provided that any person might use any Primers, in English or Latin, set forth by the late king, 'so that the sentences of Invocation or Prayer to Saints be blotted or clearly put out of the same.' The edition of 1551 omitted the 'Hail Mary,' with other questionable passages, though many strong doctrinal statements still remained. This was reprinted in 1551, with the addition of the Catechism, and again at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign in 1559 and subsequently.[3]

The other from the Reformed Primer of 1553.

The Primer of 1553[4] was not an improved edition, but rather a new publication, the first of a distinct series of Primers. 'An order of private prayer for morning and evening, every day in the week, and so throughout the whole year,' was substituted for the divisions of prayer according to the seven Canonical Hours ; the prayers were taken from the Book of Common Prayer, with a selection of Psalms, one or two for each service, and short lessons from Scripture, or from the Book of Ecclesiasticus ; thus forming a course of

[1] See above, p. 33.

[2] But simultaneously another edition was published which omitted the invocation of Saints (Nov. 30, 1547). Hoskins, No. 188 and p. 245.

[3] Reprinted in *Edwardian Private Prayers* (Parker Soc.). (See Clay's introduction for the whole question.) Following Henry's Book, it contains the Prayers for the dead. See Lathbury, *Hist. of P. E.*, p. 65.

[4] Printed in *Liturgies and Documents of the Reign of Ed. VI.* (Parker Soc.), p. 357.

devotion for a week. With the seven Hours of Prayer, the ancient Hymns were omitted, and the Penitential Psalms, as well as the Dirge and the Commendations, with everything touching upon prayers for the dead, or the efficacy of the saints' prayers. The Catechism and Graces, and a Preparation for prayer were placed at the beginning, and a collection of 'Sundry godly prayers for divers purposes' at the end of the book. This was reprinted in the reign of Elizabeth several times, and its descendants appeared in the XVIIth, XVIIIth and XIXth centuries.[1]

Books of Private Devotion.

These reformed Primers were accompanied by their more learned counterparts in Latin. When Henry put forth his famous Primer in 1545, he 'provided the self-same form of praying to be set forth in Latin also,' to the intent that he would 'be all things to all persons, and that all parties may at large be satisfied.' The title of the Latin Book of Private Devotion, which was substituted for the older 'Horæ,' was, *Orarium, seu libellus precationum, per regiam majestatem et clerum latine editus:* 1546. This title was taken for the Latin Book of Private Prayer, which was compiled at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, as companion to the Primer of the older series (1559), and published in 1560.[2] The 'Orarium,' however, was not a mere version of that Primer. Besides smaller variations, the Kalendar is full of names of saints; it has the short Catechism; and it has not the Dirge and Commendations.

The 'Orarium' of Hen. VIII.

The 'Orarium' of Elizabeth.

In 1564, or early in 1565, another Latin book of devotion was published under the title, *Preces privatæ, in studiosorum gratiam collectæ et Regia authoritate approbatæ.*[3] This differs from the preceding 'Orarium' mainly in substituting an order of Morning and Evening Prayer in the place of devotions for the 'Hours'; still retaining, however, some of the Hymns, Antiphons, Psalms and Lessons of the 'Orarium.' For instance, the course of Morning Prayer begins with the Sentences, then follows the Confession, a prayer of Absolution, the Lord's Prayer, 'Domine, labia mea aperies,' 'Venite,' an Antiphon, the Hymn 'Jam lucis orto sidere,' three Psalms, an Antiphon, 1st Lesson, concluding with the clause used at the termination of a lection from the prophets, 'Hæc dicit Dominus, convertimini ad me, et salvi eritis,' and followed by 'Te

The 'Preces Privatæ.'

[1] See Clay, *Elizabethan Private Prayers*, Pref. p. ix. An elaborate and detailed classification of all these various books is given by Hoskins in his *Primers*, extending from p. 235 to p. 308.

[2] Reprinted in *Elizabethan Private Prayers*, pp. 115–208.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 209–428.

Books of Private Devotion.

Deum': then the Service passes to *Lauds*, 'Deus in adjutorium,' 'Gloria Patri,' an Antiphon, 'Jubilate,' 'Benedicite,' 'Laudate Dominum de cœlis' (Psalm 149), an Antiphon, 2nd Lesson, the Hymn 'Consors paterni luminis,' 'Benedictus,' the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Versicles, Collects, and the Litany. After a similar course of Evening Prayer, and a short devotion for night, follow select Psalms, Lessons, and Prayers adapted to the great Festivals, the seven Psalms, other select Psalms, 'Flores Psalmorum, quos Psalterium Hieronymi appellant' (selected versicles from the Psalms), Pious Meditations concerning death and the resurrection, Prayers gathered from Scripture, 'Precationes Piæ variis usibus, temporibus, et personis accommodatæ,' Graces, and some devotional Poems, or Hymns. This book was reprinted in 1573 with the addition of the 'XV. Psalms or Prayers taken out of Holy Scripture,'—devotional exercises composed by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, during his year's imprisonment (1534–5) before his execution,—and some short sentences from the New Testament, supposed to have been collected by Sir Thomas More under the same circumstances.[1]

Christian Prayers.

Thus there were four series of books prepared for private devotion, and published with the royal authority in the reign of Elizabeth. To these may be added a fifth series of devotional works, published without authority, containing prayers and meditations for sundry occasions: and books of this character gradually displaced those which were formed upon the plan either of the Canonical Hours, or of the Morning and Evening Services of the Prayer Book. They seem to have originated with some compositions of Ludovicus Vives, which were translated by Bradford,[2] and Becon's 'Flower of godly Prayers,' and 'Pomander of Prayer.'[3] Then at the close of Mary's reign came 'The Pomander of Prayer' of 1558, containing among other things Vives's prayers, S. Augustine's Meditations, the XV. Oes and a Marian form of the English Litany, differing from that mentioned above. Then as Elizabethan books of devotion, we have Bull's 'Christian Prayers and Meditations' in 1566,[4] in 1569 a considerable volume with the same title, and with illustrations,[5] and in 1578 'Christian

[1] See Clay, *Eliz. Private Prayers*, p. 318, *note*.

[2] Bradford, *Sermons and Meditations* (Parker Soc.), pp. 230—242; and the Latin Prayers of Vives, *ib.* pp. 572 and ff.

[3] Becon, *Prayers, &c.* (Parker Soc.), pp. 1 and 72.

[4] Reprinted for the Parker Society.

[5] See Clay's *Elizabethan Private Prayers*, Pref. pp. xvi. and ff.

Prayers and Meditations collected out of the ancient writers,'[1] in which Bradford's translations and the 'XV. Oes of S. Bridget' are joined with prayers from Genevan sources and from Knox's 'Book of Common Order.

Description of the Liturgy.

IV.—'A DESCRIPTION OF THE LITURGY, OR BOOK OF SERVICE THAT IS USED IN ENGLAND.'

(*Troubles at Frankfort*, pp. xxviii.—xxxiv.)[2]

Some extracts from this curious description will show how obnoxious the Prayer Book was to an extreme section of Protestants in the early years of the Reformation. Their objections were not raised merely against a few isolated particulars, such as the use of the surplice, or the cross in baptism, but against the whole genius and structure of the book: it was to them 'a huge volume of ceremonies' (p. xli.). The description was drawn in Latin by Knox,[3] Whittingham, and others at Frankfort, and sent to Calvin 'for his judgment therein,' or for an expression of his known opinion touching the matter in dispute; which was, whether Knox should minister to the English exiles according to the Genevan fashion, or whether Dr. Cox and Horne should read the service in the congregation of their countrymen according to the Book authorized by the last Edwardine Parliament of England. The objections therefore apply to the Second Book of Edward VI., or to the Prayer Book at its greatest distance from Romanism.

The Litany.

After a short summary of the Daily Prayer, which is given with some fairness, the Litany is thus described: 'Besides, upon every Sabbath-day, Wednesday, and Friday, there is yet in use certain suffrages devised of Pope Gregory, which beginneth after this manner, *O God, the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners; O God the Son, Redeemer of the World*, &c.: only leaving out the invocation of saints; otherwise we use a certain conjuring of God, *By the mystery of his incarnation, By his holy nativity and circumcision, By his baptism, fasting and temptation, By his agony and bloody sweat*, &c. Yea, it comprehendeth in plain

[1] Printed in *Elizabethan Private Prayers*; see Pref. p. xxii.

[2] '*A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Frankford in Germany*, A.D. 1554. *Aboute the Booke off Common Prayer and Ceremonies, &c.* M.D.LXXV.' Reprinted, Lond. 1846.

[3] Knox's unreserved opinion is given in a Letter to Anna Lock (April 6, 1559): *Calendar of State Papers*, '*Foreign*,'—*Elizabeth*, No. 504. His language makes the Frankfort description seem a friendly delineation of the Prayer Book.

Description of the Liturgy.

words a prayer to be delivered from sudden death: the people answering to the end of every clause, either *Spare us, good Lord;* or else, *Good Lord, deliver us;* or *We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord. O Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world*, is thrice repeated. Then, *Lord have mercy upon us*, thrice; and then the Lord's Prayer, with this prayer also, *O Lord, deal not with us after our sins*, to the same adjoined; passsing over some things lest we should seem to sift all those drosses which remain still among us.'

Communion Office.

'Now the manner of the Supper is thus. The number of three at the least is counted a fit number to communicate; and yet it is permitted (the pestilence or some other common sickness being among the people) the minister alone may communicate with the sick man in his house.' . . . . 'Every holyday hath his Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, which fill seventy-five great leaves of the book, when the rest fill scarce fifty. For all holydays are now in like use among us as were among the papists, only very few excepted.' The portion following the prayer for the State of the Church militant is described as 'a long heap and mixture of matters, until they come, after a certain confession of sins, to *Lift up your hearts* . . . Now, about the end the Lord's Prayer is used again, the minister saying it aloud, and all the people following: to conclude, they have a giving of thanks in the end, with *Glory to God in the highest*, as it was used among the papists. . . .'

Baptism.

In Baptism the points mentioned are the questions addressed to the godfathers, the action of baptism by dipping warily and discreetly, and the making a cross upon the child's forehead.

Confirmation.

Confirmation is especially obnoxious: 'Afterward, sending away the godfathers and godmothers, he chargeth them that they bring the child to be confirmed of the Bishop as soon as he can say the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. And seeing there be many causes, as the book saith, which should move them to the Confirmation of children, this forsooth of all others is the weightiest, that by imposition of hands they may receive strength and defence against all temptations of sin and the assaults of the world and the devil, because that when children come to that age, partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the devil, they begin to be in danger. And lest any should think any error to be in this Confirmation, therefore they take a certain pamphlet of a Catechism, which consisteth of the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and all this is despatched in less than two leaves.'

Description of the Liturgy.

Matrimony

The description of their 'manner of marriage' passes over 'many petty ceremonies,' and fixes upon 'these follies,'—the ring, and the form of words which accompany it, the 'kneeling before the Lord's Table,' and 'being brought to The Lord's Supper.'

After a very short mention of the Offices of Visitation of the Sick, Burial, and Thanksgiving of Women, which is 'common with the papists and Jews,' this description of our Prayer Book thus concludes: 'Other things, not so much shame itself as a certain kind of pity, compelleth us to keep close; in the mean season nothing diminishing the honour due to those reverend men, who partly being hindered by those times, and by the obstinacy and also multitude of adversaries (to whom nothing was ever delightful besides their own corruptions) being as it were overflown, did always in their mind continually, as much as they could, strive to more perfect things.'[1]

Conclusion.

V.—PURITAN SUBSTITUTES FOR THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.[2]

Private Meetings for Worship.

So early as 1567, the more violent of the Puritans began to separate themselves from the worship of the Church, and to meet in private houses, where they had ministers of their own. 'And at these meetings,' says Strype,[3] 'rejecting wholly the Book of Common Prayer, they used a Book of Prayers framed at Geneva for the congregation of English exiles lately sojourning there; which book had been overseen and allowed by Calvin and the rest of his divines there,[4] and indeed was, for the most part, taken out of the Geneva form.' And again, in the year 1571, 'The Puritans, however they were not allowed to officiate in public, and had their licences (if they had any before) disallowed and annulled, yet did still in their own or other churches, or in private houses, read prayers different from the established Office of Common Prayer; using the Geneva form, or mingling the English Book.'[5]

Their services were however to take more definite shape. The book which in 1584 was presented to Parliament with the hope

[1] Calvin in his reply says, 'In Anglicana Liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias.' *Opp.* VIII. *Epist. et Responsa*, p. 98. *Brief Discourse*, p. xxxv.

[2] See Rev. P. Hall, *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, vol. I. Introd. pp. viii.—xiii.; Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp 188—192.

[3] *Life of Grindal*, ch. xii. p. 114.

[4] See above, p. 112 *n.*

[5] *Life of Parker*, bk. IV. ch. v. p. 325.

Puritan Substitutes for the Prayer Book.

A Book of Prayer presented to Parliament.

of approval and legal sanction, and of its being substituted for the Book of Common Prayer, was about the same time printed as *A Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers, Administration of the Sacraments, &c.*[1] It was altered before its publication, so far as regards the acknowledgment of the office and authority of the magistrate in matters of religion:[2] for the liberty in worship hitherto claimed, and apparently conceded, by the Puritans in the *Book of Discipline*, they had not intended to allow, had the *Forme of Common Prayer* obtained the sanction of the law.

Bancroft writes,[3] 'In the Parliament (27 of her Majesty, as I remember), the Brethren having made another Book, termed, at that time, *A Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers, &c.*, and containing in it the effect of their whole pretended Discipline: the same book was penned altogether statute and law-like, and their petition in the behalf of it was, viz. *May it therefore please your Majesty, &c. that it may be enacted, &c. that the Book hereunto annexed, &c. intituled A Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers, Administration of Sacraments, &c. and everything therein contained, may be from henceforth authorized, put in use, and practised throughout all your Majesty's dominions.*' He further speaks of a second Book, containing many alterations, published in the next year, and of a third with further alterations within another year also submitted for authorization by public authority.[4] No doubt it was this third book which Mr. Cope submitted in 1586–1587. The earliest known edition is that printed in London by Waldegrave, without date, but doubtless either in 1584, or the early part of 1585; for it was prohibited by an order of the Star Chamber in June 1585: no other English edition is known, but an edition, somewhat altered in arrangement, appeared at Middleburgh (where a company of English merchants resided under the ministry of Cartwright) in 1586, an exact reprint of this but much neater in appearance in 1587, and a fresh edition with additions in 1602.

The Middleburgh Book of Prayer.

The *Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers* was simply drawn from Knox's Genevan Service-book and his later Scottish book called *The Book of Common Order*. Behind both lay Calvin's Genevan Liturgy. It had no connexion at all with the English

[1] Brit. Mus. *Catalogue*, II. 983.
[2] Bancroft, *Survey of Holy Discipline*, p. 66, and *Dangerous Positions*, p. 68.
[3] *Ibid.*, bk. III. ch. x. pp. 96 and ff. Paget *Introduction*, p. 253.
[4] *Sermon preached at Paul's Cross*, Feb. 9, 1588, in Hickes' *Tracts*, i. 287.

Prayer Book except in so far as it contained one or two portions of the Second Edwardine Prayer Book, which were all that Knox incorporated into his Genevan Service-book.[1]

Puritan Editions of the Prayer Book.

VI.—PURITAN EDITIONS OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

When war was openly declared by the 'Admonitions to Parliament' and kindred documents between the Puritans and the Catholics in the Church, the former, disappointed of an open victory, set to work to accomplish their end by secret means. They failed to gain for themselves any mitigation of the law, which forbade any Public Service in England except that which was prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer.[2] Accordingly an attempt seems to have been made to bring the book itself into conformity with their views, not indeed by urging any further authoritative revision, which was hopeless, but by printing it in a somewhat altered form. A series of such Prayer Books appeared between 1578 and 1640. What we may call the first Puritan edition (Barker, 1578) varies from the authorized book in the following particulars. It commences with the Table of Proper Lessons, '*For Morning*,' '*For Evening*,' being put in the place of *Mattins*, *Evensong: Minister* is printed throughout for *Priest:* from the Communion Service the first four rubrics are left out; but the reader is expressly referred for them to *the Great Booke of Common Prayer*. Private celebration of the Sacraments was discarded; hence the phrase *great number* was substituted for *good number*, in the second rubric at the end of the Communion Service: in the Office of Public Baptism, the introductory rubric was omitted, which concludes with allowing children, if necessity

Variations from the authorised Prayer Book.

[1] See above pp. 93, 94, 111, 112 and below p. 143. A reprint of the first, or London, edition of this book is in the first volume of the Rev. P. Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, xi. A collation of the Middleburgh editions of 1586 and 1602 is in the first volume of his *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*.

[2] A request was made by some eminent members of foreign churches in behalf of their English friends; but the Queen replied, 'That it was not with her safety, honour, and credit, to permit diversity of opinions in a kingdom where none but she and her council governed, not owning either imperial or papal powers, as several of the princes and states there did, and were glad to compound with them.' Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. iv. p. 87. Later when the Emperor made a similar request, she replied in a similar strain, adding to her prudential reasons that she saw no 'cause why she should grant it, seeing England embraced not new or strange doctrine, but the same which Christ commanded, and what the primitive and Catholic Church had received, and was approved by the ancient fathers' *Ibid.* I. ch. xi. p. 148.

Puritan Editions of the Prayer Book

so require, to be at all times baptized at home: the whole service for Private Baptism was omitted: and only the third rubric was retained in the Communion of the Sick. Confirmation, with all the rubrics touching upon it, was omitted, as was also the service for the Churching of Women.[1] A Calendar was also compiled, rather as an addition to that of the Church than as a substitute for it, each monthly portion being placed under the authorized Kalendar. It seems that this was too bold an experiment; or the party could not agree in any uniform practice. Afterwards, we find the book brought into a form much more nearly resembling the original. In 1589, the rubric at the end of Public Baptism, the service for Private Baptism, that for Churching of Women, and the address before the Catechism, were restored to their places. And in these services, the word *Priest* remained unchanged; which may perhaps be regarded as a silent but intelligible sign, that these services were added for apparent conformity, but that the use of them was to be discouraged. A later edition, belonging rather to the next reign, differs from the authorized book merely by putting, *For Morning*, *For Evening*, and *Minister*, instead of *Mattins*, *Evensong*, and *Priest; Priest*, however, remained still unaltered in the services for Private Baptism and the Churching of Women. In this shape we may suppose that this Prayer Book continued to be printed until 1616, *i.e.* as long as the Geneva version of the Bible was printed, to which every scriptural quotation had been adjusted. During the next twenty-five years, we find copies of a small size, in which *Minister* very often stands for *Priest*, and in which occasionally they are alternated in a most extraordinary manner. These books were always printed by the houses which had the right of printing the Book of Common Prayer, no doubt as part of their exclusive privilege, and usually they were joined to the Geneva Bible: just as some editions of the Bishops' Bible were accompanied by the Prayer Book in its authorized form. It is not certain what was the actual intention, or use made, of these books. They could not be publicly used in the church without risk of penalties; yet even from the size of some editions we cannot say that less than this was aimed at. It is certain also that the Puritans did not conduct their ministration strictly according to the authorized form; and that the Bishops' Bible was not the only Bible used in the public service.[2] The folio edition of

Bound with the Geneva Bible.

[1] See *Brief Discourse*, quoted above, p. 131.

[2] Abp. Whitgift's Articles (1584); Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* xcix.

the Geneva Bible of 1578 (like the folio editions of the Bishops Bible, 1568 and 1572) has two Psalters in parallel columns,—*The translation according to the Ebrewe*, and *The translation used in Common Prayer;* this latter being divided into the portions for Morning and Evening Prayer. This looks like a provision for the public service, and seems to give the same character to the altered Prayer Book at the beginning of the volume.[1]

Puritan Editions of the Prayer Book

VII.—ABRIDGED PRAYER BOOKS.

The custom of issuing the Prayer Book in an abridged form began as early as August, 1549, when there appeared for the benefit of parish clerks a book containing The Psalter, followed by Mattins and Evensong given fairly fully : then the Litany (placed for the first time in this position) and then 'All that shall apperteigne to the clerks to saie or sing at the ministration of the Communion and when there is no Communion ; at Matrimony, Visitation, Burial, Purification and the first day of Lent.'[2] This 'Psalter' was the first of a series of such books.

At a later date the abridgment was made with the object of binding up the most necessary parts of the services with the Bible. An edition published by Cawood in 1560 or 1561 contains the following parts of the Prayer Book prefixed to the Bible :—The opening Tables, Kalendar, &c., Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, the Collects throughout the year ; and of the Order for Communion only the Collects for the Queen, the Confession, the Prayer of humble access, the Thanksgiving, the Blessing and the Collects to be said after the Offertory when there is no Communion. Some of the later editions do not include any part of the Communion Service.

[1] Clay, *Elizabethan Liturgical Services*, Pref. pp. xv.—xix. ; Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* p. 188.

[2] Some interesting light is thrown upon the rubrics by this volume : *e.g.* the Epistle is assigned to the Clerk, but not the Confession. A reprint of it has been issued by the H. Bradshaw Society (vol. xxv., ed. J. W. Legg).

CHAPTER VI

THE PRAYER BOOK FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I. TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES I.

[A.D. 1603—1649.]

Puritan Objections.

UPON the accession of King James I. (March 24, 1603), the earliest measure adopted by the general body of the Puritans was to present to him (in April) the famous Millenary petition,[1] so called from the number of ministers who were said to have consented to it.[2] Their chief grievances were four: The Church Service, Church ministers, Church livings and maintenance, Church Discipline. Upon the subject of the Prayer Book they urged that of these 'offences following, some may be removed, some amended, some qualified:—

The Millenary Petition.

Puritan objections to the Prayer Book.

'In the Church Service: that the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, confirmation, as superfluous, may be taken away: baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained: the cap and surplice not urged: that examination may go before the Communion: that it be ministered with a sermon: that divers terms of 'priests' and 'absolution' and some other used, with the ring in marriage, and other such like in the book, may be corrected: the longsomeness of service

[1] Printed in Gee and Hardy, *Statutes*, p. 213. *Documents*, LXXXVIII.; Prothero, [2] Gardiner, *Hist.* I. 148, *note*.

Puritan Objections.

abridged: Church songs and music moderated to better edification: that the Lord's Day be not profaned: the rest upon Holy Days not so strictly urged: that there may be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed: no popish opinion to be any more taught or defended: no ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus: that the canonical Scriptures only be read in the church.'

'These, with such other abuses yet remaining and practised in the Church of England,' they declared 'we are able to show not to be agreeable to the Scriptures, if it shall please your Highness further to hear us, or more at large by writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved.'[1]

A Conference proposed,

The King acceded to the request for a Conference, as suited to his own fondness for such a debate, though contrary to the wishes of the universities and of the clergy generally. A proclamation[2] was issued (October 24), 'Touching a meeting for the hearing and for the determining things pretended to be amiss in the Church,' 'to be had before himself and his council of divers of the bishops and other learned men.' The meeting was at first intended to be held on the 1st of November, but was deferred till after Christmas. Meanwhile, Archbishop Whitgift sent to Hutton, Archbishop of York, certain queries of matters that might be debated at the Conference; among which these points were noted concerning the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments: '(i.) concerning lay baptism: (ii.) concerning the sign of the cross in the child's forehead made at its baptism: (iii.) concerning praying in the Litany to be delivered from sudden death, since

and ordered by proclamation.

[1] Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 131 and ff. Frere, *Engl. Ch.* V. 292.

[2] *Doc. Ann.* CXVI.; *Conferences*, p. 148.

Conference at Hampton Court.

we ought so to live, that death should never find us unprepared.'[1]

The Conference was held at Hampton Court,[2] on the 14th, 16th, and 18th of January, 1604. The persons summoned to take part in the discussion, on the side of the Puritans, were Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Sparkes, Mr. Knewstubbs, and Mr. Chaderton, who had the reputation of being the most grave, learned, and modest of the party. The Conference, however, was not a discussion between the Episcopal and Puritan divines in the presence of the royal council, but a Conference first between the King and the bishops, and secondly between the King and the invited Puritan divines, concluded by the royal determination upon the points debated. On the first day the King assembled the lords of his council and nine of the bishops with the deans of the chapel royal and four cathedral churches; after an hour's speech he propounded six points, three of them in the Common Prayer Book, viz. the general absolution, the confirmation of children, and the private lay baptism: the two former were allowed, but some things in them were to be made clear. After a long discussion on private baptism, it was agreed that it should only be administered by ministers, yet in private houses if occasion required. Some other matters were debated, concerning the jurisdiction of bishops, and the civilization of Ireland.

Conference between the King and the bishops, on Saturday Jan. 14.

On the second day, the Puritan representatives were called before the King and the council, in the presence of the bishops of London and Winchester, and the deans and doctors, who had been summoned to take part in the Conference. The Puritans propounded four points:—purity of doctrine: means to maintain it: church govern-

Conference between the King with certain bishops and the Puritan divines, on Monday, Jan. 16.

[1] Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 570; and Appendix, XLIV. Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 151 and ff.

[2] Frere, *English Church*, V. 296.

ment: the Common Prayer Book. Concerning the book itself and subscription to it, there was much stir about all the ceremonies and every point in it; chiefly *Confirmation*, the *cross* in baptism, the *surplice*, *private baptism*, *kneeling* at the Communion, the reading of the *Apocrypha*, and *subscriptions* to the Book of Common Prayer and Articles. 'All that day was spent in ceremonies,' writes Dean Montague in a letter giving an account of what passed in his presence, and 'all wondered that they had no more to say against them.'[1] The conclusion was that there should be a uniform translation of the Bible, and one form of catechism over all the realm; that the Apocrypha should be read, but not as Scripture; and that any doubtful point of the Articles should be cleared.

Conference at Hampton Court.

On the third day, the bishops and deans, with certain civilians, attended at the court, and the Archbishop presented to the King a note of those things, both explanations to be added to the rubrics and other points, which had been referred to their consideration on the first day. These were: '1. Absolution, *or remission of sins*, in the rubric of absolution.[2] 2. In private baptism, *the lawful minister present*. 3. *Examination*, with confirmation of children. 4. *Jesus said to them*, twice to be put in the dominical Gospels, instead of *Jesus said to his disciples*.'

Alterations agreed to by the King and the bishops on Wednesday, Jan. 18.

[1] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 140. The opposition was soon seen to be very factious and futile. The King in a private letter revealed how much he had enjoyed the discomfiture which awaited the Puritans. 'We have kept such a revell with the Puritans here this two days as was never heard the like: quhaire I have peppered thaime as soundlie as yee have done the Papists thaire.' And a good bit more in a very racy strain; for which see Cardwell. *Conf.*, p. 161.

[2] '*I.* Tell me I pray you why some of your combination desired to have the Absolution termed a Remission. *N.* Because Absolution implyeth forgiving of sins with authority, Remission only by way of declaration; whereof this latter may be permitted to men, but the former is peculiar to God: and therefore you are in this point too much the apes of Popery.' Fisher's dialogue, *A Defence of the Liturgy*, p. 174, written circ. 1610 (see p. 14), but not published till 1630.

Conference at Hampton Court.

With regard to Baptism, the King directed an alteration in the rubric of private baptism: instead of, 'They baptize not children,' it should be, '*They cause not children to be baptized*;' and instead of, 'Then they minister it,' it should be '*The curate, or lawful minister present, shall do it on this fashion.*' Then, after some discussion about the High Commission, the oath *ex officio*, and excommunication, and referring some points to special committees, Dr. Rainolds and his associates were called in, and the alterations agreed to were read to them. There was a little disputing about the words in the marriage ceremony, 'With my body I thee worship,' and it was agreed that they should be, '*worship and honour*,' if it were thought fit. There followed a discourse upon unity and peace from the King, and a vain complaint urged in behalf of some ministers in Lancashire and Suffolk, who would lose their credit if they were now forced to use the surplice and cross in baptism; to this it was curtly answered, that the general peace of the Church must be preferred to the credit of a few private men; and so the Conference ended with a joint promise of the Puritan representatives to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be the King's mind to have it so.[1]

Revision of the Prayer Book after the Conference,

Certain alterations were thus agreed to by the King and the bishops at the Conference; but the particular form in which they should be expressed was referred with three other points to the bishops. A special commission[2] dealt with other decisions of the Conference, *e.g.*, the reform of Church Government and the new translation of the Bible. To effect the liturgical changes the King issued his letters patent[3]

[1] See Cardwell, *Hist. of Conferences*, 'Letter of Dr. James Montague, dean of the Chapel Royal,' pp. 138 and ff.; and 'The Sum and Substance of the Conference, contracted by Dr. William Barlow, dean of Chester,' *ibid.* pp. 167—212.

[2] *S. P. Dom.* vi. 18, 25.

[3] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 217.

(February 9), specifying the alterations, and ordering the publication and the exclusive use of the amended Book. The authority for this action was the undefined power of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters, as well as the statutable power granted by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559. And care was taken to call the alterations by the name of *explanations*, to bring them under the clause in Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, which empowered the Sovereign, with the advice of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to ordain further ceremonies, if the orders of the book should be misused.[1] It is to be noted, however, that these alterations had the sanction of Convocation, inasmuch as that body allowed this exercise of the prerogative, and ordered the amended book to be provided for the use of the parish churches.[2]

Conference at Hampton Court.

by the royal authority

and sanctioned by Convocation.

The following changes were made at this time (1604): —In the Kalendar: one more Black Letter Saint was

Kalendar.

[1] See the letters patent, in Cardwell. Also in a proclamation (March 5), the King says, 'We thought meet, with consent of the bishops and other learned men there present, that some small things might rather be explained than changed; not that the same might not very well have been borne with by men who would have made a reasonable construction of them, but for that in a matter concerning the service of God we were nice, or rather jealous, that the public form thereof should be free not only from blame, but from suspicion, so as neither the common adversary should have advantage to wrest aught therein contained to other sense than the Church of England intendeth, nor any troublesome or ignorant person of this Church be able to take the least occasion of cavil against it: and for that purpose gave forth our commission under our Great Seal of England to the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, according to the form which the laws of this realm in like case prescribe to be used, to make the said explanation, and to cause the whole book of Common Prayer with the same explanations to be newly printed.' Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 227, Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* LXXXIX. Cp. *S. P. Dom.* vi. 83.

In the proclamation of Oct. 24 it was expressly stated that if the state of things 'deserved a review and amendment,' the King would proceed according to the laws and customs of this realm, by advice of the Council or Parliament or Convocation. See above, p. 137.

[2] Canon LXXX. (1604). '*Libri sacri in ecclesiis parandi.* Ecclesiarum et capellarum omnium œconomi et inquisitores librum publicarum precum, nuper in paucis explanatum ex auctoritate regia, juxta leges et majestatis suæ hac in parte prærogativam, sumptibus parochianorum comparabunt.'

Changes made after the Hampton Court Conference.

Divine Service.

added, and lessons from canonical scripture were substituted for Tobit and Bel and the Dragon. Into the title of the Absolution were inserted the words, '*or Remission of Sins.*' A prayer for the Queen, the Prince, and other the King's and Queen's children, was placed after the prayer for the King; and a corresponding petition was inserted in the Litany. Thanksgivings for particular occasions, for Rain, for Fair Weather, for Plenty, for Peace and Victory, and for Deliverance from the Plague, in two forms, were added to the Occasional Prayers in the end of the Litany, and were styled, '*An enlargement of thanksgiving for diverse benefits, by way of explanation.*'

Gospels.

In the Gospels for the 2nd Sunday after Easter, and the 20th Sunday after Trinity, the words 'unto His disciples' were omitted, and '*Christ said*' and '*Jesus said*' were to be printed in letters differing from the text.

Baptism.

The main alteration was made in the rubrics of the Office of Private Baptism, and the administration was now restricted to the minister of the parish, or some other lawful minister. The title had been, 'Of them that be baptized in private houses in time of necessity'; now it became, '*Of them that are to be baptized in private houses in time of necessity, by the Minister of the parish, or any other lawful Minister that can be procured.*' The 2nd rubric,—'that without great cause and necessity they baptize not children at home in their houses . . . that then they minister on this fashion . . .' was amended as it now stands, '. . . *they procure not their children to be baptized* . . .' The 3rd rubric, 'First, let them that be present call upon God for his grace . . . and one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour . . .' was now, '*First, let the lawful Minister, and them that be present, call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's Prayer, if the time will suffer. And then the*

child being named by some one that is present, the said lawful Minister shall dip it in water, or pour water upon it. . .' A corresponding alteration was made in the 4th rubric; and the inquiry—'Whether they call upon God for grace and succour in that necessity?'—was omitted, and the following precaution inserted in its place. '*And because some things essential to this sacrament may happen to be omitted through fear or haste in such times of extremity; therefore I demand further. . . .*'

Charges made after the Hampton Court Conference.

'Confirmation' was explained by adding the words, '*or laying on of hands upon children baptized, and able to render an account of their faith, according to the Catechism following.*'

Confirmation.

The concluding portion upon the Sacraments was added to the Catechism,[1] and is generally attributed to Overall, the prolocutor of the Convocation.[2]

Catechism.

In 1608 the Prayer Book was printed in Irish, having been translated by William Daniel, or O'Donnell, Archbishop of Tuam, who had in 1602 published the first Irish version of the New Testament.[3]

Irish Prayer Book.

In Scotland the use of prescribed forms of prayer had long been a matter of controversy. The English Book had been in general use there between the years 1557 and 1564, but when Knox returned to Scotland in 1559 he brought with him his Genevan book,[4] which soon displaced the Prayer Book, and under the title of *The Book of Common Order* became the authoritative model[5] of worship. Under James I. a valid episcopacy was restored to Scotland in 1610,[6] and in 1616 he

In Scotland.

The English Prayer Book used for seven years.

[1] See the King's letter, commanding the alterations; Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 217.

[2] See below, p. 600.

[3] See Stephens, *MS. Book of Common Prayer for Ireland* (ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. 1849). Introd. pp. xxix. and ff.

[4] See p. 112 *n.*

[5] Sprott and Leishman, *The Book of Common Order*, p. xv.

[6] Stephen, *Hist. Scot. Ch.* II. 202.

The Prayer Book for Scotland,

The General Assembly sanctions a Liturgy and Canons.

obtained the sanction of the General Assembly at Aberdeen, that a Prayer Book should be compiled for the use of the church,[1] and the work was entrusted to one Peter Hewat, an Edinburgh minister, and three others. The result of this was a Form of Service[2] to be used before sermon, which lay in MS. and forgotten till 1871. It was professedly a revision of The Book of Common Order, and consisted mainly of an exhortation on the fourth commandment, a long confession of sins, a psalm and prayer, two chapters from the Gospels and Epistles respectively, another psalm, creed, and a long final prayer.

The King was set upon bringing Scotland into line with English customs, and in 1617 caused the English Prayer Book to be used in the chapel royal of Holyrood.[3] Meanwhile, he had sent to Scotland a set of Five Articles enforcing Kneeling at Communion, Private Baptism and Communion, four Holy Days corresponding to Christmas, Good Friday, Easter and Whitsunday, and an Episcopal Blessing of Children. The Scottish clergy resisted the Articles vigorously, and resented the King's English service; and when in 1618 the Articles were definitely submitted, by the King's desire, to the General Assembly at Perth, they were only adopted under great pressure, and by the vote of the lay nobility.[4] In 1621 they were confirmed by Parliament, but were not a whit more acceptable on that account.[5] The Perth Assembly appointed a Commission to revise the draft Service-book; but it seems that this was set aside in favour of a new draft which was ready early in 1619,[6] and

Service-books prepared,

[1] Collier, *Hist.* VII. 709; Stephen, II. 219; Gardiner, *Hist.* III. 221.

[2] 'Hewat's Form of Prayer,' printed in Sprott's *Scottish Liturgies of James VI.* (Edinburgh, 1871), pp. 119–140.

[3] Hall, *Rel. Lit.* introd. p. xxii.; Sprott, p. xxv.

[4] Gardiner, III. 220 and ff. Stephen, II. 223.

[5] Gardiner, VII. 274.

[6] A copy of this draft of the Prayer-Book for Scotland is in the British Museum: it is printed with a valua-

submitted by the Archbishop of S. Andrew's to the King.

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

In character it was a cross between the English Prayer Book and Knox's Book. The features of the former which were unpopular with the Puritans are omitted, but on the other hand some features appear which were retained in the later Scottish Book of 1637, and so found their way into the English Book of 1662. The Morning and Evening Prayer follow the lines of the Prayer Book, but all Versicles and Responses and variable Collects are omitted, except that five Collects are provided for the five 'Commemoration' days recognised by the Church corresponding to Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. Special features were provided for Sundays, drawn largely from The Book of Common Order. The service of Baptism is the English Order altered on Puritan lines. The Confirmation service contains the Catechism drawn up by order of the Aberdeen Assembly in 1616. The Communion Order consists of a long exhortation and prayers, with the English acts of Consecration and Administration, with rubrics for the manual acts. Then follow the Marriage Service, Visitation Order (with the English exhortation to confession and form of absolution), and lastly a general direction as to Burial. It was revised, with the assistance of Young, Dean of Winchester, and then returned to Archbishop Spottiswoode, in whose hands it lay dormant for some time,[1] owing to the disturbed state of Scottish feeling, consequent upon the King's action in forcing the Canons upon the Kirk.

but not used

An Ordinal was adopted in 1620, based on the then

The Ordinal.

le introduction in Sprott. See lso Hall, *Reliq. Liturg.* vol. I. ntrod. p. xix.; Stephen, II. 216; iardiner, VII. 282.

[1] It was in 1619 very near to publication, for a license to print it for nineteen years was then granted. Sprott, p. xxxiv.

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

English Ordinal, but only recognising two orders—Bishops and Ministers.[1] But in the following year, when Parliament accepted the Articles, a promise was given that there should be no further innovation, and the liturgical movement was stayed.

New projects under Charles.

The project, however, was revived early in the next reign. Negotiations began in 1629 between Maxwell (on behalf of the Scottish Bishops) and Laud as to a new Book. Maxwell had, at the King's request, brought a copy of the draft-book with him from Scotland. This did not commend itself to Laud, who wished the Scots to have the English Book; but Maxwell maintained that they would be much more likely to accept a book of their own.[2]

Four years later, when Charles visited Scotland, and was crowned at Edinburgh, the English customs were used. Gold and blue copes and a crucifix alarmed the Scottish mind, but there was more fighting over the surplice. The King, however, was unmoved and ordered the use of the English Book in the Royal chapel, with the Communion ministered every month in copes, with kneeling at reception enforced. Similar orders were directed to the Bishops and the University of S. Andrew's.[3] But, meanwhile, as a compromise between the conflicting desires for the Scottish draft-book of 1619 and the English book, the Bishops were instructed to draw up a new book, with the help of Laud, Wren, and Juxon.[4] The

[1] This very rare book has been reprinted in the Wodrow Miscellany, and by Mr. Forbes in his edition of the Works of Bp. Rattray (Burntisland, 1854), pp. 695—712 (i. 597–615): *The forme and maner of ordaining ministers: and consecrating of archbishops and bishops used in the Church of Scotland.* Edinburgh, 1620.

[2] Laud. *History of Troubles*, 168, (*Works*, III. 427), cp. 109 (335) and ff.

[3] Collier, VIII. 760, gives the order in full, cp. Stephen, II. 238, Gardiner, VII. 385. Sprott, xlvii–xlix.

[4] Juxon, Bishop of London, being also Lord Treasurer, was at times too busily occupied to pay the requisite attention; so that the work was left to Laud and Wren. Collier, VIII. p. 767, Laud, *Works*, VI. 456.

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

work was done in the main by Bishops Maxwell and Wedderburn. Laud threw himself into it, when, against his judgment, it was decided on.[1] It was to be framed upon the English model 'as near as can be,'[2] and it seems clear that the draft of 1619 was discarded, and the English Book taken as a basis; but some modifications were adopted to meet the wishes of the Scottish Bishops.

After a new draft emanating from them had been set aside, even though it had been accepted and was in 1635 and 1636 already partly in print, another fresh start was made again on the basis of the English book; some modifications were adopted from a paper of 'Certain notes to be considered of,' sent to Archbishop Laud by Wedderburn, while others were rejected. The suggestion that the extracts from Scripture should be printed according to the last translation of the Bible was adopted, and also the proposal 'that every Prayer, or Office, through the whole Communion, should be named in the rubric before it, that it may be known to the people what it is.' Again it was conceded at the Eucharist that the Collect of Consecration and Oblation . . . . and the Lord's Prayer should be said before the Communion'; but, in spite of a proposal to change, it was decided that the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Sentences, Prefaces, and Doxology should be set in the same order they stand in the English Liturgy: and that the Prayer of humble access to the Holy Table might stand immediately before participation. Wedderburn's new Offertory Sentences were incorporated, and at his suggestion a rubric was inserted directing the

Scottish proposals,

in the Communion Office.

[1] See the account of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, by Dr. Bright, in Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 580 [705, ed. 1884]; Dowden, *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, pp. 29 and ff.; Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* VIII. 762.

[2] King Charles's letter to Spottiswoode, Oct. 20, 1634. Sprott, p. xlix., cp. Laud's note on p. xlvii.

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

manual acts in Consecration, which, though designedly omitted from the English Book since 1552, were considered by Laud "the practice of the Church of England." Further objections seem to have been raised to the keeping of Saints' days, the *Quicunque*, and probably the ceremonies of the ring and cross, which were the stock complaints of the enemy, but these met with less consideration. Fault was also found by Wedderburn with the Scottish Ordinal of 1620,[1] that the Order of Deacons was made no more than a lay office, and that 'in the admission to priesthood' 'the very essential words of conferring orders are left out.'[2] It was not till October 18, 1636, that it was decided to keep the English formula of ordination: at the same time the objections to the reading of lessons from the Apocrypha and to Saints' days were finally overruled.

The Book sanctioned by King Charles.

The Book both reached its final form and also was authorized by Royal warrant on October 18, 1636; it was then promulgated by Act of the Scottish Privy Council and by Royal Proclamation on December 20. It was not likely to win the Scots' approval. Not only did the new book prove ultimately to be merely a revision of the disliked English Book, and that too in the opposite

[1] Above, p. 145.

[2] See the letter of April 20, 1636, printed in Prynne's *Hidden Works of Darkness brought to Light* (1645), p. 152 (Laud, *Works*, VI. 455), written by Laud to Wedderburn, informing him how many of the notes were allowed, and adding sundry directions from the King. These new alterations superseded those that had been formerly conceded, and were now written, chiefly in presence of the King, on the margin of a 4to English Prayer Book, with the following warrant for their adoption:—'CHARLES R., I give the Archbishop of Canterbury command to make the alterations expressed in this book, and to fit a Liturgy for the Church of Scotland. And wheresoever they shall differ from another book, signed by us at Hampton Court, September 28, 1634, our pleasure is to have these followed: unless the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and his brethren who are upon the place, shall see apparent reason to the contrary. At Whitehall, April 19th, 1636.' Hall, *Reliq. Lit.* Introd. pp. xxv. and ff. Sprott, lviii. and ff.

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

direction to that which the Scots would have wished, but the whole matter was grossly mismanaged by the Scottish Bishops, in spite of Laud's repeated warnings. The Book of Canons ordering the Book was allowed to appear before the Book and prepare for it a hostile reception. The clergy and the General Assembly were not consulted, and their attitude seems hardly to have been even considered. The book was foredoomed, in spite of its excellence.

Its variations from the English Prayer Book.

When it appeared, the following were seen to be its more prominent characteristics.

In the Kalendar, by the King's express command, while the ordinary reading of the Apocrypha was given up, the first six chapters of Wisdom, and the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 8th, 35th, and 49th chapters of Ecclesiasticus, were placed among the Lessons to be read for certain Saints' days: and besides the names of the saints which were in the English Kalendar, some were inserted belonging to the northern part of the island. Throughout the book, by way of concession to the Scots' wishes, the words *Presbyter*, or *Presbyter or Minister*, or *Presbyter or Curate*, were used instead of *Priest* or *Minister*. In the Office of Baptism, the water in the font was ordered to be changed twice in a month at least; and on the occasion of the first baptism after the water had been changed, the Presbyter or Minister should add these words in the first prayer of the service, 'Sanctify this fountain of baptism, Thou which art the Sanctifier of all things.' In the Communion Office, some important changes were made in the expressions, and the arrangement of the prayers was brought more nearly into accordance with the first Book of Edward VI.[1]

[1] For fuller detail, see Bright's 'The Booke of Common Prayer and account in Blunt, *Annotated P. B.* Administration of the Sacraments,

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

The Book not used,

This Book of Common Prayer for Scotland can hardly be said to have been used: it was silenced by a popular tumult, as soon as the attempt was made to introduce it, on the 23rd of July, 1637.[1] A new Ordinal is said to have been published in 1636, but no copy of it is known to exist. The Prayer Book itself ends with the Commination. The Psalter had already been printed in 1636.

but not wasted.

The book over which Laud had spent such pains[2] was thus a failure: this was due, not to its own fault, but to the circumstances which surrounded its introduction. The pains were not wasted, for a good deal of the amendment introduced into the Scottish Book was afterwards

and other parts of Divine Service for the use of the Church of Scotland' (1637), is reprinted in vol. II. of P. Hall's *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*. Its variations from the English Prayer Book are noted in L'Estrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices*, Keeling's *Liturgiæ*, and Parker's *First P. B.*

[1] Gardiner, VIII. 312. Stephen, II. 250. Seven years afterwards a sort of remembrance of it was issued by the Kirk, at the same time that the Directory was published in England, entitled, 'The New Booke of Common Prayer, according to the forme of the Kirke of Scotland, our brethren in faith and covenant,' 1644, with 'C. R.' on the title-page. It was a brief abstract of Calvin's Geneva Prayer Book, derived from Knox's Book of Common Order. Hall, *Fragment. Lit.* I. pp. 85—98.

[2] This was not the only influence which this archbishop has been supposed to have exercised upon the Book of Common Prayer. He was accused by the Puritans of having caused some changes of words and phrases to be inserted in the editions printed under his supervision, in order to give support to doctrines and practices which were now called popish. And the accusation was made so unscrupulously, that it was very generally believed, in spite of the archbishop's solemn denial, and notwithstanding the fact that no such alterations had been made—a fact which was patent to any who might choose to compare the printed books. Mr. Lathbury states, as the result of a comparison of editions from 1604 to 1642, that the word *priest* or *minister* was inserted by the printer at his own discretion, or as a matter of indifference. Moreover such charges were made at random: Prynne says the same of Cosin, that he had made alterations in our Common Prayer Book, and put *priests* for *ministers*. *Hist. of Convocation*, p. 270. Another charge against Laud was that *at* was printed for *in*, in the Epistle for the Sunday before Easter, where the phrase was, '*in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow*': the Archbishop replied that, if the alteration were purposely made by the printers, they followed the Geneva Bible (1557). The fact was that '*at*' was printed during the whole of the reign of Charles I., and the practice of bowing at the name of Jesus, which the word was supposed to sanction, had been required by the injunctions of Elizabeth. See Cardwell, *Conf.* ch. v.

adopted into the English Book in 1662,[1] and other good points, which the English Prayer Book has never yet been able to adopt, have found their way by means of the Scottish Liturgy into the Liturgy of the American Church; besides, the tradition of the Book of 1637 is preserved in the present Scottish Liturgy, which may fairly claim to be the best Liturgy in use in the Anglican Communion.[2]

The Prayer Book for Scotland.

From the opening of the Long Parliament at the end of 1640, it was manifest that a time of trouble was coming speedily upon the Church of England; Convocation, Liturgy, and Episcopacy were alike attacked, and after the Lords had attempted to suppress disturbances by commanding that the Prayer Book order should be observed[3] (January 16), attempts were made to lessen the hostility of the Puritans against the Prayer Book by introducing some important changes. On the 1st of March, the very day on which Archbishop Laud was sent to the Tower, the House of Lords appointed a committee,[4] 'to take into consideration all innovations in the Church respecting religion.' Archbishop Laud thus expresses his fears of the result: 'This committee will meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies, and will call some divines to them to consider of the business. . . . Upon the whole matter I believe this committee will prove the national synod of England, to the great dishonour of the Church: and what else may follow upon it God knows.'[5] A sub-committee was appointed, more

In England. Parliamentary action.

Committee of the Lords on Church Reform.

[1] *E.g.* the Manual Acts and the Offertory.

[2] *E.g.* the oblation before Communion and the Epiclesis. For the later history see below, p. 228.

[3] Gardiner, IX. 266.

[4] The committee consisted of thirty lay peers and ten bishops, to whom later the Bishop of Durham and two more lay peers were added; on March 10, they were empowered to increase their number by calling in such learned divines as they pleased, and Archbishop Ussher, Prideaux, Warde, Twisse, and Hacket were especially named as suitable.

[5] Laud, *Diary*, p. 61; cp. p. 174 (*Works*, III. 241, 437). Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* bk. XI. p. 174.

Committee of the Lords on Church Reform.

readily to prepare matters for discussion; Williams,[1] Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, presided and summoned other clergy to assist, representing both parties in the Church.[2] A memorandum was drawn up by seven of the members for the consideration of the body,[3] divided into three heads, 'Innovations in doctrine,' 'Innovations in discipline,' and 'Considerations upon the Book of Common Prayer.'

Among the ceremonies, or innovations in discipline, which the committee were invited to condemn, the following concern the arrangements of the public service:

Ceremonies proposed to be abolished.

The turning of the holy table altar-wise: Bowing towards it: Setting candlesticks on it: Making canopies over it: Advancing crucifixes and images upon the parafront, or altar-cloth, so-called: Compelling all communicants to come up before the rails, and there to receive: Reading some part of the Morning Prayer at the holy table when there is no Communion: Turning to the East when pronouncing the Creed: Reading the Litany in the midst of the church: Offering bread and wine by the Churchwardens before the consecration of the elements: Having a *credentia*, or side-table, besides the Lord's table, for divers uses in the Lord's Supper: Introducing an offertory before the Communion, distinct from the giving of alms to the poor: Prohibiting a direct prayer before sermon, and bidding of prayer. Singing the *Te Deum* cathedral-wise: Introducing 'Latin-Service in the Communion' at Cambridge and Oxford: Standing up at the hymns, and always at *Gloria Patri*: Carrying children from the baptism to the altar so called, there to offer them up to God.

[1] Though Williams for political causes fell in with the Puritans, yet he must be allowed the praise of getting the Prayer Book translated into French and Spanish. See Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* p. 268.

[2] Laud's *History of Troubles*, p. 174 (*Works*, III. 437): they were Drs. Brownrigg, Featly, Hacket, Westfield, Burgess, with Messrs. Shute, Calamy, White and Marshall. Cp. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 239; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* VIII. 799; Gardiner, IX. 298. At the same time other private meetings were held by Williams in which Bp. Sanderson had a part. See *Life* by I. Walton. This was no doubt on the conservative side: Sanderson like J. Taylor drew up a form of service for use when the P.B. was suppressed. See Jacobson, *Fragm. Illustr.* 1—40, and Taylor's *Works*.

[3] Namely, Ussher, Williams, Prideaux, Ward, Brownrigg, Featly and Hacket. See Selborne, *Liturgy of the English Church*, p. 37.

Committee of the Lords on Church Reform.

The 'Considerations upon the Book of Common Prayer,' propounded the following queries for the consideration of the committee:

Proposed changes in the Prayer Book.

To expunge from the Kalendar the names of some departed saints and others: To set out the reading Psalms, sentences of Scripture, hymns, epistles, and gospels, in the new translation: To mend the rubric, where all vestments in time of Divine service are now commanded which were used 2 Edw. VI. To substitute canonical Scripture for the Apocrypha in the Kalendar: To repeat the Doxology always at the end of the Lord's Prayer: To read the Lessons and not sing them: Whether *Gloria Patri* should be repeated at the end of every Psalm: Instead of daily Morning and Evening Prayers, to read them only on Wednesday and Friday Morning, and in the afternoon on Saturday, with holyday eves: To omit the hymns, *Benedicite*, &c.: In the prayer for the clergy, to alter the phrase, 'which only worketh great marvels': To alter the rubric 'that such as intend to communicate shall signify their names to the curate over night, or in the morning before prayers': To clear the rubric, how far a minister may repulse a scandalous and notorious sinner from the Communion: To gather the alms when the people depart, instead of before the Communion begin: The confession to be said only by the minister, and then at every clause repeated by the people: Not to print in great letters the words in the form of Consecration, 'This is my body—This is my blood of the New Testament': To insert a rubric, touching kneeling at the Communion, that it is to comply in all humility with the prayer which the minister makes when he delivers the elements: Cathedral and collegiate churches to be bound to celebrate the Holy Communion only once in a month: In the first prayer at Baptism, to change the words, 'didst sanctify the flood of Jordan and all other waters,' into 'didst sanctify the element of water': Whether it be not fit to have some discreet rubric made to take away all scandal from signing the sign of the cross upon the infants after baptism: or, if it shall seem more expedient to be quite disused, whether this reason should be published, That in ancient Liturgies no cross was confined [? consigned] upon the party but where oil also was used, and therefore oil being now omitted, so may also that which was concomitant with it, the sign of the cross: In Private Baptism the rubric mentions that which must not be done, that the minister may dip the child in water being at the point of death: To leave out the words in the rubric of Confirmation, 'and be undoubtedly

Committee of the Lords on Church Reform.

saved': To enlarge the Catechism: To take away the times prohibited for marriage: None to marry without a certificate that they are instructed in their Catechism: To alter the words, 'with my body I thee worship,' into 'I give thee power over my body': To mend the rubric, that new-married persons should receive the Communion the same day of their marriage, by adding, 'or upon the Sunday following, when the Communion is celebrated': In the Absolution of the Sick, to say, 'I pronounce thee absolved': To compose the Psalm of Thanksgiving of women after childbirth out of proper versicles taken from divers Psalms: May not the priest rather read the Communion in the desk, than go up to the pulpit? The rubric in the Commination leaves it doubtful whether the Liturgy may not be read in divers places in the church: To alter the words of Burial, 'in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life,' into 'knowing assuredly that the dead shall rise again': In the Litany, to put 'grievous sins' for 'deadly sin.' To mend the imperfections of the metre in the singing psalms and then to add lawful authority to have them publicly sung before and after sermons, and sometimes instead of the hymns of Morning and Evening Prayer.[1]

The sub-committee held a week of sittings in March, and the matter then went back to the committee, which closed its meetings on April 8. An allusion appears to it a month later, and then the whole question disappeared.

Action in the Commons.

Meanwhile, motions were entertained in the House of Commons[2] which evidently showed that no changes in ritual or discipline would pacify opponents who sought the ruin of the Church, and who were rapidly increasing in power. The 'Protestation' of May 3 was an attack upon the Church under the specious guise of a promise to maintain 'the true reformed Protestant religion.'[3] The purpose however was plain, and under the circumstances the idea of making concessions, such as those suggested, was laid aside as useless: but it

[1] *A Copy of the Proceedings of some worthy Divines, &c.*, 1641, printed in Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 270. Lathbury, *Hist. Convoc.* 269.

[2] The bill against deans and chapters occasioned a misunderstanding amongst the divines, and broke up the meeting. Collier, VIII. 800.

[3] Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* XCVIII.

was not forgotten by Nonconformists that such alterations had once been taken into consideration by persons of high name and station in the Church, and many of the objections reappeared in 1662.[1] When Parliament reassembled in the autumn, unanimity was at an end: the ecclesiastical question came again to the front, and it was the question of Prayer Book which divided the House of Commons into the two great parties which thenceforward contended to the death. A new iconoclastic campaign similar to those which disgraced the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth was inaugurated, but a resolution against the defamers of the Prayer Book rent the House of Commons asunder; and meanwhile, it found itself in conflict with the Lords, who had already modified its iconoclastic zeal and now reasserted their own previous order of January 16, that the Prayer Book should be strictly observed and its disturbers punished.[2] After this the tide set wholly against the Church: the power of the Lords in her favour grew weaker: the bishops were ejected from Parliament[3] and imprisoned, and episcopacy was abolished.[4]

Parliamentary Attacks.

In 1643 (June 12) an Ordinance of Parliament summoned the Westminster Assembly,—a body designed as a substitute for Convocation, consisting both of lay members and divines, 'to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the government and Liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations.'[5] In the same year (Sept. 25), the Scottish oath, called 'The Solemn League

The Westminster Assembly summoned.

[1] See *e.g.* Baxter's Preface to his Rejoinder to the Bishops in 1661, below, p. 191. And see Selborne, *Liturgy of the English Church*, 36.

[2] Gardiner, X. 14; Collier, VIII. 806; Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* C.—CIII.

[3] Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* CIV.

[4] *Ibid.* CV. CVI.

[5] Rushworth, *Hist. Collections*, Part III. Vol. II. p. 337. See Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* VIII. 823.

The Directory.

and Covenant,[1]—a deliberate pledge to overturn the Church—was subscribed by the remnant of the Parliament, and then was imposed upon all civil and military officers, and upon all those of the clergy who had hitherto been allowed to retain their benefices.[2] In 1645 (Jan. 3), the day on which the archbishop's attainder passed the Lords, an Ordinance of Parliament took away the Book of Common Prayer, and established in its stead the 'Directory for the Public Worship of God in the Three Kingdoms.'[3] This was followed (Aug. 23) by another Ordinance 'for the more effectual putting in execution the Directory.'[4] Henceforth to use the Book of Common Prayer in any 'public place of worship, or in any private place or family within the kingdom,' was punishable by a fine of five pounds for the first offence, ten pounds for the second, and for the third by 'one whole year's imprisonment without bail or mainprize': not to observe the Directory subjected the minister to a fine of forty shillings; while to do or say anything in 'opposition, derogation, or depraving of the said book,' might be punished by a fine of five pounds, or fifty pounds, at the discretion of the magistrate.[5]

The Directory substituted for the Prayer Book,

and enforced under penalties.

This history does not require any account of those years of upheaval and violence, during which the voice of the Church of England was silenced, and Presbyterianism, after trying to bring a spiritual despotism into every parish and household, was in its turn obliged to

[1] Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* CVII.

[2] Hallam, *Constit. Hist.* II. 224 (164).

[3] Collier, VIII. 835. The Ordinance is printed with the Directory in Hall, *Rel. Lit.* III.

[4] Collier, VIII. 838.

[5] 'The Presbyterian State Church proved to be quite as intolerant, and to the majority of the people less pleasant, than the Episcopalian had been. Assemblies of divines have never been celebrated for practical wisdom, moderation, or charity, and, of all assemblies, that of Westminster, which sat for six years, and held 1163 sittings, showed the least of these qualities.' Skeats, *Hist. of Free Churches of England*, p. 51.

The Directory.

yield to Independency,[1] a 'hydra of many heads.' 'Old sects revived, new sects were created, and there ensued a state of distraction and impiety, the natural tendency of which was to break up all minor distinctions, and to divide men into two large classes, one of them anxious to find terms of agreement, in order that religion might not be easily extinguished, and the other indifferent whether any form of religion remained.'[2]

[1] Hallam, *Constitutional Hist.* II. 270 (197). [2] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 244.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

THE DIRECTORY.

The Directory.

The Service and Discipline.

The Settled Order.

AN abridgment of Calvin's Form of Service, or rather of Knox's Book of Common Order, was presented to Parliament, and printed in 1641, and again in 1643 ;[1] and another adaptation of the same original, somewhat larger than the Middleburgh,[2] but much shorter than either that of Calvin or Knox, was presented to the Westminster Assembly, and printed in 1644.[3] The parliamentary divines, however, preferred to issue a work of their own composition. They had denounced the Book of Common Prayer as unfit to lead the devotions of the people ; but they then suffered a year to pass by before they attempted to substitute anything in its place. Then came the ordination of Elders and Deacons by an Association of Ministers in London and other chief towns ; and then the preparation of a Book of service. A committee was appointed to agree upon certain general heads for the direction of the minister in the discharge of his office before the congregation ; these, being arranged in London, were sent to Scotland for approbation, and summarily established by Ordinance of Parliament (and denounced by a counter-proclamation from the King) as the Directory for Public Worship. This was not so much a Form of Devotion, as a Manual of Directions : the minister being allowed a discretion, either to make the most of what was provided for him in the

[1] '*The Service, Discipline, and Forme of the Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments, used in the English Church of Geneva*...1641.' The 2nd Edition was called, '*The Reformation of the Discipline and Service of the Church, according to the best Reformed Churches*...1643.' P. Hall's *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, Vol. III. p. 89.

[2] See above, p. 132.

[3] '*The Setled Order of Church-Government, Liturgie, and Discipline, for the rooting out of all Popery, Heresie, and Schisme, according to the Forme published by the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and parallel'd to the best Reformed Protestant Churches in Christendome: and most humbly presented to the learned assembly of Divines, now congregated at Westminster, by the authority of both Houses of Parliament, for the Reformation of abuses in the government of the Church*...1644.' P. Hall's *Reliq. Liturg.* Vol. I. p. 111.

The Directory.

book, or to use his own abilities to supply what he considered needful.

A few of the variations, more especially directed against preceding usages, were,—the rejection of the Apocrypha; the discontinuance of Private Baptism; of godfathers and godmothers; of the sign of the cross; of the wedding ring; and of the administration of the Lord's Supper to the Sick at home; the removal of the communion-table into the body of the church; with the preference of a sitting or standing to a kneeling posture. All saints' days were discarded, and all vestments. No service was appointed for the Burial of the Dead: no Creed was recited, nor the Ten Commandments; though these with the Apostles' Creed were added to the Confession of Faith a year or two afterwards.[1]

This parliamentarian form of Public Devotion is entitled, *A Directory for the Public Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and the Establishing and Observing of this present Directory throughout the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales.*

It commences with a note '*Of the assembling of the congregation, and their behaviour in the Public Worship of God.*' The minister is to begin with prayer, in a short form, for a blessing on the portion of the Word then to be read. All the Canonical Books are to be read over in order: ordinarily one chapter of each Testament at every meeting. After reading and singing, 'the minister who is to preach is to endeavour to get his own and his hearers' hearts to be rightly affected with their sins.' A long prayer is prescribed before the sermon. Then follows a long note of the manner and matter of preaching. After sermon follows a prayer of thanksgiving. The Lord's Prayer, as being not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, is recommended for use in the prayers of the Church.

Reading of Scripture.

'*The Administration of the Sacraments; and first of Baptism.* It is to be administered only by a minister, 'in the place of Public Worship, and in the face of the congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and hear; and not in the places where fonts in the time of Popery were unfitly and superstitiously placed.'

Baptism.

[1] See Hall, *Reliq. Liturg.* Introd. p. xl. Several editions of the Directory appeared during the years 1644, 1645, and 1646. It is reprinted with the Ordinances of Parliament (Jan. 3, 1644–5, and Aug. 23, 1645) in *Reliq. Liturg.* Vol. III., and in Clay, *Book of Common Prayer Illustrated*, Append. IX. X. XI. See also Sprott and Leishman, pp. 283 and ff.

The Directory.

The child, 'after notice given to the minister the day before, is to be presented by the father, or (in case of his necessary absence) by some Christian friend in his place.' 'Before Baptism, the minister is to use some words of instruction': that the seed of the faithful have right to Baptism: that they are Christians, and federally holy, before Baptism, and therefore are they baptized: that the inward grace of Baptism is not tied to the amount of its administration; and that it is not so necessary that through the want of it the infant is in danger of damnation, or the parents guilty. 'Prayer is to be joined with the word of institution, for sanctifying the water to this spiritual use.'

The Lord's Supper.

'The Communion, or Supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated; but how often, may be considered and determined by the ministers and other church-governors of each congregation.' 'We judge it convenient to be done after the morning sermon.' 'It is requisite that public warning be given on the Sabbath-day before the administration.' Therefore, after the sermon and prayers, follows a short exhortation: then, 'the table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it or at it, the minister is to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine set before him.' The words of institution are next to be read out of the Evangelists, or 1 Cor. xi. 23-27: then the prayer, thanksgiving, or blessing, offered up to God, 'to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his Spirit in us; and so to sanctify these elements, both of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance, that we may receive by faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so feed upon him that he may be one with us, and we with him, that he may live in us, and we in him and to him, who hath loved us, and given himself for us.' 'The elements being now sanctified by the word and prayer, the minister, being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and say in these expressions (or other the like used by Christ, or his Apostle, upon this occasion):—*According to the holy institution, command, and example of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this bread; and having given thanks, I break it, and give it unto you.* (There the minister, who is also himself to communicate, is to break the bread, and give it to the communicants.) *Take ye, eat ye. This is the body of Christ, which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of him.* In like manner the minister is to take the cup, and say . . . . *According to the institution, command, and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this cup and give it unto you.* (Here he giveth

it to the communicants.) *This cup is the New Testament, in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many; drink ye all of it.* After all have communicated, the minister may 'put them in mind of the grace of God in Jesus Christ held forth in this Sacrament': and he is to give solemn thanks to God.

'The collection for the poor is so to be ordered, that no part of the Public Worship be thereby hindered.'

Then follows a note 'Of the Sanctification of the Lord's-day.'

Matrimony

'The purpose of marriage between any persons shall be published by the minister three several Sabbath-days in the congregation.' And the marriage shall be publicly solemnized 'in the place appointed by authority for Public Worship, before a competent number of credible witnesses, at some convenient hour of the day, at any time of the year, except on a day of public humiliation. And we advise that it be not on the Lord's-day.'

The manner of marriage is first a prayer, a declaration of the institution, use, and ends thereof, a solemn charge, if they know any cause why they may not lawfully proceed to marriage, to discover it: then 'the minister shall cause, first, the man to take the woman by the right hand, saying these words: *I N. do take thee N. to be my married wife, and do, in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving and faithful husband unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.*' Then the woman shall take the man by his right hand, and say a like form, adding the word *obedient.* 'Then, without any further ceremony, the minister shall . . . pronounce them to be husband and wife according to God's ordinance; and so conclude the action with prayer.'

Visitation of the Sick.

A notice is given of instructions 'Concerning Visitation of the Sick, and suitable topics of exhortation and prayer.'

Burial.

'Concerning Burial of the Dead,' all customs of praying, reading, and singing, both in going to and at the grave, are said to have been grossly abused. The simple direction is therefore given, 'When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony.'

Holydays.

Then follow directions 'Concerning Public Solemn Fasting,' 'Concerning the Observation of Days of Public Thanksgiving,' and 'Of Singing of Psalms'; concluding with 'An Appendix touching Days and Places for Public Worship'; in which it is ordered that only the Lord's-day, and days separated for Public

The Directory.

Holy Places.

Fasting or Thanksgiving, shall be kept holy ; and the old churches are allowed to be used for the following reason : 'As no place is capable of any holiness under pretence of whatsoever Dedication or Consecration, so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition, formerly used and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the Public Worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite that the places of public assembling for worship among us should be continued and employed to that use.'

Form of prayer for Sailors.

The Parliament, it seems, was not entirely satisfied with its own Directory, and soon found it necessary to publish a supplement for the use of the sailors. This is one of the most singular productions of that extraordinary period. It is called *A Supply of Prayer for the Ships that want Ministers to pray with them.* 'A reason of this work' is prefixed to the book ; and it states : 'Whereas there are thousands of ships which have not ministers with them to guide them in prayer, and therefore either use the old form of Common Prayer, or no prayer at all ; the former whereof for many weighty reasons hath been abolished, and the latter is likely to make them rather heathens than Christians : Therefore, to avoid these inconveniences, it has been thought fit to frame some prayers agreeing with the Directory established by Parliament.' There are certain directions for the use of the form ; 'The company being assembled, they may thus begin with prayer' : a short prayer follows, after which the Lord's Prayer is to be used, and we have this direction, 'After this, some psalms and chapters being read out of both Testaments (but none out of those books called Apocrypha), and a psalm being sung, a prayer may follow in this manner.' Two prayers follow, one being 'for the Church universal, and our united Churches and Kingdoms.'—The latter contains a petition for the King, though at the very time they were making war upon him : 'We pray thee for all in authority, especially for the King's Majesty, that God would make him rich in blessings, both in his person and Government, establish his throne in religion, save him from evil counsel, and make him a blessed and glorious instrument for the conservation and propagation of the gospel.' Next comes a direction, 'After this prayer a psalm may be sung, and the conclusion may be with a thanksgiving and blessing.' Then follows 'a prayer particularly fitted for those that travell upon the seas,' and 'a prayer in a storm.'[1]

[1] Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 497 and ff.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PRAYER BOOK IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

[A.D. 1660—1662.]

Restoration of the Prayer Book.

The King's Declaration from Breda.

ESCAPING from the dismal period of rebellion, we pass on with the history of the Prayer Book to the year 1660, when the restoration of the monarchy brought freedom of conscience and worship to Churchmen. On the 1st of May letters from King Charles II., dated from Breda, were brought to the Houses of Lords and Commons, with a Declaration, in which the King 'declared a liberty to tender consciences' on the subject of religion, 'and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for granting that indulgence.'[1] By a resolution of the Commons (May 8), the King was desired to make a speedy return to his Parliament, and on the same day was solemnly proclaimed: and on the 10th of May, on the occasion of a day of thanksgiving, the Common Prayer was read before the Lords.[2]

Meanwhile (May 4) a deputation from both Houses was sent to meet the King at the Hague. Reynolds,

[1] Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* CXIV.

[2] Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 703.

Restoration of the Prayer Book.

Deputation of Nonconformists to the King at the Hague,

Calamy, Case, Manton, and some other eminent Presbyterian divines went also with an address, to which the King answered kindly; but, as in his previous 'Declaration,' referred to Parliament to determine what toleration was necessary for the repose of the kingdom. This answer, however, was not the object which had brought these divines to gain the King's ear if possible, while he might be willing to listen to any terms of accommodation.

suggesting that the Prayer Book should not be re-introduced;

In various private audiences they suggested that the Common Prayer had long been discontinued in England, that many of the people had never once heard it; and therefore it would be much wondered at if his Majesty, at his first landing, should revive the use of it in his own chapel: and therefore to prevent the people being shocked at such uncustomary worship, they entreated him not to use it in form, and by rubrical directions; but only to order the reading some part of it with the intermixture of other good prayers.

and that the surplice should not be used.

Finding no hope of abridging the King's liberty of using the regular service, they then requested that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by the royal chaplains, because the sight of this habit would give great offence to the people. But they were plainly told by the King that he would not be restrained himself, when others had so much indulgence: that the surplice had always been reckoned a decent habit, and constantly worn in the Church of England: that he had all along retained the use of it in foreign parts: that though he might for the present tolerate a failure of solemnity in religious worship, yet he would never abet such irregularity by his own practice.[1]

Meanwhile the clergy of the Church had not been slow to take up their position again; they were graciously

[1] Clarendon, *History*, XVI. 234.

received by the King and with some necessary warnings as to discretion and moderation were recommended to make every effort by conference with the Presbyterians 'to reduce them to such a temper as is consistent with the good of the Church.'[1]

Presbyterian Objections.

These, however, were not the men to be easily put off from their purpose by the King or reconciled by the clergy. They used 'their utmost endeavours to hinder the restitution' of the Prayer Book. 'In order whereunto divers Pamphlets were published against the Book of Common Prayer, the old objections mustered up with the addition of some new ones . . . to make the number swell.'[2] They teased the King, after his return to England, with continual complaints, until he bade them submit their grievances and wishes in writing. Whereupon they embodied their notions upon Church matters in a long address.[3] They assume that there was no difference between Churchmen and themselves 'in the doctrinal truths of the reformed religion, and in the substantial parts of divine worship'; but only 'in some various conceptions about the ancient form of Church government, and some particulars about Liturgy and ceremonies.'[4] As to the differences concerning the Liturgy, they say:—

Nonconformists' address to the King.

1. 'We are satisfied in our judgments concerning the lawfulness of a Liturgy, or form of Public Worship, provided that it be for the matter agreeable unto the Word of God, and fitly suited to the nature of

Their ideal of a Liturgy.

[1] Cardwell, *Conferences*, 247–249.

[2] Preface to B.C.P. of 1661.

[3] This was drawn up by Reynolds, Worth, and Calamy, and presented to the King a few weeks after the Restoration, together with Archbishop Ussher's *Reduction of Episcopacy*: Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 252. See the substance of Ussher's plan for episcopal government in Collier. *Eccles. Hist.* VIII. 871, and in *Documents relating to the Act of Uniformity*, 1662, p. 22 (London, 1862).

[4] So the bishops noted in their reply: See below, p. 167.

Presbyterian Objections.

the several ordinances and necessities of the Church; neither too tedious in the whole, nor composed of too short prayers, unmeet repetitions or responsals; not to be dissonant from the Liturgies of other reformed Churches; nor too rigorously imposed; nor the minister so confined thereunto, but that he may also make use of those gifts for prayer and exhortation which Christ hath given him for the service and edification of the Church.'

They desire such a form to be composed;

2. 'That inasmuch as the Book of Common Prayer hath in it many things that are justly offensive and need amendment, hath been long discontinued, and very many, both ministers and people, persons of pious, loyal, and peaceable minds, are therein greatly dissatisfied; whereupon, if it be again imposed, will inevitably follow sad divisions, and widening of the breaches which your Majesty is now endeavouring to heal: we do most humbly offer to your Majesty's wisdom, that for preventing so great evil, and for settling the Church in unity and peace, some learned, godly, and moderate divines of both persuasions, indifferently chosen, may be employed to compile such a form as is before described, as much as may be in Scripture words; or at least to revise and effectually reform the old, together with an addition or insertion of some other varying forms in Scripture phrase, to be used at the minister's choice; of which variety and liberty there be instances in the Book of Common Prayer.'

and ceremonies to be abolished.

3. Concerning ceremonies, they ask 'that kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and such holy-days as are but of human institution, may not be imposed upon such as do conscientiously scruple the observation of them; and that the use of the surplice,

and cross in Baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus rather than the name of Christ, or Immanuel, or other names whereby that divine Person, or either of the other divine Persons, is nominated, may be abolished;' as well as other ceremonies such as 'erecting altars, bowing towards them, and such like,' which they complain had been illegally introduced and even imposed.[1]

Presbyterian Objections.

The nine surviving Bishops, in their reply to these proposals of the Presbyterians, pronounce the Offices in the Common Prayer wholly unexceptionable. They meet the request that it should not be 'dissonant from the liturgies of other reformed churches' by saying that 'the nearer both their forms and ours come to the liturgy of the ancient Greek and Latin Churches, the less are they liable to the objections of the common enemy.' They conceive the book cannot be too strictly imposed; especially when 'ministers are not denied the exercise of their gifts in praying before and after sermon, although such praying be but the continuance of a custom of no great antiquity and grown into common use by sufferance only without any other foundation from law or canons.' However, they are contented to yield that the Liturgy may be 'revised by such discreet persons as his Majesty shall think fit to employ therein.' As for the ceremonies, they defend their imposition by law, not as essentials, but for edification; but they are of opinion that 'the satisfaction of some private persons ought not to overrule the public peace and uniformity of the Church.' They desire the continuance of kneeling at Communion and the observance of Saints' days, but leave it to the King to judge with respect to the other three ceremonies mentioned how far liberty may be given to

The reply of the Bishops.

[1] Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 252, 277 and ff.

Presbyterian Objections.

tender consciences. They repudiate innovations and the imposition of illegal ceremonies, but conclude by expressing a fear that, 'if any abatements were made, it would only feed a distemper, and encourage unquiet people to further demands.'[1] To this the Divines made a lengthy reply raising a number of new objections;[2] but it was impossible to obtain any immediate and legal settlement of these differences between the Presbyterians and the Churchmen, who naturally looked for a restoration of their benefices and form of service. The Convention Parliament could not be allowed to meddle with this question: if its members could be trusted, its acts would have no value from the illegal origin of the body from which they emanated. The method adopted to meet the present difficulty was the issue of a 'Royal Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs' (October 25, 1660). This was a very arbitrary but a very politic move: it had the sundry advantages of not resting at all for its authority upon the existing Parliament, without seeming to encroach upon its functions; of allowing a greater measure of toleration than probably would be allowed by a final settlement of the matter by just authority, and hence of pacifying some of the Nonconformists; while nothing was finally settled, or granted, but the whole question was left open for discussion at a Conference which it promised between the discordant parties, and for the decision of a lawful Parliament and Convocation. Accordingly, this Declaration allowed a great number of the demands of the Presbyterians, touching the observance of the Lord's-day, the episcopal jurisdiction, the examination of those who should be confirmed, a discretion as to the use of

Reply.

The King's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

allowed many Presbyterian demands.

[1] Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* VIII. 873. *relating to A. of U.* 1662, no. VII. The Answer is printed in full in *Doc.* [2] *Ibid.* no. VIII.

Presbyterian Objections.

certain ceremonies, such as kneeling at Communion, signing the cross in Baptism, bowing at the name of Jesus, the surplice, and the oath of canonical obedience: and, although wishing ministers to read those parts of the Prayer Book against which there could be no exception, yet promising that none should be punished or troubled for not using it, until it had been reviewed, and effectually reformed by a conference of an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions, and leaving the decision concerning the ceremonies 'to the advice of a national synod.'[1]

The result was a general expression of satisfaction on the part of the Presbyterians;[2] and the attempt was made to gain some of them over to conformity by the offer of Church preferments.[3] But although the Declaration, by a stretch of the royal prerogative, sheltered the dissenting ministers for the present from legal penalties, it did not satisfy all their scruples; for they did not look for the continuance of that amount of favour when a royalist Parliament should have determined their position.

The Warrant issued for a Conference at the Savoy.

On the King's part there was no delay in forwarding the promised Conference. The warrant[4] was issued on

[1] *Ibid.* no. IX. (cp. also X. and XI): or Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 286; *Doc. Ann.* CXLIX. See also Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* VIII. 873, for the history of the document and the alterations made in it to meet the petition of the ministers.

[2] See their address of gratitude, *Doc. relating to A. of U.* no. XII.

[3] Dr. Cardwell (*Conferences*, p. 256) says that several of the Presbyterians, including Reynolds and Manton, accepted spiritual appointments, and recognized the authority of the Bishops. Reynolds, indeed, accepted the bishopric of Norwich, and was consecrated Jan. 6, 1661. But it appears that the other ministers refused the offered promotions. See Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* VIII. 876. Manton signed the doctrinal Articles, and was instituted by the Bishop of London to his rectory of S. Paul's, Covent Garden, Jan. 16, 1661: but he honestly refused the deanery of Rochester; and his conformity did not continue, when the Church service was re-settled after the Savoy Conference.

[4] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 298. *Doc. relating to A. of U.* XIV. Collier, VIII. 876.

The Savoy Conference.

the 25th of March, 1661, appointing[1] twelve of the Bishops, and the same number of Presbyterians, with nine other divines on each side as assistants, to supply the places of any that were unavoidably absent. The place of meeting was the Bishop of London's lodgings in the Savoy Hospital, and the Commission was to continue in force during the ensuing four months. The course of deliberation was precisely stated: the Commissioners were empowered 'to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer; comparing the same with the most ancient Liturgies which have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times'; 'to take into serious and grave considerations the several directions, and rules, and forms of prayer' in the said Book, and 'the several objections and exceptions' raised

Instructions to the Commissioners.

[1] The *Episcopal Divines* were:

Accepted Frewen, archbishop of York.
Gilbert Sheldon, bishop of London, Master of the Savoy.
John Cosin, bishop of Durham.
John Warner, bishop of Rochester.
Henry King, bishop of Chichester.
Humphrey Henchman, bishop of Sarum.
George Morley, bishop of Worcester.
Robert Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln.
Benjamin Laney, bishop of Peterborough.
Bryan Walton, bishop of Chester.
Richard Sterne, bishop of Carlisle.
John Gauden, bishop of Exeter.

With the following Coadjutors:

Dr. Earles, dean of Westminster.
Dr. Heylin.
Dr. Hacket.
Dr. Barwick.
Dr. Gunning.
Dr. Pearson.
Dr. Pierce.
Dr. Sparrow.
Mr. Thorndike.

The *Presbyterian Divines* were:

Edward Reynolds, bishop of Norwich.
Dr. Tuckney, master of St. John's College, Cambridge.
Dr. Conant, Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford.
Dr. Spurstow.
Dr. Wallis, Savilian Professor of Geometry, Oxford.
Dr. Manton.
Mr. Calamy.
Mr. Baxter.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Case.
Mr. Clarke.
Mr. Newcomen.

Coadjutors.

Dr. Horton.
Dr. Jacomb.
Dr. Bates.
Dr. Cooper.
Dr. Lightfoot.
Dr. Collins.
Mr. Woodbridge.
Mr. Rawlinson.
Mr. Drake.

against it; 'to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments therein as . . . should be agreed upon to be needful or expedient for the giving satisfaction to tender consciences,' 'but avoiding all unnecessary abbreviations of the forms and Liturgy wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England.'

The Savoy Conference.

Although the period of the commission was limited to four months, yet the first meeting did not take place until the 15th of April. The Bishop of London then stated to the Presbyterian ministers, that, since they had requested the Conference for the purpose of making alterations in the Prayer Book, 'nothing could be done until they had delivered their exceptions in writing, together with the additional forms, and whatever alterations were desired.' Accordingly, they met from day to day, and prepared a long series of exceptions[1] and alterations; Baxter persuaded his colleagues 'that they were bound to ask for everything that they thought desirable, without regard to the sentiments of their opponents.'[2] These exceptions are especially interesting, as having been made against the Prayer Book when it had been brought so very nearly into its present state. We may consider that they include all the minute particulars with which fault could be found by men of learning, acuteness, and piety, whose writings were to be thenceforward the mine of Nonconformist divinity.[3]

The Savoy Conference opened April 15, 1661.

The Presbyterians are desired to present their Exceptions.

[1] A precursor of the numerous Presbyterian 'exceptions' appeared, probably from the Middleburgh press, in 1606, entitled, '*A Survey of the Booke of Common Prayer, by way of* 197 *Queres, grounded upon* 58 *Places ministering just matter of question; with a view of London Ministers' exceptions: all humbly propounded, that they may be syncerely answered, or els offences religiously removed.*' Hall, *Reliq. Liturg.* Vol. I. Introd. p. xiv.

[2] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 260.

[3] The documents were printed in *An accompt of all the proceedings of the Commissioners* (1661). The 'Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer' were preserved by Baxter, and published in a more

The Savoy Conference.

General Exceptions to the Prayer Book.

The Presbyterians proposed:

1. 'That all the prayers, and other materials of the Liturgy, may consist of nothing doubtful or questioned among pious, learned, and orthodox persons.'

To this the Bishops answered:

'*The Church hath been careful to put nothing into the liturgy, but that which is either evidently the word of God or what hath been generally received in the Catholic Church.*' *The demand is unreasonable and impossible unless it be agreed who are to be called orthodox.* '*If by orthodox be meant those who adhere to scripture and the catholic consent of antiquity, we do not yet know that any part of our Liturgy hath been questioned by such.*'

2. To consider that as our first reformers so composed the Liturgy 'as to win upon the Papists and to draw them into their Church-communion, by varying as little as they well could from the Romish forms before in use,' so whether now we should not 'have our Liturgy so composed as to gain upon the judgments and affection of all those who in the substantials of the protestant religion are of the same persuasions with ourselves.'

3. To omit 'the repetitions and responsals of the clerk and people, and the alternate reading of the Psalms and Hymns, which cause a confused murmur in the congregation': 'the minister being appointed for the people in all Public Services appertaining to God; and the Holy Scriptures . . . intimating the people's part in public prayer to be only with silence and reverence to attend thereunto, and to declare their consent in the close, by saying *Amen*.'

accurate form in his own narrative of his life. The Answers of the Bishops are only known from the 'Rejoinder,' in which Baxter attempted to refute them. The limits of this work will not allow of more than an abstract of this paper. See Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 262; and chap. VII. Documents, V., VI.; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* VIII. 878 and ff.

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General Exceptions to the Prayer Book.

4. To change the Litany into one solemn prayer.[1]

In reply to 3 and 4. '*Alternate reading and repetitions and responsals are far better than a long tedious prayer*,' '*as appears by the practice of ancient Christian churches*.' *If the people may take part in Hopkins' why not David's psalms, or in a litany?*

5. 'That there may be nothing in the Liturgy which may seem to countenance the observation of Lent as a religious fast.'

'*The religious observation of Lent was a custom of the Churches of God*.'

6. To omit the religious observation of Saints' days and their vigils.

It is of ecclesiastical, not divine institution, but it is agreeable to the Scripture and ancient.

7. 'That there may be no such imposition of the Liturgy, as that the exercise of' the gift of prayer 'be totally excluded in any part of Public Worship'; and that 'it may be left to the discretion of the minister to omit part of it, as occasion shall require.'

This makes the Liturgy void, and may bring more mischief than good.

8. That the new translation of the Bible should alone be used in the portions selected in the Prayer Book.

9. That nothing be read in the church for lessons but the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

This comes ill from the advocates of preaching. '*It is*

[1] The Litany was disliked for the shortness of the petitions, as were also the Collects; and because the actual prayer is uttered by the people, which was thought 'not to be so consonant to Scripture, which makes the minister the mouth of the people to God in prayer.' The meaning of 'one solemn prayer' was exemplified by Baxter, who composed such a prayer in his 'Reformation of the Liturgy,' under the title of 'The General Prayer' (*Reliq. Liturg.* Vol. IV. pp. 36-43), and another form in the Appendix, entitled 'A Larger Litany, or General Prayer: to be used at discretion' (*Ibid.* pp. 142-157).

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General Exceptions to the Prayer Book.

heartily to be wished that sermons were as good' as the Apocrypha.

10. That no part of the Liturgy need be read at the communion-table but when the Holy Supper is administered.

Unreasonable, 'since all the primitive Church used it, and if we do not observe that golden rule of the venerable Council of Nice "Let ancient customs prevail till reason plainly requires the contrary," we shall give offence to sober Christians by a causeless departure from Catholic usage.'

11. To use the word 'Minister,' and not 'Priest' or 'Curate,' and 'Lord's-day' instead of 'Sunday.'

Unreasonable, because there is a real distinction between Priest and Deacon. 'Curate' is unobjectionable, and 'Sunday' is ancient.

12. To amend the version of metrical Psalms.

11. To alter obsolete words.

14. That no portion of the Old Testament, or of the Acts of the Apostles, be called 'Epistles,' and read as such.

15. To reform the offices, where 'the phrase is such as presumes all persons within the communion of the Church to be regenerated, converted, and in an actual state of grace; which, had ecclesiastical discipline been truly and vigorously executed . . . might be better supposed, but . . . cannot now be rationally admitted.'

The Bishops reply to this, *The Church in her prayers useth no more offensive phrase than S. Paul uses, when he writes to the Corinthians, Galatians, and others, calling them in general the churches of God, sanctified in Christ Jesus, by vocation saints, amongst whom notwithstanding there were many who by their known sins (which the Apostle endeavoured to amend in them) were not properly such, yet he gives the denomination to the whole from the*

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greater part, to whom in charity it was due, and puts the rest in mind what they have by their baptism undertaken to be; and our prayers and the phrase of them surely supposes no more than that they are saints by calling, sanctified in Christ Jesus, by their baptism admitted into Christ's congregation, and so to be reckoned members of that society, till either they shall separate themselves by wilful schism, or to be separated by legal excommunication; which they seem earnestly to desire, and so do we.

16. Instead of the short collects, to have one methodical and entire prayer composed out of many of them.

17. The present Liturgy seems defective in forms of praise and thanksgiving; in consisting very much of general expressions, such as 'to have our prayers heard, to be kept from all evil, to do God's will': the Confession does not 'clearly express original sin, nor sufficiently enumerate actual sins with their aggravations'; and 'there is no preparatory prayer. . . for assistance or acceptance.' 'The Catechism is defective as to many necessary doctrines'; 'some even of the essentials of Christianity not mentioned except in the Creed, and there not so explicit as ought to be in a Catechism.'

The Bishops reply, *There are many Thanksgivings, Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Benedicite, Glory be to God on high, Therefore with Angels and Archangels, Glory be to the Father, besides occasional Thanksgivings after the Litany, of the frequency whereof themselves elsewhere complain. The use of general expressions, as in confession of sin, is 'the perfection of the Liturgy, the offices of which being intended for common and general services, would cease to be such by descending to particulars'; the general expressions objected to are almost the very terms of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer. It is an evil custom springing from false doctrine, to use expressions*

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which may lead people to think that original sin is not forgiven in Holy Baptism: yet original sin is clearly acknowledged in confessing that the desires of our own hearts render us miserable by following them, &c.

18. The Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, and Kneeling at the Lord's Supper, are brought forward as the usual instances of ceremonies, judged unwarrantable by sundry learned and pious men, and exposing many orthodox pious, and peaceable ministers to the displeasure of their rulers. They must be fountains of evil, unless all his Majesty's subjects had the same subtility of judgment to discern even to a ceremony how far the power of man extends in the things of God.

Obedience is a duty to the Church's laws of decency and order: each is in itself defensible, and may fairly be imposed.

Exceptions against particular parts of the Prayer Book.

The following exceptions were taken against particular parts of the Prayer Book:—

They wish the first rubric as to the place of service to be expressed as in the Book of 1552; and the second rubric about vestments and ornaments to be omitted.

The Bishops differ and refer to § 18 *above.*

The doxology to be always added to the Lord's Prayer; and this prayer not to be so often used.

The *Gloria Patri* to be used only once in the Morning, and once in the Evening.

'Rubric. And to the end the people may the better hear, in such places where they do sing, there shall the Lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading: and likewise the Epistle and Gospel.' We know no warrant why they should be sung in any place, and conceive that the distinct reading of them with an audible voice tends more to the edification of the Church.

The Bishops reply, *The rubric directs only such singing as is after the manner of distinct reading, and we never heard of any inconvenience thereby.*[1]

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To appoint some Psalm or Scripture hymn instead of the apocryphal *Benedicite.*

In the Litany they object to the expressions, *deadly sin, sudden death,* and *all that travel.*

In the collects; to omit the words '*this day*,' in the collect for Christmas Day.

Some other collects were named, 'as having in them divers things that we judge fit to be altered'; some of which were altered, as were also others to which no objection was here raised.

Exceptions against the Communion Office.

In the Communion Service:—

The first rubric had directed intending communicants to 'signify their names to the Curate overnight, or else in the morning afore the beginning of morning Prayer, or immediately after.' It was objected that this notice was not sufficient; and the rubric was altered to 'at least some time the day before.'

They desire that the minister should have a full power to admit or repel communicants.

They object to kneeling during the reading of the Commandments, and also to the petition after each Commandment, preferring that the minister should conclude with a suitable prayer.

They desire preaching to be more strictly enjoined, and that ministers should not be bound to 'Homilies hereafter to be set forth,' as things which are as yet but future and not in being.

They object to the Offertory sentences, that two are apocryphal, and four of them more proper to draw out the people's bounty to their ministers, than their charity

[1] The rubric was omitted, when the book was reviewed by Convocation.

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to the poor; and to the Offertory itself, that collection for the poor may be better made at or a little before the departing of the communicants.

The Exhortation, which was appointed to be read 'at certain times when the Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the Holy Communion,' is objected to as unseasonable to be read at the Communion.

They object to the direction, 'that no man should come to the Holy Communion but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience,' as likely to discourage many from coming to the Sacrament, who lie under a doubting and troubled conscience.

The Bishops reply, *Certainly themselves cannot desire that men should come to the Holy Communion with a troubled conscience, and therefore have no reason to blame the Church for saying it is requisite that men come with a quiet conscience, and prescribing means for quieting thereof.*

The General Confession in the name of the communicants was directed to be made 'either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself': they desire that this may be made by the minister only.

To the rubric, that the priest or bishop, in reading the Absolution, should 'turn himself to the people,' they say, 'The minister turning himself to the people is most convenient throughout the whole ministration.'

Not so: when he speaks to them it is convenient that he turn to them: when he speaks for them to God, it is fit that they should all turn another way, as the ancient church ever did.

As before in the collect for Christmas Day, they object to the word '*this day*' in the proper Preface for that day and Whitsunday.

Of the Prayer 'in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion,'—'Grant that our sinful bodies

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may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood,'—they observe that these words seem to give a greater efficacy to the blood than to the body of Christ, and would have them altered thus—'that our sinful souls and bodies may be cleansed through his precious body and blood.'

The Bishops in reply *refer to the words of our Lord, 'This is my blood which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins,' observing that he saith not so explicitly of the body.*

Of the 'Prayer at the Consecration,' as they word it, they say, the manner of consecrating is not explicit enough, and the minister's breaking of the bread is not so much as mentioned.

Of the manner of distributing the elements, and the words used, they desire that the words of our Saviour may be used as near as may be; and that the minister be not required to deliver the bread and wine into every communicant's hand, and to repeat the words to each one: also that the kneeling may be left free.

Administration to every particular communicant with the words in the singular number is most requisite, forsomuch as it is the propriety of Sacraments to make particular obsignation to each believer.

To the rubric, that 'Every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year,' they say, Forasmuch as every parishioner is not duly qualified for the Lord's Supper, and those habitually prepared are not at all times actually disposed, but many may be hindered by the providence of God, and some by the distemper of their spirits, we desire this rubric may be either wholly omitted, or thus altered: 'Every minister shall be bound to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least thrice a year, provided there be

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a due number of communicants manifesting their desires to receive.' They also desire the Declaration, explanatory of kneeling, in the second Prayer Book 'established by law as much as any other part' to be again restored to its place: to which the Bishops reply, *This rubric is not in the Liturgy of Queen Elizabeth, nor confirmed by law; nor is there any great need of restoring it, the world being now in more danger of profanation than of idolatry. Besides, the sense of it is declared sufficiently in the 28th Article of the Church of England.*

Exceptions against the Baptismal Office.

The Baptismal Office, and those parts of the Prayer Book connected with it, furnished special matter for objection. The charitable conclusion of the Church, 'that Christ will favourably accept every infant to baptism that is presented by the Church according to our present order,' was opposed to the ministerial tyranny which the Puritan elders sought to exercise in the way of discipline and excommunication. Thus with regard to the subjects of baptism, they say, 'There being divers learned, pious, and peaceable ministers, who not only judge it unlawful to baptize children whose parents both of them are atheists, infidels, heretics, or unbaptized, but also such whose parents are excommunicate persons, fornicators, or otherwise notorious and scandalous sinners; we desire they may not be obliged to baptize the children of such, until they have made due profession of their repentance, *We think this to be very hard and uncharitable and giving too arbitrary a power to the minister.*

Then, with regard to sponsors, they object that there is no mention of the parents; they deny the right of any others not appointed by the parents to speak for the children and 'desire that it may be left free to parents, whether they will have sureties to undertake for their children in baptism or no.'

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It is an erroneous doctrine, and the ground of many others, that children have no other right to baptism than their parents' right. The Church's primitive practice (S. Aug. Ep. 23[1]) *forbids it to be left to the pleasure of the parents, whether there shall be other sureties or no.*

Of the questions addressed to the sponsors they say, 'We know not by what right the sureties do promise and answer in the name of the infant.' 'We desire that the two first interrogatories may be put to the parents to be answered in their own names, and the last propounded to the parents or pro-parents thus, "Will you have this child baptized into this faith?"'

If Guardians may contract for minors, why not Sponsors?

They wish the font to be conspicuous.

It stands as it did in primitive times at or near the Church door to signify that Baptism was the entrance into the Church mystical.

As to particular expressions in the service, they object to the notion of the sanctification of Jordan, or any other waters, to a sacramental use by Christ's being baptized.

If Jordan and all other waters be not so far sanctified by Christ as to be the matter of baptism, what authority have we to baptize? and sure His baptism was 'dedicatio baptismi.'

The words, 'may receive remission of sins by spiritual regeneration,' they would have to be, 'may be regenerated and receive the remission of sins.'

Most proper for Baptism is our Spiritual regeneration, referring to S. John iii.; Acts ii. 3, and the Nicene creed.

The words of thanksgiving, 'that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant by thy Holy Spirit,' to be

[1] Epist. 98: S. Augustine, *Opp.* II. 394, (ed. Bened. Par. 1836), XXXIX. 235 (ed. Caillau, Paris, 1842).

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otherwise expressed, since we cannot in faith say that every child that is baptized is regenerated by God's Holy Spirit; at least it is a disputable point.

Seeing that God's sacraments have their effects, where the receiver doth not 'ponere obicem,' put any bar against them (which children cannot do) we may say in faith of every child that is baptized, that it is regenerated by God's Holy Spirit; and the denial of it tends to anabaptism, and the contempt of this holy sacrament, as nothing worthy, nor material whether it be administered to children or no.

Of Private Baptism they say, We desire that baptism may not be administered in a private place at any time, unless by a lawful minister, and in the presence of a competent number: that where it is evident that any child hath been so baptized, no part of the administration may be reiterated in public, under any limitations: and therefore we see no need of any Liturgy in that case.

We think it fit that children should be baptized in private rather than not at all; and as to the service, nothing done in private is reiterated in public.

Exceptions against the Catechism.

In the Catechism, they desire the opening questions to be altered, but only, as it seems, for the temporary reason, because the far greater number of persons baptized within the last twenty years had no godfathers or godmothers at their baptism. The third answer they conceive might be more safely expressed thus: 'Wherein I was visibly admitted into the number of the members of Christ, the children of God, and the heirs (rather than "*inheritors*") of the kingdom of heaven.' To the answer, declaring our duty towards God, they would add at the end, 'particularly on the Lord's-day'; for the reason that otherwise there was nothing in all the answer referring to the Fourth Commandment. In the latter portion, upon the Sacraments, they would have

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the first answer to be, 'Two only, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.' Of the baptismal answers they say, We desire that the entering infants into God's covenant may be more warily expressed, and that the words may not seem to found their baptism upon a really actual faith and repentance of their own; and we desire that a promise may not be taken for a performance of such faith and repentance; and especially that it be not asserted that they perform these by the promise of their sureties, it being to the seed of believers that the covenant of God is made, and not (that we can find) to all that have such believing sureties, who are neither parents nor pro-parents of the child.[1]

The effect of children's baptism does not depend on the faith and repentance either of them or of their sponsors, but upon the ordinance and institution of Christ.

They approve, however, generally of this portion of the Catechism, that the doctrine of the Sacraments is much more fully and particularly delivered than the other parts, in short answers fitted to the memories of children: therefore they propose a more distinct and full application of the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer: and to add 'somewhat particularly concerning the nature of faith, repentance, the two covenants, justification, sanctification, adoption, and regeneration.'

The catechism is designedly short.

Exceptions against Confirmation.

For Confirmation, they conceive that it is not a sufficient qualification that children be able *memoriter* to repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and to answer to some questions of this short Catechism; for it is often found that children are

[1] The answer here referred to had been expressed in 1604, 'Yes; they do perform them by their sureties, who promise and vow them both in their names: which, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform.'

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able to do this at four or five years old; and it crosses what is said in another rubric, ordaining that Confirmation should be ministered unto them that are of perfect age, that they being instructed in the Christian religion should openly profess their own faith, and promise to be obedient to the will of God; and therefore they desire that none may be confirmed but according to his Majesty's Declaration (October 25, 1660)—'That Confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed, by the information and with the consent of the minister of the place.'

The requirement is a minimum.

They object to the words of the rubric, declaring that 'children being baptized have all things necessary for their salvation,' as dangerous as to the misleading of the vulgar; although they charitably suppose the meaning of these words was only to exclude the necessity of any other sacraments to baptized infants.

There is no danger in keeping the words, but only in wishing to expunge them.

They object also to the mention of a godfather or godmother, seeing no need of them either at baptism or confirmation.

The words of the 'Prayer before the Imposition of Hands' suppose that all the children who are brought to be confirmed have the Spirit of Christ, and the forgiveness of all their sins; whereas a great number of children at that age, having committed many sins since their baptism, do show no evidence of serious repentance, or of any special saving grace; and therefore this Confirmation (if administered to such) would be a perilous and gross abuse. To which the Bishops reply, *It supposeth, and that truly, that all children were at their baptism regenerate by water and the Holy Ghost, and had given unto them the forgiveness of all their sins;*

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and it is charitably presumed that, notwithstanding the frailties and slips of their childhood, they have not totally lost what was in baptism conferred upon them; and therefore adds, 'Strengthen them, we beseech thee, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace, &c.' None that lives in open sin ought to be confirmed.

They also object that the Imposition of Hands by the Bishop seems to put a higher value upon Confirmation than upon Baptism or the Lord's Supper.

Confirmation is reserved to the Bishop as of old, and our church doth everywhere profess to conform to the Catholic usages of the primitive times, from which causelessly to depart argues rather love of contention than of peace: and on the contrary the most necessary ordinances are those least restricted.

They desire that the practice of the Apostles may not be alleged as a ground of this imposition of hands for the confirmation of children, and that imposition of hands may not be made a sign to certify children of God's grace and favour towards them, because this seems to speak it a sacrament, on both points alleging Article XXV.

It is the apostolic ordinance, and you misinterpret the Article.

They urge that Confirmation may not be made so necessary to the Holy Communion as that none should be admitted to it unless they be confirmed.

There is no inconvenience, and you elsewhere desire this very thing.

Exceptions against the Marriage Service,

In the Marriage Service, they desire that the ring may be left indifferent: some other words to be used instead of '*worship*' and '*depart*,'—which old word, they say, is improperly used: the declaration in the name of the

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Trinity to be omitted, lest it should seem to favour those who count matrimony a sacrament; to omit the change of place and posture directed in the middle of the service: to alter or omit the words '*consecrated the state of matrimony to such an excellent mystery*,' seeing the institution of marriage was before the Fall, and so before the promise of Christ; and also for that it seems to countenance the opinion of making matrimony a sacrament: and to omit the direction for Communion on the day of marriage.

the Visitation of the Sick,

In the 'Order for the Visitation of the Sick,' they desire a greater liberty in the prayer as well as in the exhortation; and that the form of the Absolution be declarative and conditional, as 'I pronounce thee absolved,' instead of 'I absolve thee,' and 'If thou dost truly repent and believe'; and that it may only be recommended to the minister to be used or omitted as he shall see occasion.

The giving of absolution must not depend upon the minister's pleasure, but on the sick man's penitence. The form is closer to S. John xx. than the amendment.

Also, of the 'Communion of the Sick,' they propose that the minister be not enjoined to administer the sacrament to every sick person that shall desire it, but only as he shall judge expedient.

He must not deny the viaticum to any who 'humbly desire it' being presumably penitent and prepared.

and Burial of the Dead.

In the 'Order for the Burial of the Dead,' they desire the insertion of a rubric declaring that the prayers and exhortations are not for the benefit of the dead, but only for the instruction and comfort of the living; and that ministers may be allowed to perform the whole service in the church if they think fit, for the preventing of inconveniences which many times both ministers and

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people are exposed unto by standing in the open air. Also some expressions are objected to, that they cannot in truth be said of persons living and dying in open and notorious sin; that they may harden the wicked, and are inconsistent with the largest rational charity; and more than this, that they cannot be used with respect to those persons who have not by their actual repentance given any ground for the hope of their blessed estate.

It is better to be charitable and hope the best than rashly to condemn.

In the Churching they desired a change of place, a change of psalm, a penitential Versicle to be used in case of adultery or fornication, and the omission of the offering.

The place is conspicuous and good and is suitable to her making an offering. In case of sin penance must be done first.

Concessions of the Bishops.

The Bishops, after replying at length to these objections, ended by stating the following concessions, which they were willing to make in the way of alterations in the Prayer Book.[1]

1. We are willing that all the Epistles and Gospels be used according to the last translation.

2. That when anything is read for an Epistle which is not in the Epistles, the superscription shall be, 'For the Epistle.'

3. That the Psalms be collated with the former translation mentioned in the rubric, and printed according to it.

4. That the words, 'this day,' both in the Collects and Prefaces, be used only upon the day itself; and for the following days it be said, 'as about this time.'

5. That a longer time be required for signification

[1] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 362.

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of the names of the communicants; and the words of the rubric be changed into these, 'at least some time the day before.'

6. That the power of keeping scandalous sinners from the Communion may be expressed in the rubric, according to the 26th and 27th Canons; so the minister be obliged to give an account of the same immediately after to the Ordinary.

7. That the whole Preface be prefixed to the Commandments.

8. That the second Exhortation be read some Sunday or Holy Day before the celebration of the Communion, at the discretion of the minister.

9. That the General Confession at the Communion be pronounced by one of the ministers, the people saying after him, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.

10. That the manner of consecrating the elements may be made more explicit and express, and to that purpose these words be put into the rubric, 'Then shall he put his hand upon the bread and break it,' 'Then shall he put his hand unto the cup.'

11. That if the font be so placed as the congregation cannot hear, it may be referred to the Ordinary to place it more conveniently.

12. That those words, 'Yes, they do perform those, &c.,' may be altered thus, 'Because they promise them both by their sureties.'

13. That the words of the last rubric before the Catechism may be thus altered, 'that children being baptized have all things necessary for their salvation, and dying before they commit any actual sins, be undoubtedly saved, though they be not confirmed.'

14. That to the rubric after Confirmation these words may be added, 'or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.'

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15. That those words, 'with my body I thee worship, may be altered thus, 'with my body I thee honour.'

16. That those words, 'till death us depart,' be thus altered, 'till death us do part.'

17. That the words, 'sure and certain,' may be left out.

The true character of the conflict.

Of these changes of phrases, or minute improvements of rubric, there is hardly one of any great importance. The Bishops, conscious of their own power and of the captiousness of the opposition, felt that they were not called upon by any plea of tender consciences to adopt alterations of which they did not recognize the clear necessity. They therefore took up a strong and unyielding position behind primitive custom and Catholic usage. They also knew that it was vain to assent to any real changes; for that, if they granted all the proposals of the Ministers, and altered all the ceremonies and phrases objected to, the Prayer Book would still be deemed an intolerable burden, so long as its use in any shape was to be constantly and vigorously enforced.[1] The Puritans required the free exercise of the gift of prayer in every part of Public Worship, and contended that, whatever alterations might be made in the Book, it should be left to the discretion of the minister to omit any part of its appointed services.[2]

[1] See the Answer of the Bishops on the head of Ceremonies. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 345.

[2] Exceptions, § 7 above, p. 173. The Bishops had seen the results of the 'exercise of the gift' in its utmost freedom. They say of it in their reply (Cardwell, p. 341), 'The mischiefs that come by idle, impertinent, ridiculous, sometimes seditious, impious, and blasphemous expressions, under pretence of the gift, to the dishonour of God and scorn of religion, being far greater than the pretended good of exercising the gift, it is fit that they who desire such liberty in public devotions should first give the Church security, that no private opinions should be put into their prayers, as is desired in the first proposal; and that nothing contrary to the faith should be uttered before God, or offered up to him in the church.'

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Additional forms of prayer to be inserted in the Prayer Book.

Besides making such alterations in the Prayer Book as should be thought necessary, the King's Warrant authorized the Commissioners to insert 'some additional forms, in the Scripture phrase as near as might be, suited to the nature of the several parts of worship.' Therefore when the Ministers delivered to the Bishops their paper of exceptions against the existing Prayer Book, they said that they had made a considerable progress in preparing new forms, and should (by God's assistance) offer them to the reverend Commissioners with all convenient speed. This portion of their labours was undertaken by Richard Baxter. Whether he had ever any idea of composing forms of prayer, to be inserted among the Collects of the Prayer Book, so that the same book might be used in Public Worship by Puritans and Churchmen, while each party retained their essential differences, is very doubtful. He thought amendment all but hopeless in a book of which the framework and the matter of the prayers had respect to primitive models; and, to express his own ideas of a befitting Christian worship, he composed an entirely new Directory of service, under the title of *The Reformation of the Liturgy*.[1] This with some slight alterations

Baxter composes 'The Reformation of the Liturgy,'

[1] 'The work is described as the labour of little more than a fortnight—a suggestion by no means incredible; for, spite of the praise bestowed on it by his biographer, that "few better Liturgies exist" (Orme's *Life of Baxter*, II. p. 420), a less desultory performance might have been expected from a mind so used to composition, and on an occasion so urgently calling for the exercise of wisdom and deliberation. The method he pursued in its composition was to follow the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments: but "my leisure," he owns, "was too short for the doing of it with that accurateness which a business of that nature doth require, or for the consulting with men and authors. I could not have time to make use of any book save the Bible and my Concordance; comparing all with the Assembly's Directory, and the Book of Common Prayer, and Hammond L'Estrange." (*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, II. p. 306.)' See Hall *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, Introd. p. xlvii. The fourth volume of this work contains a reprint of Baxter's *Reformation of the Liturgy*.

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with a Petition for Peace.

was accepted by the Presbyterian Committee, and presented to the Bishops with *A Petition for Peace*,[1] which was for the most part a lengthy repetition of the Puritan wail, which had been going on for a hundred years, against set forms of prayer and ceremonial. If the Prayer Book was to be tolerated by the Puritans, their new Liturgy must also be allowed, so that either of them might be used at the discretion of the minister; they also desired freedom from subscription, oaths, and ceremonies; and demanded that no ordination, whether absolute or conditional, should be required from any who had already been ordained by the parochial pastors.

Baxter's Rejoinder to the Reply of the Bishops

Baxter's next work was to compile a lengthy rejoinder *seriatim* to the reply which the Bishops had fully and finally made to the series of Presbyterian objections, without any hope indeed of obtaining the concessions he desired, but rather to express the fulness of his indignation against the Bishops and the Prayer Book.[2] After these vain disputes, only ten days remained of the time limited by the Royal Commission for the Conference. The Nonconformists then desired a personal discussion upon the subject of the paper which had been exchanged; and after two days' debate it was agreed to. Bishop Cosin produced a paper, 'as from a considerable person,'[3] proposing that the complainers should distinguish between what they taxed as contrary to the Word of God in the Book of Common Prayer and what they opposed merely as inexpedient, and that reference should then be made to convocation to give a final

[1] *Documents relating to A. of U.* no. XVII. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 261. See also Roger L'Estrange's scathing reply, *The Relapsed Apostate*, 1661.

[2] *Doc. relating to A. of U.* no. XVIII. See Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 263, *note*.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 265. *Documents relating to A. of U.* no. XIX.

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Eight particulars in the Prayer Book alleged as sinful.

decision: whereupon eight particulars[1] were alleged as contrary to the Word of God. The last week was spent in a particular dispute[2] between Dr. Pearson, Dr. Gunning, and Dr. Sparrow on one side against Dr. Bates, Dr. Jacomb, and Mr. Baxter on the other side, carrying on the disputation in writing and taking the particular instance of kneeling at the Communion.[3] On the closing day a final Reply was given in by Baxter,[4] but it was never answered and there was nothing to be gained by further discussion. And thus the last Conference ended on Monday the 24th of July, 1661, with the only result that could reasonably have been expected. The Presbyterians had an opportunity of showing their untractable spirit in the cavillings of Baxter, which annoyed some influential persons who were previously disposed to treat them tenderly. They showed also that their hostility to the Prayer Book was irreconcilable though

[1] They were these:—

1. That no minister be admitted to baptize without the transient image of the cross.

2. That no minister be permitted to exercise his office that dares not wear a surplice.

3. That none be admitted to the Communion that dare not receive it kneeling.

4. That ministers be forced to pronounce all baptized infants to be regenerate by the Holy Ghost, whether they be the children of Christians or not.

5. That ministers be forced to deliver the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ unto the unfit, and that with personal application, putting it into their hands; and that such are forced to receive it, though against their own wills, in the conscience of their impenitency.

6. That ministers be forced to absolve the unfit.

7. That they are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury.

8. That none may be a preacher that dare not subscribe that there is nothing in the Common Prayer Book, the Book of Ordination, and the Thirty-nine Articles, that is contrary to the Word of God.

It must be added, that this paper was delivered by the three disputants in their own name only; for here they would not pretend to represent their party. Baxter desired to add two more points, but they were left out.

[2] See the *Petition to the King* in *Documents relating to A. of U.* p. 381.

[3] *Ibid.* nos. XX. and XXI. cp. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 364.

The other chief point debated was the sense of Rom. xiv. 1—3; Collier, VIII. 885, and see *Doc.* no. XX.

[4] *Documents relating to A. of U.* no. XXII.

Revision by Convocation.

it only rested on small reasons, on phrases misinterpreted, or on doctrines opposed to Catholic truth.[1]

In the meanwhile, Convocation had assembled on the 8th of May, 1661.[2] The first business was to prepare a Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving for the 29th of May, the anniversary of the King's birth and restoration, and also an office for the Baptism of Adults, which was found necessary from the great neglect of religious ordinances during the Rebellion.[3] Other steps were also taken towards the Revision of Canons and the drawing up of Visitation articles. But as yet nothing was done as regards the Prayer Book. In the House of Commons, on June 25, notice was first taken of the proceedings at the Conference; a Committee was appointed to make search for the original of King Edward's Second Service book,[4] 'and to provide for an effectual conformity to the Liturgy of the Church for the time to come'; and a Bill for Uniformity passed the Commons (July 9), to which was annexed the Prayer Book of 1604[5]: but in view of what was going forward in Convocation this was delayed until the following February in the House of Lords.

[1] They ultimately admitted that while nothing must be imposed contrary to the Word of God, other and lawful commands should be obeyed: but their tender consciences judged the Church's order unlawful and contrary to the Word of God. See *Petition to the King at the close of the Conference*, in *Documents relating to A. of U.* no. XXII.

[2] There was at first some danger that Convocation might not be summoned, and all be left to the Conference. See a letter from Heylyn protesting against such a course, in consequence of which it was abandoned, and Convocation summoned. Collier, VIII. 886.

[3] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 370; *Synodalia*, ii. 641, 642.

The Acts of the Convocation are given in full in Cardwell's *Synodalia*, ii. 631 and ff.; cp. Parker's *Introduction*, lxxxvii.

[4] This had been referred to by the Presbyterians at the Conference, as containing matter which they wished to have replaced in the Prayer-Book: such as the first rubrics concerning vestments, &c., and the declaration about kneeling at the Communion. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 376.

[5] Two prayers before the reading Psalms were to be omitted. They were unauthorized additions after the end of the Commination Service in

Revision by Convocation.

The second session of this royalist Parliament began November 20, and Convocation reassembled on the following day, when the King's Letters were read, directing the revision of the Common Prayer, and a Committee of Bishops[1] was appointed for the purpose. The business, however, had been foreseen, and the Committee seems to have at once reported that the preparations were already made, and that the whole House might proceed to the work of revision. On Saturday, November 23, a portion of the Book with the corrections of the Bishops was delivered to the prolocutor of the Lower House, and the remainder on the following Wednesday, when the first portion was returned from the Lower House, with a schedule of amendments there made. The whole work was speedily completed, and on the 20th of December, 1661, the Book of Common Prayer was adopted and subscribed by the Clergy of both Houses of Convocation, and of both provinces.[2]

In Parliament.

On January 14, the House of Lords began the consideration of the Commons' Act of Uniformity: on the 28th following the Commons urged the Lords

the edition annexed. The temper of the House may be judged from the Speech of Lord Chancellor Hyde at the opening of Parliament. Collier, VIII. 888.

[1] Cosin, Bishop of Durham, Wren of Ely, Skinner of Oxford, Warner of Rochester, Henchman of Salisbury, Morley of Worcester, Sanderson of Lincoln, and Nicholson of Gloucester.

[2] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 372. *Synodalia*, II. 660. The writ for summoning the Northern Convocation was directed (June 10) to Archbishop Frewen; and Nov. 30, a King's Letter of Nov. 22 empowered this Synod to review the Common Prayer and Ordinal. Parker, *Introduction*, p. lxxxvi. The Bishops of the Northern province were already in London, and sitting in consultation with the Southern bishops. For convenience and despatch of business, the Lower House agreed to make proxies to transact in their names with the province of Canterbury; obliging themselves to abide by their vote, under the forfeiture of all their goods and chattels. They did not, however, resign their activity in the matter, but sent up a paper of suggestions to their Upper House in London; Parker, *Introd.* ccccxxxi. Joyce, *English Synods*, pp. 709 and ff.

The MS. copy which was signed has been published in facsimile (1891). See Additional Note, p. 204.

to greater expedition, on the 29th the Bishops in Convocation discussed the Bill, and thenceforward the House of Lords stayed proceedings till the Revised Book should be brought in. This was done with a Royal Message on February 25.[1] The book was not discussed or amended in either House, but read and annexed to the Act of Uniformity instead of the Book of 1604. The Act itself was much debated and amended and only passed the Lords on April 9; further amendments were made in the Commons,[2] and then, after a Conference, accepted by the Lords, so that finally the Bill received the royal assent on the 19th of May, 1662.[3] The Church's book thus received the civil sanction, and the State thought good by an Act of Uniformity to enforce it and to affix penalties to the non-observance of it. But in doing so the greatest care was taken not to encroach upon the rights of the Church or her spiritual liberty.[4]

Parliamentary action

Great pains were taken with this revision; about 600 alterations of every kind were made: and Mr. Sancroft was appointed by Convocation (March 8) to superintend the printing of the Book, with Mr. Scattergood and Mr. Dillingham to correct the press.[5] Certain printed copies having been examined and carefully corrected by Commissioners appointed for the purpose, were certified by them, and exemplified under the Great

Publication.

The Sealed Books.

[1] Printed with the Proceedings in Parliament in *Documents relating to the A. of U.* p. 414. Parker, p. cccclix.

[2] When the Bill was returned with the revised Book, which it was well known had been amended in Convocation from a copy of 1636, the Commons ordered a close comparison of the Books of the two periods: and, April 16, they put the question, whether they should reconsider the amendments of Convocation; they decided to receive them without discussion, on a division of 96 to 90; they then divided again on the question whether they had the power of reconsidering such corrections, and affirmed their own power to do so, had they so desired.

[3] Gee and Hardy, *Doc.* CXVII. *Documents relating to A. of U.* XXIV.

[4] See Additional Note, p. 204.

[5] See the Acta in *Synodalia* or in Gibson's *Synodus Anglicanus.*

Summary of the Alterations.

Seal: and one of these *Sealed Books*, annexed to a printed copy of the Act of Uniformity, was ordered to be obtained by the respective deans and chapters of every cathedral or collegiate church before the 25th of December; and a similar copy to be delivered into the respective Courts at Westminster, and into the Tower of London, to be preserved for ever among the records.[1]

The following are the most important alterations introduced into the Prayer Book at this revision.[2] The

The Preface.

Preface was prefixed, and the original Preface (1549) followed as a chapter 'Concerning the Service of the Church.' The extracts from the Bible, except the Psalter, the Ten Commandments, and some portions in the Communion Service, were taken generally from the

Morning and Evening Prayer.

version of 1611. The Absolution at Mattins and Evensong was ordered to be pronounced by the *Priest* instead of the *Minister*. The 'five prayers' were printed at the end of the Order of Morning and Evening Service. In the Litany, the words 'rebellion' and 'schism' were added to the petition against 'sedition.' The words, 'bishops, priests, and deacons,' were substituted for

Occasional Prayers,

'bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church.' Among the Occasional Prayers were introduced the two Ember prayers, the Prayer for the High Court of Parliament, the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, also the General Thanksgiving, and a Thanksgiving for the Restoration

Collects.

of Public Peace at Home. New Collects were appointed for the third Sunday in Advent, and for S. Stephen's Day: a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel were provided for a sixth Sunday after the Epiphany: and a distinct Collect

[1] Parker, *Introduction*, p. clx. A reprint of the 'Sealed Book' has been published by the Ecclesiastical History Society. For the MS. books, see Additional Note, p. 204.

[2] See Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 380; also 'the Preface' to the Book of Common Prayer, stating the general aim of the alterations.

for Easter-even: in several places the word 'church' was used for 'congregation.' The Gospel for the Sunday after Christmas was shortened by the omission of the genealogy; as also those for the Sunday next before Easter, and for Good Friday, which had contained the Second Lesson for the day: an Epistle was provided for the day of the Purification: the Anthems for Easter Day were enlarged. In the Communion Service, the commemoration of the departed was added to the prayer for the Church Militant: the rubrics preceding this prayer were now altered on the lines of the Liturgy prepared for Scotland (1637), directing the presentation of the alms, and the placing of the bread and wine upon the Table, this latter being also taken from 1549. The first exhortation was inserted where it stands, giving warning of the Communion, instead of being read sometimes at the Communion. The rubric was added before the Prayer of Consecration, directing the priest so to order the bread and wine that he may with decency break the bread and take the cup. The rubrics were added prescribing the Manual Acts in consecration, the form of consecrating additional bread and wine, if needed, and the covering of the remainder of the consecrated elements with a fair linen cloth. The Order of the Council of 1552, respecting kneeling at Communion, which had been removed by Queen Elizabeth, was now replaced, but the words 'corporal presence' were substituted for 'real and essential presence,' and it thus became a defence of the doctrine of the Real Presence instead of a denial of it.

Summary of the Alterations.

Communion Office.

Some careful amendments were made in the Baptismal Offices: the inquiry as to obedience was added to the examination of sponsors; and the declaration, which had formed part of the Preface to the Confirmation Service,

Baptismal Offices

Summary of the Alterations.

of the undoubted salvation of baptized infants dying before they commit actual sin, and a reference to the xxxth canon (1604) for the meaning of the sign of the cross, were placed at the end of the Office of Public Baptism. An Office for the Administration of Baptism to such as were of riper years was added. The Catechism was separated from the Order of Confirmation.

Occasional Offices.

The first rubric explaining the end of Confirmation was now appointed to be read as the Preface to the Service, followed, in place of the catechism, by the inquiry of renewal and ratification of the baptismal vow. A form was now appointed for the publication of Banns of Marriage, and the particular 'time of service' to be 'immediately before' the Offertory Sentences. The Order following the last Blessing, 'Then shall begin the Communion,' was omitted; and the final rubric, that 'the new married persons, the same day of their marriage, must receive the Holy Communion,' was altered to a declaration that it is convenient so to do either then or at the first opportunity after their marriage.

In the Visitation of the Sick instead of a reference to 'Peter's wife's mother, and the captain's servant,' the petition for the sanctification of sickness was inserted in the prayer before the Exhortation: and the words, 'if he humbly and heartily desire it,' were added to the rubric respecting absolution. The final benediction, and the occasional prayers, were now added. The form of service for the Communion of the Sick was more clearly directed to begin with the Proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, and then to pass to the part of the public office beginning with 'Ye that do truly,' &c. In the Order for Burial, the first rubric was added respecting persons unbaptized or excommunicate. The Psalms and Lesson were appointed to be read in the church, according to

the rubric of 1549. The name of the deceased was omitted in the prayer at the grave. In the Churching Service new Psalms were appointed. The Commination was directed to be used on the first day of Lent.

Summary of the Alterations.

The Ordinal.

In the Ordinal a special Gospel was appointed at the Ordering of Deacons, and besides similar changes in the Ordering of Priests and the Consecration of Bishops and some transposition of the parts of the former, Cosin's translation of *Veni Creator* was added, and the description of the office was inserted into the formula, *Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest* (*Bishop*) *now committed, &c.* Forms of Prayer were supplied to be used at Sea, and for the 30th of January, and the 29th of May, and the Service for the 5th of November was altered.[1]

Review of the Alterations.

Thus the Book remained the same Book of Common Prayer, as to all its distinctive features. The alterations fall under four general heads.[2] (1) The language was made more smooth by verbal changes and slight transpositions; (2) some rubrics were made clearer for the direction of priests to whom the 'customary manner' of former years was unknown; (3) the selected portions of Scripture were taken from the best translation. (4) some new services were added, which had become necessary from the circumstances of the time: such as that for Adult Baptism, to meet the case of converts from Anabaptism at home, and from heathenism in the 'Plantations'; and that for use at sea, to meet the requirements of the rapidly increasing trade and navy of the country. But while all this was done with scrupulous care, it seems that small regard was paid to the objections of the Puritans.[3] The Bishops rejected them, as

[1] Cf. Joyce, *English Synods*, p. 716, *note*.

[2] The Bishops' classification of them in the Preface.

[3] Some changes were made in order to avoid the appearance of favouring the Presbyterian form of Church-government: thus, 'church,'

Summary of the Alterations.

they explained in the new Preface, on the ground that they 'were either of dangerous consequence (as secretly striking at some established Doctrine or laudable Practice of the Church of England or indeed of the whole Catholick Church of Christ), or else of no consequence at all, but utterly frivolous and vain.' Thus all the main things to which they had objected—the use of the Apocrypha at certain times in the Daily Service, the form of the Litany, the expressions in the services for Baptism Marriage and Burial, the vestments, the kneeling at Communion, the cross at Baptism, the ring at Marriage, the Absolution for the sick, the declaration touching the salvation of baptized infants[1]—these were all retained by Convocation; and not only so but they were confirmed by the act of the civil power,[2] which, going a big

or 'people,' was substituted for 'congregation,' and 'ministers *in*' for '*of* the congregation'; 'priests and deacons' were especially named instead of 'pastors and ministers.'

The alterations were felt by them to be of no value. 'It was proposed in their behalf in the House of Lords, that the existing Liturgy should be continued, and all the corrections made in Convocation should be abandoned.' Cardwell, (quoting Clarendon's *Life*, II. 128) *Conferences*, p. 388.

[1] 'This was one of the greatest grievances complained of by the Dissenters, being, as they said, a declaration that that is certain by God's Word, which at best can only be proved as a probable deduction from it. Baxter maintained, "That of the forty sinful terms for a communion with the Church party, if thirty-nine were taken away, and only that rubric, concerning the salvation of infants dying shortly after their baptism, were continued, yet they could not conform." Long's *Vox Cleri*, an. 1690, p. 18,' in Cardwell, p. 383, *note*.

[2] The Act of Uniformity required every beneficed person, before the Feast of S. Bartholomew, to read the Prayers according to the amended Book in his church or chapel, and declare his unfeigned assent and consent to all things contained in it; and all succeeding beneficed persons to do this within two months after possession of their benefices: Also every Ecclesiastical person, and every Tutor and Schoolmaster, to make a declaration of the illegality of taking arms against the King, and a promise of conformity to the Liturgy, and during the next twenty years a further declaration that the *Solemn League and Covenant* was an unlawful oath, and of no obligation. It deprived of their benefices all persons who were not in Holy Orders by episcopal ordination, unless they were so ordained Priest or Deacon before the Feast of S. Bartholomew. It provided for the toleration of aliens of the foreign Reformed Churches, allowed or to be allowed in England. The Morning and Evening Prayer, and all other

step further, required conforming ministers not only to adopt the new arrangements, but to declare the unlawfulness of their past conduct, and to submit to episcopal ordination.[1] *Further Results.*

Subsequent sessions of Convocation were concerned with the service for November 5 and with a Form of Consecration of Churches and Chapels: the former was finished, but the latter was allowed to drop.[2] On April 26 the Upper House entrusted to Earles, Dean of Westminster, and Dr. Pearson the translation of the Prayer Book into Latin, but these both gave up the work before it was done, and at a later date the Latin Prayer Book was completed by other hands.[3] *Further action in Convocation.*

In Scotland episcopacy was restored at the opening of 1661, and at the end of the year two Archbishops and two Bishops were consecrated at Westminster Abbey 'according to the form of the Church of England, but without prejudice to the privileges of the Church of Scotland'.[4] In the following year it was reported that the Scots had received the Bishops and the Book of Common Prayer with great expressions of joy, notwith- *In Scotland.*

prayers and service, might be used in Latin in the chapels of colleges, and in Convocations. All Lecturers and Preachers to be approved and licensed by the Archbishop, or Bishop of the Diocese: Common Prayer to be read before sermons, except at the public University sermon. The Bishops of Hereford, S. David's, Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff to take order for a true and exact translation of the Book into the British or Welsh tongue before May 1, 1665.

[1] Cp. Hallam, *Constitutional Hist.* II. 459 (339), and *note*, p. 462 (341), on the number of those who were turned out of the benefices into which they had been intruded during the troubles. Skeats (*Hist. of the Free Churches of England*, p. 56) observes that 2,000 were ejected, 'because the toleration which they had denied to others was now denied to them.' Indeed Gouge, Manton, Calamy, &c., believed in 1648 'that toleration was a doctrine born of hell.'

[2] For the later history of such services, see Reeves' introduction to *Irish Form of Consecration of Churches*, (S.P.C.K.) p. 7, and Bishop John Wordsworth, *On the Rite of Consecration of Churches* (Ch. Hist. Soc. Tract, LII).

[3] See p. 202.

[4] *Calendar of State Papers*, 1661, Nov. 30, and Dec. 7. Stephen, II. 340, 345.

Further Results.

standing the efforts of factious men in England.[1] But in fact the Prayer Book was not used and episcopacy went on without Liturgy till its disestablishment in 1689.[2]

In Ireland.

The Irish Convocation (August—November 1662) examined and unanimously approved the Prayer Book which had been revised and settled by law in England; but it was only after an interval of four years that its use was enjoined, under penalties, by the Irish Parliament in 1666.[3]

New Versions.

The revised Prayer Book was at once translated into French by John Durel,[4] and his version has been chiefly used ever since in the Channel Islands. The same writer also eventually completed the edition of the Latin Prayer Book which Convocation had originally taken in hand. This was not, however, till 1670. He profited by the previous translations, but took the Psalms and Scripture portions from the Sarum Breviary and Missal.[5]

[1] *Calendar*, 1662, July 14. See, however, the report of a Church Session at Edinburgh, under the date Oct. 17, p. 520.

[2] Stephen, II. 350.

[3] The MS. Book of Common Prayer that was attached to the Irish Act of Uniformity has been printed by the Eccles. Hist. Society. See Stephens's *Introd.*, pp. lxxxviii. and ff, and clxvi. and ff; and a sketch of the history of the Irish Prayer Book by Mr. Clay, in *British Magazine* (Dec. 1846), XXX. 601—629; Blunt, *Annotated P. B.* p. 710 (ed. 1884).

[4] Chaplain of the French congregation in the Savoy Chapel, Dean of Windsor, and Canon of Durham. Among the State Papers is an Order by the King that John Durel's French translation of the Prayer Book be used, as soon as printed, in all the parish churches of Jersey and Guernsey, &c., in the French congregation of the Savoy, and all others conformed to the Church of England, with licence to him for the sole printing of the said translation. *Calendar*, 1662, Oct. 6, p. 508. The sanction of the Bishop's Chaplain is dated April 6, 1663. Durel was the author of *A View of the Government and Public Worship of God in the reformed Churches beyond the seas: wherein is shewed their Conformity and Agreement with the Church of England;* 1662: and *S. Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, adversus iniquas atque inverecundas schismaticorum criminationes, vindiciæ:* 1669.

[5] See Marshall's *Latin Prayer Book of Charles II.* (Oxford, 1882) for both these. The Latin book went through seven editions between 1670 and

Further Results.

In 1665 a Greek version was published by Dr. James Duport, the Greek Professor at Cambridge and Dean of Peterborough. This superseded Petley's version published in 1638, and the Greek version in Whitaker's bilingual book of 1569.[1]

The missionary development of the Anglican Communion has in later years rendered necessary the translation of the Prayer Book into many languages. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has published alone all but one hundred versions in different languages, and has had a hand in a certain number of others, which have been printed in the Mission Field. The Prayer Book and Homily Society has also done something in this direction, and in America the Prayer Book has been printed in a number of Indian dialects by the American Board of Missions.

1703, but in 1713 another, but inferior, Latin version appeared, by Thomas Parsell, of Merchant Taylors' School, and passed through several editions. His Psalms and Scriptures are taken from Castellio's version. Besides the usual contents, and the Ordinal, the book has also *Forma Precum in utraque domo Synodi, &c.; Formula Precum 2da die Septembris* (for the Fire of London); and *Forma Strumosos attrectandi.* In 1785 a revised edition was published by Dr. E. Harwood. All these Latin Prayer Books have now been succeeded by *Libri Precum Publicarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Versio Latina*, by Bright and Medd (1865), who have adopted the original phraseology wherever it can be traced, and have rendered the more recent portions into Latin of a similar character. Cp. Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 19 [p. 104, ed. 1884].

[1] Marshall, *l.c.* pp. 42, 43, and see above, p. 124.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

THE WORK OF REVISION.

The Books used in the Revision.

The progress of the work of revision by the Bishops and Clergy[1] is marked by four extant books. The first is a Prayer Book of 1619, now at Durham, which contains alterations and directions to the printer written in the hand of Cosin, and also at a later date, and to a less extent, in Sancroft's hand. This was probably used in the earliest stages and anterior to the meeting of Convocation.[2] The second is a Prayer Book of 1634 now in the Bodleian Library, which Sancroft has used to make a fair copy of the preceding. The third is a Prayer Book of 1636 which was the official copy used by Convocation in making the revision.[3] The fourth is the original MS. of the Book as revised and 'fairly written' out of 'the book wherein the alterations were made'[4]; it was subscribed by Convocation on December 20, 1661.[5] From these it is possible to trace in minute detail the process through which the Revision went.

When once presented to Parliament (February 25), together with a schedule of the changes made, the Book underwent no alteration except in some very small details.[6] The House of Lords Committee on February 27, amended some clerical errors in the titles of four of the Psalms and one of the Rubrics after Com-

[1] Wren and Cosin were armed already with a series of proposals. Wren's are printed in Jacobson, *Fragmentary Illustrations of the B.C.P.*, 45–109. Cosin's in *Works*, v. pp. 502–525. These seem to have been originally drawn up for the abortive revision in 1641, and afterwards to have been amplified. Tomlinson, pp. 185 and ff.

[2] Tomlinson, p. 203.

[3] Published with a collation of the two former in Parker's *Introduction to the Revisions:* and also facsimiled at full length in 1871 for the Ritual Commission.

[4] Journal of House of Lords, Ap. 10, in Parker's *Introduction*, p. ccccixviii.

[5] Published in facsimile in 1891 and printed *verbatim et literatim* with collations in 1892.

[6] The theory that the Black rubric was inserted at the Council Board after the assent of Convocation and before the book was sent to Parlia-

munion. But, having done this, and discussed the question whether alterations ought not to be referred back to Convocation, they resolved not to read the Book at all.[1]

The Books used in the Revision.

On March 5 Convocation appointed a Committee of three Bishops with plenary power to act in their name with reference to the changes.[2] The work of the House of Lords in Committee on the Bill was finished on March 10, and an agreement no doubt was made with the Bishops, though there is no record of it in the scanty and incomplete minutes. On the 13th and two following days the whole House considered and approved the Book, and returned thanks to Convocation for their pains therein. The Bill, however, did not pass till April 9, when it and the Book Annexed were sent to the Commons. There the schedule was perused, and the Book was carefully scrutinised by a Committee, but on April 16 the House agreed not to exercise its right of discussing the changes made by Convocation, and accepted them *en bloc*.[3]

The discovery of a fresh clerical error in the rubrics of Baptism raised a further difficulty; and in view of it the Bishops appointed Cosin to a vacant place on their existing Committee. Consequently when, after the Conference with the Commons, the error was mentioned in the Lords (May 8), Cosin, on behalf of the Committee of Bishops, corrected the word then and there.[4]

The care which the Parliament took not to encroach upon the Church's province is again seen later on. It was proposed in the Commons on April 28, that there should be 'a proviso for being uncovered and using reverent gesture at the time of divine service.' 'But the matter being held proper for the Convocation, *Ordered*' to invite the Lords to join in recommending to the Convocation 'to take order for reverent and uniform gestures and demeanors to be enjoined at the time of divine service and preaching.' To this the Lords agreed May 8, and recommended to the Convocation 'to prepare some canon or rule for that purpose to be humbly presented unto his Majesty for his assent.' In reply Convocation sent to Parliament a copy of the xviiith canon of 1603 in a somewhat amended form (May 10 and 12, 1662).

ment, is impossible. It rests only on a vague statement of Burnet, and it is categorically denied by the King's own words. Selborne, *Liturgy of the Church of England*, pp. 57–69, disposes both of Mr. Parker's and of Mr. Tomlinson's theories as to changes made independently of Convocation.

[1] Selborne, *Liturgy*, p. 60.

[2] Acta in Cardwell, *Synodalia*, ii., 666. Parker, cccclxii.

[3] See above, p. 195, *note*.

[4] Parker, cccclxxxv. Selborne, p. 62.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER SINCE THE LAST REVISION.

Attempted Revision in the Reign of William III.

SINCE the year 1662, the Book of Common Prayer has remained in the state to which it was then brought; attempts have been made to introduce changes in its language, and certain liberties have been allowed, and minor subsidiary points altered, but otherwise it remains still the same as it was then. Some however of the unsuccessful attempts at change deserve notice.

In 1668, Tillotson and Stillingfleet united with Bates, Manton, and Baxter, in preparing the terms in which a Bill for the Comprehension of Dissenters might be proposed to Parliament, upon the model of the King's Declaration from Breda. But although recommended in the speech from the throne, the Commons utterly refused the project.[1] In 1673, and again in 1675, motions were made for the relief of Dissenters; and then Tillotson declined to make further efforts, which would be a prejudice to himself, and could not effect the object desired.[2] These efforts were, however, continued by Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, who, in 1681, proposed to allow an alteration, or freedom of

Proposals of Bishop Stillingfleet.

[1] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 394.

[2] Tillotson, *Letter to Baxter* (April 11, 1675); Cardwell, p. 396.

choice in such particulars as the surplice, the sign of the cross and sponsors in Baptism, kneeling at Communion, Apocryphal lessons, and to sanction subscription to thirty-six only of the Articles. But the temper of the times would not allow the Dissenters to accept these condescensions:[1] in the latter years of Charles II. and throughout the short reign of James II. even toleration was suspected, not indeed without reason, of bringing with it an equal toleration of popery.

Attempted Revision in the Reign of William III.

The declaration issued by William, Prince of Orange, promised 'to endeavour a good agreement between the Church of England and Protestant Dissenters';[2] a proposal, however, for the comprehension of Dissenters was rejected, although toleration was allowed; and finding that ecclesiastical questions were under discussion, while the King had not yet summoned the Convocation, both Houses of Parliament concurred in an address (April 16), praying that, 'according to ancient practice and usage of the kingdom, his Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue forth his writs, as soon as conveniently might be, for calling a Convocation of the Clergy to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters.'[3]

The Declaration of William III. favourable to the Presbyterians.

Parliament desire the summoning of Convocation.

Arrangements were made for the meeting of Convocation by a commission issued (September 17, 1689) to ten bishops and twenty divines,[4] to 'prepare such alterations of the Liturgy and Canons and such proposals for the

Commission to revise the Prayer Book.

[1] Long's *Vox Cleri*, p. 3: Cardwell, p. 396, *note*.

[2] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 405.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 410. With the Convention Parliament, by whom William and Mary were seated on the throne, the Convocation did not assemble. It was the second Parliament, in the *first* year of the new reign, which petitioned the throne to summon the Convocation. Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* p. 320.

[4] The commission included some well-known names: Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tillotson, Sharp, Hall, Beveridge, Tenison, Fowler, Grove, and Williams were subsequently raised to the episcopal bench. Blue Book of June 2, 1854 (see below), p. 92; Lathbury, *u. s.* p. 321, *note*; Cardwell, 412, 427 and ff.

Alterations Proposed in 1689.

reformation of ecclesiastical courts, and to consider of such other matters as in your judgment may most conduce to' 'the good order, and edification, and unity of the Church of England,' and to 'the reconciling as much as is possible of all differences.' On the same day, Tillotson drew up a paper of 'Concessions which would probably be made by the Church of England for the union of Protestants.'[1] The Commissioners began their labours on the 3rd of October,[2] having before them all the objections and demands which had at various times been offered by opponents of the Prayer Book;[3] and they prepared an elaborate series of alterations, foredoomed to failure, of which the following is a summary.[4]

[1] *Ibid.* p. 413. The following are the heads of this paper: (1) Ceremonies to be left indifferent. (2) To review the Liturgy, and remove all ground of exception; to leave out Apocryphal lessons, and correct the translation of the Psalms. (3) Ministers only to subscribe one general declaration of submission to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church of England, and promise to teach and practise accordingly. (4) To make a new body of canons. (5) To regulate the ecclesiastical courts. (6) That those who have been ordained in any of the foreign Reformed churches be not required to be re-ordained here, to render them capable of preferment in this church; (7) but none to be capable of ecclesiastical preferment that shall be ordained in England otherwise than by bishops.

[2] An account of the proceedings is given by Bp. Patrick in the *Narrative of his Own Life*, p. 149, ed. Oxf. 1839; Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 416 and ff.

[3] Burnet, *Hist. of Own Time*, II. 31.

[4] The alterations, amounting to 598 articles, were prepared in an interleaved copy of a black-letter edition of the Book of Common Prayer (1683-86). This document was not made public, and, indeed, was for many years supposed to have been lost. A copy was communicated to Calamy, who thought that the scheme would have brought in two-thirds of the Dissenters; but his copy was lost by lending (Lathbury, *Convoc.* p. 325, *note*): an abstract was published in his *Life of Baxter*, p. 452 (Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 429). The Book, however, was left with Tenison, afterwards Archbishop, and passed with his papers into the hands of Dr. E. Gibson, bishop of London, by whom it was placed in the Lambeth Library. The document is now accessible in the form of a Blue Book (pp. 110), being a '*Return to an Address of the House of Commons, March* 14, 1854, *and ordered by the House to be printed, June* 2, 1854.' A Diary of the proceedings of the Commissioners, from October 3 to November 18, was written by Dr. John Williams, which is also printed in the Parliamentary Return in an Appendix of *Illustrative Documents*, pp. 94 and ff.

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Alterations proposed by the Commissioners.

The direction to say the Daily Prayer is thus altered[1]:—'And all priests and deacons that have cure of souls shall exhort the people of their congregations to come frequently to prayers on week-days, especially in the great towns, and more particularly on Wednesdays and Fridays, at least for the reading of the Litany: and where a congregation can be brought together, the ministers shall give their attendance for saying of Morning and Evening Prayer.'

The word *Priest* is altered to 'Minister,' and *Sunday* to 'Lord's-day.'

The Kalendar.

The *Apocryphal Lessons* in the Kalendar of Saints' days are altered to chapters chiefly from Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The *names of Saints*, which have not a proper service, and the *Table of Vigils, &c.*, are struck out.

Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers.

'Whereas the surplice is appointed to be used by all ministers in performing Divine offices, it is hereby declared, that it is continued only as being an ancient and decent habit. But yet if any minister shall come and declare to his bishop that he cannot satisfy his conscience in the use of the surplice in Divine Service, in that case the bishop shall dispense with his not using it, and if he shall see cause for it, he shall appoint a curate to officiate in a surplice.'

Morning Prayer.

An additional versicle and response is inserted:—'Enlighten our minds, O Lord: that we may understand the great things of thy law.'

The Canticles.

The 148th Psalm is substituted for *Benedicite*. The 100th Psalm is placed before *Benedictus*.

In the versicles after the Creed, the response, *Because there is none other that fighteth for us, &c.*, is altered:—'That we may serve thee without fear all the days of our lives.'

In the Prayer for the Queen, the words *most gracious* are omitted; and after *heavenly gifts* is added,—'direct all their counsels to thy honour and glory: Bless all their righteous undertakings.'

Evening Prayer.

It appears to be intended to substitute 'Ps. 8' for *Magnificat*, and 'Ps. 134' for *Nunc dimittis*. The Doxology is also added to the Lord's Prayer throughout the book.

The Athanasian Creed.

A note is added to the rubric before the *Athanasian Creed*:—'The articles of which ought to be received and believed, as being agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. And the *condemning clauses* are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the Christian faith.'

[1] Cp. throughout the objections raised in 1640, p. 153, and in 1661, pp. 172 and ff.

Alterations Proposed in 1689

The Litany.

Additional suffrages inserted in the Litany :—'From all infidelity and error, from all impiety and profaneness, from all superstition and idolatry.' 'From drunkenness and gluttony, from sloth and misspending of our time, from fornication, adultery, and all uncleanness.' 'From lying and slandering, from vain swearing, cursing, and perjury, from covetousness, oppression, and all injustice.'[1] *Sudden death* is altered—'dying suddenly and unprepared.' *The coming of the Holy Ghost* is altered :—'By thy sending of the Holy Ghost, and by thy continual intercession at the right hand of God.' 'That it may please Thee to take their Majesties' forces by sea and land into thy most gracious protection, and to make them victorious over all our enemies.' 'That it may please Thee to incline and enable us to pray alway with fervent affection, in everything to give thanks, to depend upon Thee, and trust in Thee, to delight ourselves in Thee, and cheerfully to resign ourselves to thy holy will and pleasure.' 'That it may please Thee to endue us with the graces of humility and meekness, of contentedness and patience, of true justice, of temperance and purity, of peaceableness and charity.' 'That it may please Thee to show thy pity upon all prisoners and captives, upon all that are persecuted for truth and righteousness' sake, upon all that are in affliction.'

[illegible] sion of the [illegible]

It is proposed to omit the Lord's Prayer, when there is a Communion. The *Gloria Patri* is struck out.

After the Prayer, 'We humbly beseech Thee, &c.,' the following addition is made : '*Then the Minister continuing in his place shall use the Collect*, Almighty God, to whom all hearts, &c. *Then shall the Minister rehearse distinctly the Ten Commandments . . . Or sometimes the eight Beatitudes, especially on Communion days. See the Communion Service. Then shall follow the Collect for the day. Then the Epistle and Gospel. Then (if there be no Communion) the Nicene Creed. Then the General Thanksgiving, &c. The Prayer commonly called S. Chrysostom's.* 2 *Cor. xiii.* 14. *The grace, &c. Then the Minister shall declare unto the people what Holydays or Fasting Days . . .* (Rubr. after Nicene Creed) . . . *enjoined by the King, or by the ordinary of the place, not being contrary to the laws of this Realm.*[2] *The Singing Psalm*, Query *of what translation?* Q. Q. *Whether the Minister may not here be*

[1] For this use of particular, instead of general intercessions, see above, p. 175.

[2] Note :—'This rubric was occasioned by King James's enjoining his Declaration (which was against law) to be read in churches.'

directed to use in the pulpit before Sermon the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, &c., accommodated to the purpose; or some such other prayer? Note, that when there is no Communion at all, this shall be read in the same place with the rest of the service.'

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Additional Prayers :—'*A Preparatory Prayer for the receiving of the Communion, to be read on the Lord's-day, or some week-day or days before.*' '*A Prayer to be said in any time of calamity.* Q. *Of Prayers for the Army and Navy?* *Rubr. Whereas the Apostles did use prayer and fasting before they ordained, and it has been the practice of the Church to enjoin fasts in the four weeks of the year commonly called Ember-weeks before the Lord's-days appointed for Ordination, to implore the blessings of God upon them that are to ordain, and upon those that are to be ordained: it is, therefore, earnestly recommended to all persons to spend some part of those days in prayer to God for his blessing on the Church, and on all that are to be sent out to officiate in it. And it is most solemnly charged on all that are concerned in Ordinations, chiefly on the persons that are to be ordained, to spend those days in fervent prayer, and fasting, for the due preparing of themselves to be initiated into Holy Orders. This rubric to be read immediately after the Apostles' Creed, on the Lord's-day next before any of the Ember-weeks.*'

Occasional Prayers.

Rubric before the Prayer in the Ember-weeks.

The revision of the Collects is most extensive,[1] scarcely one remaining without some change, and an entirely new Collect being proposed in by far the greater number of cases. The general feature in these alterations is the lengthening of the Collect by the introduction of phrases from the Epistle and Gospel, such as abound in the devotional writings of the Nonconformists: *e.g.* the following is the first Collect for Good Friday :—'Almighty God, the Father of mercies, we beseech thee graciously to hear the prayers of thy Church, for which our Lord Jesus Christ was content to be betrayed and given up into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer death upon the cross: and according to that new covenant which he sealed there with his precious blood, put thy laws into all our hearts, and write them in our minds; and then remember our sins and iniquities no more; for the sake of him who, when he had offered one sacrifice for sin, for ever sat down on thy right hand, and now liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, ever

The Collects

[1] This was done by Bishop Patrick and Tillotson, Nichols, *Defence* and revised by Burnet, Stillingfleet (ed. 1715), p. 118.

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one God, world without end.' The following addition is made to the Collect for the second Sunday after Trinity:—'and give us grace to fear and love thee above all things; and to have bowels of compassion towards all our brethren, that so we may have confidence towards thee, and whatsoever we ask we may receive of thee, through Jesus our Lord.' And the following is substituted for the ancient Collect for the Sunday next before Advent:—'O eternal God, who art faithful and true, and according to thy gracious promises hast raised up a glorious deliverer to us, who is the Lord our Righteousness; we beseech thee to stir up the wills of thy faithful people, that bringing forth plenteously the fruit of good works, they may be a people prepared for the Lord; and we pray thee, hasten his kingdom when he shall reign and prosper, and execute judgment and justice in all the earth. Grant this for thy infinite mercies' sake in Jesus Christ, to whom with thee, O Father, and the Holy Ghost, be eternal praise.'

Ash-Wednesday.

Rubr. '*See the Commination. A Sermon or Homily then to be used.* Whereas the observation of the fast of Lent is an ancient and useful custom, designed for the bringing of all Christians to a serious examination of their lives past: to repent of their sins, and to fit themselves for the worthy receiving of the Communion at Easter: It is most earnestly recommended to all persons, but more particularly to all Churchmen, to observe that time religiously, not placing fasting or devotion in any distinction of meats, but spending larger portions of their time in prayer, meditation, and true abstinence, and in works of charity, forbearing feasting and entertainments.'

This is to be read the Lord's-day before Ash-Wednesday.

Easter Anthems.

The proper Anthems for Easter-day are arranged as Versicles and Responses: —'*Minister.* Christ our passover is sacrificed for us: therefore, &c. *People.* Not with the old leaven, &c. *Minister.* Christ being raised from the dead, &c. *People.* For in that he died, &c. *Minister.* Likewise reckon ye also, &c. *People.* But alive unto God, &c. *Minister.* Christ is risen from the dead, &c. *People.* For since by man came death, &c. *Minister.* For as in Adam all die, &c. *People.* Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died. *Minister.* Yea, rather that is risen again. *People.* Who is even at the right hand of God; who also maketh intercession for us.'

Rogation Sunday.

The fifth Sunday after Easter is called 'Rogation Sunday,' and has a new Collect:—'Almighty God, who has blessed the earth that it should be fruitful and bring forth everything that is necessary

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for the life of man, and hast commanded us to work with quietness and eat our own bread; bless us in all our labours, and grant us such seasonable weather that we may gather in the fruits of the earth, and ever rejoice in thy goodness, to the praise of thy holy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' 'Deut. xxviii. 1—9' is appointed 'For the Epistle,' and 'S. Matt. vi. 25 to the end' is 'The Gospel.'

THE HOLY COMMUNION.

Rubr. '*When there is no Communion, there is not to be any Communion-service. The Minister that consecrates ought always to be an Archbishop, Bishop, or Presbyter.*'

The Beatitudes

The eight Beatitudes may be read after or instead of the Ten Commandments, upon the great Festivals, the people kneeling, and responding after each,[1] 'Lord, have mercy upon us, and make us partakers of this blessing'; and after the last, 'Lord have mercy upon us, and endue us with all these graces, and make us partakers of the blessedness promised to them, we humbly beseech thee.'

The Creed.

Note to the clause in the Nicene Creed,—'Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son'; 'It is humbly submitted to the Convocation whether a note ought not here to be added with relation to the Greek Church, in order to our maintaining Catholic communion.'

The Sentences.

The sentences from the Apocrypha are omitted; and a rubric prefixed to four sentences,[2] directing them 'to be read only in those churches where the custom is that the minister has any share of the offerings.'

It is proposed to make a shorter form of warning, 'seeing in many parishes the returns of monthly communions are commonly known.'

First Exhortation.

Instead of the reference to Judas,—'lest by profaning that holy Sacrament you draw down the heavy displeasure of God upon you'; and instead of the mention of private absolution,—'let him come to me, or to some other minister of God's word, and open his grief, that he may receive such spiritual advice and comfort as may tend to the quieting of his conscience, and his better preparation for the holy Communion.'

[1] The Beatitudes are also given on another paper inserted in the Book, with a distinct response or prayer after each; *e. g.* 'Our Lord Christ spake these words and said, Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Lord, have mercy upon us, and endue us with an humble and contented spirit, &c.'

[2] 1 Cor. ix. 7, 11, 13, 14; Gal. vi. 6, 7.

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A new Preface is added for Good Friday :—'Who hast not spared thine own Son, but delivered him up for us all, that by making himself a sacrifice for our sins he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people zealous of good works. Therefore with angels, &c.'

Proper Preface.

Prayer of Humble Access.

In the Prayer in the name of the Communicants :—'that our souls and bodies may be washed and cleansed by the sacrifice of his most precious Body and Blood . . . .'

Second Consecration.

Form for a second consecration :—'O merciful Father, hear the prayers of thy Church, that have now been made unto thee in the name of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who, the same night that he was betrayed, took bread,—or the cup, &c.'

Gloria in excelsis.

The clause,—'For thou only art holy ; thou only art the Lord,' —is altered :—'For thou only art the holy One of God ; thou only art the eternal Son of God.'

Additional Collects to be said '*when there is no Communion*' :— our present Collects for the 5th, 12th, 16th, 17th, 21st, 22nd, and 23rd Sundays after Trinity.

Rubrics.

Rubric at the end of the Office :—'*And in every great town or parish there shall be a Communion once a month : and in every parish at least four times in the year, that is, on Christmas-day, Easter-day, Whitsun-day, and some Lord's-day soon after harvest, at the minister's discretion. And all ministers shall exhort their people to communicate frequently.*

Addition to the declaration about kneeling :—'But to take away all pretence of scruple, if any, not being satisfied herewith, shall, some day in the week before they intend to receive the holy Communion, come to the minister of their parish, and declare that they are verily persuaded in conscience that they cannot receive it kneeling without sin ; then the minister shall endeavour to give them satisfaction in this matter ; after which, if they still press it, then the minister shall give them the sacramental bread and wine in some convenient place or pew without obliging them to kneel.'

PUBLIC BAPTISM.

'*None are to be sureties but such as either have received the Communion, or are ready to do it.*

Rubrics. Parents may be Sponsors.

'*Whereas it is appointed by this Office that all children shall be presented by Godfathers and Godmothers to be baptized, which is still continued according to the ancient custom of the Church, that so, besides the obligation that lies on the parents to breed up their children in the Christian religion, there may be likewise other sureties to see that the parents do their duty, and to look to the*

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Christian education of the persons baptized, in case of the default or death of the parents: yet there being some difficulties in observing this good and useful constitution, it is hereby provided, that if any person comes to the minister and tells him he cannot conveniently procure Godfathers and Godmothers for his child, and that he desires his child may be baptized upon the engagement of the parent or parents only; in that case, the minister, after discourse with him, if he persists, shall be obliged to baptize such child or children, upon the suretiship of the parent or parents, or some other near relation or friends.'

First Prayer.

'Almighty and . . . and after the baptism of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, in the river Jordan, didst appoint water to be used in this Sacrament for the mystical washing . . . ark of Christ's Church; and persevering in faith, hope, and charity, may so pass through this present evil world, that finally he may come to everlasting life, through . . . .'

Second Prayer.

'. . . . may be regenerated, and receive remission of sin. . . .'

The Suretics.

Inserted before the address to the sponsors:—'*Then shall the Minister, speaking to the congregation, ask,*' 'Who are the sureties for this child? *Then may the parent or parents present their sureties, if there be any other besides themselves.*'

Manner of Baptizing.

'*He shall pour or sprinkle water upon it; or (if they shall certify him that the child may well endure it) he shall dip it in the water discreetly and warily, saying, &c.*

Sign of the Cross.

'*Whereas the sign of the cross is by this Office appointed to be used in Baptism according to the ancient and laudable custom of the Church, it is not thereby intended to add any new rite to the Sacrament as a part of it, or as necessary to it; or that the using that sign is of any virtue or efficacy of itself; but only to remember all Christians of the death and cross of Christ, which is their hope and glory; and to put them in mind of their obligation to bear the cross in such manner as God shall think fit to lay it upon them, and to become conformable to Christ in his sufferings.*

'*If any minister at his institution shall declare to his bishop, that he cannot satisfy his conscience in baptizing any with the sign of the cross; then the bishop shall dispense with him in that particular, and shall name a curate who shall baptize the children of those in that parish who desire it may be done with the sign of the cross according to this Office.*'

PRIVATE BAPTISM

'*The minister shall ask the parents, or parent, or the person that presents the child:* Dost thou, &c. (*as in Public Baptism*) *if the*

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exigence will suffer it. And the sign of the cross to be used where the parents, or those that present the child, are satisfied. Otherwise he shall proceed thus: Dost thou, in the name of this child, believe the articles of the Christian faith? *Ans.* All these I steadfastly believe. *Min.* Dost thou renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil? *Ans.* I renounce them all. *Min.* Wilt thou keep the commandments of Christ, and persevere in them? *Ans.* I will, God being my helper.'

The Catechism

Note: 'This to be retained, and also a larger one to be considered of, and that made by Dr. Williams to be proposed in Convocation, in order to a review and acceptance of it.

'*Q.* What do you learn further in this Creed?

'*A.* I learn that Christ hath had, still hath, and ever will have, a Church somewhere on earth.

Further Explication of the Creed.

'*Q.* What are you there taught concerning this Church?

'*A.* I am taught that it is catholic and universal, as it receives into it all nations upon the profession of the Christian faith in baptism.

'*Q.* What privileges belong to Christians by their being received into this Catholic Church?

'*A.* First, the communion of saints, or fellowship of all true Christians in faith, hope, and charity. Secondly, the forgiveness of sins obtained by the sacrifice of Christ's death, and given to us, upon faith in him, and repentance from dead works. Thirdly, the rising again of our bodies at the last day to a state of glory. Fourthly, everlasting life with our Saviour in the kingdom of heaven.'

At the end of the Answer, 'My duty towards God, &c., the words are added, -'especially on Lord's-days'[1]; and then follows a division of the Answer into four heads, in the form of a broken Catechism upon the first four Commandments: the last being,—'*Q.* What learn you by the fourth Commandment? *A.* To serve him truly all the days of my life, especially on Lord's-days.' A similar broken Catechism is inserted after the Answer, 'My duty towards my neighbour, &c.' and also after the explication of the Lord's Prayer. In the latter part upon the Sacraments there are many verbal alterations with a view to greater plainness.

Confirmation.

A long exhortation is introduced 'to be read the Lord's-day before a Confirmation'; and the *Preface* to the Office is turned

[1] Proposed at the Savoy Conference; see above, p. 182.

into an address at the time of Confirmation :—'You have been lately informed for what end you ought to come hither. And I hope you come prepared according to the exhortation then made to you; that is, with a serious desire and resolution openly to ratify and confirm before the Church, with your own mouth and consent, what your sureties promised in your names when you were baptized; and also to promise that, by the grace of God, you will evermore endeavour yourselves faithfully to observe such things as you by your own confession have assented unto.' Alterations Proposed in 1689.

The prayer for the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit is altered :—'Renew and strengthen them, we beseech thee, O Lord, more and more, by the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and daily increase thy graces in them. Fill them with the knowledge of thy will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; and enable them to walk worthy of their holy calling with all lowliness and meekness; that they may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, shining as lights in the world, to the praise and glory of thy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' A third prayer in the same strain is added before the blessing; and also an 'Exhortation to the confirmed, who are to be required to stay and hear it.' The concluding rubric directs that '*none shall be admitted to Confirmation, but such as shall be judged fit to receive the Communion upon the next occasion.*'

In the *Form of Solemnization of Matrimony*, the direction to publish the banns *immediately before the Sentences for the Offertory* is struck out. The ring is said to be '*used only as a civil ceremony and pledge*,' and is delivered with these words :—'With this ring I thee wed, with my worldly goods I thee endow: and by this our marriage we become one according to God's holy institution. And this I declare in the presence of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.' The service following the marriage ceremony is directed to be said '*either in the body of the Church, or at the Communion-table.*' After the declaration of the duties of husbands and wives, the Collect, 'O Almighty Lord and everlasting God &c.,'[1] is added, with the blessing 'The peace of God, &c.' The concluding rubric directs,—'*If the new married persons signify beforehand to the Minister that they desire the holy Sacrament, there shall be a Communion. If they do not, they shall be exhorted to receive it as soon as they have an opportunity.*' MATRIMONY. *The Ring.* *Communion*

[1] The second Collect at the end of the Communion Office.

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Visitation of the Sick.

In the *Order for the Visitation of the Sick*, a direct form of interrogation is provided, concerning the sick person's repentance :—'Do you truly and sincerely repent of all your sins, and beg of God forgiveness of them through Jesus Christ? Do you, in this your sickness, submit yourself to the holy will of God, to be disposed for life or death, as to him shall seem good? Do you solemnly promise and vow, that if it shall please God to raise you up again, you will spend the rest of your life in his fear, and live according to your holy profession? Do you forgive all the world, even your greatest enemies . . .? Are you truly sorry for all the wrongs you may have done . . .? Are you willing to make reparation . . .? Have you made your will . . .? Is your conscience troubled with any weighty matter, in which you desire my advice and assistance?' After this follows the prayer, 'O most merciful God, &c.'; and then the Absolution, which is retained with the addition of certain words :—'. . . and *upon thy true faith and repentance*, by his authority committed unto me, *I pronounce thee absolved*[1] from . . .' 'Q. about a rubric or canon for the absolution of the excommunicate *in extremis*.' The Psalm is changed for a *Hymn*, composed of verses from the Psalms. At the end of the Office it was intended to add other occasional prayers, and among them one '*to be said with the family if the Minister be present when the person is departed, or be desired to come soon after*,' but this form was not composed.

Communion of the Sick.

Note :—'*The whole Office for the Sick may be used if the persons concerned can bear it; otherwise the Minister is to proceed as is here appointed*' : and to the rubric directing the order of administration, *last of all the sick person*, the words are added, '*unless the Minister perceive him ready to expire*.'

Burial of the Dead.

The rubric directs that the Office is not to be used for the unbaptized, or excommunicate, or any that '*have been found to lay violent hands upon themselves; unless such of them as were capable had received absolution according to the former Office in the Visitation of the Sick*.' '1 Thess. iv. 13 to the end' is appointed to be read as a shorter lesson in colder or later seasons. In the anthems at the grave, the words 'through any temptations' are substituted for,—'for any pains of death' : and in the form of committing the body to the ground the words are,—'. . . it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this world the soul of our brother (or sister) here departed . . . dust to dust ; in a firm belief of the resurrection

[1] Cp. the objections (1661), above, p. 186.

of the dead at the last day, in which they who die in the Lord shall rise again to eternal life through . . .' The prayer, 'Almighty God, with whom do live, &c.,' is entirely altered :—'. . . that it hath pleased thee to instruct us in this heavenly knowledge, beseeching thee so to affect our hearts therewith, that seeing we believe such a happy estate hereafter, we may live here in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God ; that being then found of thee in peace, without spot and blameless, we may have our perfect consummation, &c.' The words in the Collect, 'as our hope is this our brother doth,' are omitted. Alterations Proposed in 1689.

A 'Psalm or Hymn,' composed of verses from the Psalms, is substituted for Ps. cxvi. ; and a rubric at the end of the office directs 'the Blessing to be used, if this office be used before or after service.' Thanksgiving of Women.

'*The proper Office for Ash-Wednesday.*'

A new preface is proposed upon the subject of fasting, and the superstitious application of it to distinction of meats instead of humiliation before God ; and then, instead of the curses from Deut. xviii., the Beatitudes are read, as in the Communion Office, with the response after each, 'Lord, have mercy, &c.' ; and are followed by 'the judgment of God denounced against sinners,' viz. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10 ; Gal. v. 19—21 ; and Ephes. v. 5, 6 ; with a response, 'O Lord, preserve us from these sins, and from thy wrath which they justly deserve.' The address and the remainder of the service are retained with only a few verbal alterations. The Commination.

Additional rubrics :—'*The persons who desire to be ordained shall send their Testimonials to the Bishop from the place of their present residence at least a month before ; and come themselves to be examined at least a week before. After the receipt of the Testimonials, the Bishop shall give order that public notice be given of their desiring Holy Orders, in the Church, Chapel, or College where they reside, the Lord's-day before the Ordination.*' The Ordinal.

Note :—'Whereas we have often been imposed upon by men pretending to Orders in the Church of Rome, it is therefore humbly proposed, whether, since we can have no certainty concerning the instruments of Orders which they show, they may be admitted to serve as Deacons or Presbyters of this Church without being ordained according to the following Offices.' *Roman Orders.*

Notes inserted in the *Ordination of Priests*, 'i.e. *Presbyters*' :—'Seeing the Reformed Churches abroad are in that imperfect

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Orders of Reformed Churches.

state that they cannot receive Ordination from Bishops; it is humbly proposed, whether they may not be received by an Imposition of Hands in these or such like words: Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the holy Sacraments in this Church, as thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.

Presbyterian Orders.

'Whereas it has been the constant practice of the ancient Church to allow no Ordination of Priests, *i.e.* Presbyters, or Deacons, without a Bishop, and that it has been likewise the constant practice of this Church, ever since the Reformation, to allow none that were not ordained by Bishops where they could be had; yet in regard that several in this kingdom have of late years been ordained only by Presbyters, the Church being desirous to do all that can be done for peace, and in order to the healing of our dissensions, has thought fit to receive such as have been ordained by Presbyters only, to be ordained according to this Office with the addition of these words, —" If they shall not have been already ordained . . . ." *By which as she retains her opinion and practice, which make a Bishop necessary to the giving of Orders when he can be had; so she does likewise leave all such persons as have been ordained by Presbyters only the freedom of their own thoughts concerning their former Ordinations. It being withal expressly provided that this shall never be a precedent for the time to come, and that it shall only be granted to such as have been ordained before the — day of —.*'

Archbishop Bramhall's Form of Letters of Orders.

The letters of Orders are to be given them in the form used by Archbishop Bramhall:[1] —'Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit), nec validitatem nec invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros Ecclesiarum Forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus; sed solummodo supplentes, quicquid prius defuit per canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum, et providentes paci Ecclesiæ ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos presbyteriales tanquam invalidos aversentur . . . .'

Form of Ordination.

New hymns were to be composed in place of *Veni Creator*.

It was proposed, by way of return to primitive custom, to turn the imperative formula used in ordination into a prayer, thus:—

'Pour down, O Father of Lights, the Holy Ghost on this thy servant, for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God,

[1] See Bramhall, *Works*, I. p. xxxvii. (ed. 1842).

now committed unto him by the imposition of our hands, that whose sins he does forgive, they may be forgiven, and whose sins he doth retain, they may be retained, and that he may be a faithful dispenser of God's holy word and sacraments, to the edification of his Church, and the glory of his holy name, through Jesus Christ, &c. The invocation of the Trinity thus displaced was to be prefixed to the form of words used at the delivery of the Bible :— 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : Take thou authority, &c.' Attempted Revision.

These numerous and important alterations were not offered to Convocation ; it was quite certain that they would be rejected by the Lower House, who, in the appointment of their prolocutor, and in the debate on the address,[1] evinced that they were opposed to the attempts now made by the Court and Bishops for the comprehension of Dissenters, as brethren in the Protestant religion. The House of Bishops, also, lacking nine of its ablest members, was powerless to control the clergy, who were disposed to sympathise with Sancroft and his nonjuring brethren.[2] Hence, although Convocation was authorized to proceed to the business of considering alterations in the Prayer Book and the Canons, and a scheme had been prepared for the purpose, no actual step was taken ; and disputes between the two Houses were prevented by successive prorogations from December 13 until the close of the session.[3] *Report of Commissioners not published.*

The whole attempt in favour of comprehension was thus defeated, but the question of further liturgical reform remained ; besides the liturgical controversies of

[1] They refused to describe the English Church under the general head of 'Protestant Religion.' See Lathbury, p. 325 ; Cardwell, p. 424.

[2] Lathbury, p. 332.

[3] *Ibid.* Several other measures were in contemplation by various members, and among others a book of family prayers, probably compiled by Tenison. *Life of Prideaux*, p. 61 ; Cardwell, p. 425, *note.*

Attempted Revision.

the Nonjurors,[1] there was going on all through the eighteenth century a series of agitations in favour of a fresh revision, carried on mainly in the interest of those who sympathized with anti-Trinitarian views.[2] These came nearer to recognition in America[3] than in England. Here, so long as Convocation remained suppressed, such proceedings were inoperative, but after the revival of Convocation in 1852 the question again came to the front and in a more practical form.

Late Attempts at Revision.

After numerous private attempts and proposals had been made,[4] Commissioners were appointed to *inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship*, &c. But they could not agree upon any settlement of disputed points of Ritual. Their Third Report, however, produced (1871) a revised Lectionary, which has been generally accepted as a great improvement. The course of First Lessons from the Old Testament is enlarged by providing for an Afternoon and also for an Evening Service.[5] The Second Lesson for such third service may be any chapter from the Gospels, except on four Sundays, for which Second Lessons are appointed. In the old order of Second Lessons, the New Testament was read through (except the *Revelation*) three times in a year; but the Gospels and Acts were only read in the morning, and the Epistles

The Lectionary.

[1] See for the Nonjurors Add. Note 1, p. 226.

[2] See Abbey, *English Church and its Bishops*, i. 225; Cardwell, p. 459, and the pamphlet literature. See Brit. Mus. *Catalogue of Liturgies* (1899), pp. 504 and ff., for a list, by no means exhaustive, of the pamphlets.

At the back of a great part of the movement lay the proposals of Dr. Clarke as to revision of the Prayer Book, in the third part of his *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*, condemned by Convocation in 1714 (*Synodalia*, ii. 785). The usual Puritan objections were also again dished up.

[3] See below, pp. 238 and ff.

[4] See Brit. Mus. Cat., *u.s.*, pp. 510—515.

[5] Use may be made of this enlarged selection where there is only one Afternoon Service, by reading each set of Lessons in alternate years.

Minor Alterations.

only in the afternoon. By the New Lectionary, all the books of the New Testament (except the *Revelation*) are read through once in the morning, and once in the afternoon; the *Revelation* is read at both services in the latter part of December. The general course of this system has been followed by other churches in their revisions.[1] The Table of *Lessons Proper for Holy Days* has also had a careful revision; and Canonical Scripture is appointed for the Saints' days in place of the Apocrypha, from which four lessons only are taken. Also special lessons are appointed for Ash-Wednesday, and for each day in the week before Easter.

The Act of Uniformity Amendment Act.

Another result of the same Commission was the Act of 1872, authorizing shortened services, and giving greater freedom in the use of the materials contained in the Prayer Book. Strictly speaking its provisions were unnecessary, for they fell well within the margin of liberty to deal with the services, which has always been allowed to episcopal authority under the Acts of Uniformity.[2] Some were also unskilful and unwise, or even disastrous, *e.g.* those that destroy that continuous daily reading of psalms and scripture, which it was the main object of the Prayer Book to recover and secure.

The Method of these Changes.

In the case of the New Lectionary the Act of Parliament was consequent upon a petition from each of the Convocations. In the case of the Act of 1872 the

[1] In some new Lectionaries a further improvement has been introduced, so that more chapters of the Old Testament may be read in the Sunday Services, by the method of a two-years' course of First Lessons.

[2] 'Short morning prayers' were commonly said daily at an early hour in the XVIIth century. (Lathbury, *Hist. P. B.* 163.) Special services have been put out again and again by simple Episcopal authority both before and since the XVIth century. There was thus ample precedent to justify the bishops in sanctioning all that was wanted without parliamentary intervention.

Attempted Revision in 1879.

proceedings were more regular, as both Convocations passed decrees in proper canonical fashion, which were subsequently embodied in the Act of Parliament and recited in its preamble.[1]

Amendment of Rubrics

Arising out of the same Commission and in response to letters of business from the Crown a Report was drawn up and adopted (July 4, 1879) by the Convocation of Canterbury in view of amending the rubrics, so as to make them an exact guide to everything which the Priest is to do. The Report was formally presented to the Queen with a draft Bill which it was intended should first become law; its object was to facilitate the amendment of services by allowing Convocation to prepare schemes which, after being laid before Parliament, should, if unopposed, become law by an Order in Council. But no further action has since been taken with regard either to the Bill to amend procedure or to the alterations proposed in the Report. Some of these proposals give a formal sanction to usages which are already customs in one or another church.[2] Some have found a place in other revisions. The following are among the most noteable changes proposed:

proposed, with a draft Bill to facilitate Ecclesiastical Legislation;

but no result.

The Ornaments Rubric is explained away in a non-natural sense, so as to justify the disuse of the vestments which has prevailed widely since Elizabethan days.

[1] Joyce, *Acts of the Church*, 290–298. The Act is printed in *The Prayer Book interleaved* with notes of other Statutes which repeal or affect clauses of the Act of Uniformity, p. xix-xxviii. (7th edition). See also Blunt, *Annotated*, *B.C.P.*, 93–95.

[2] *E.g.*, an anthem or hymn may be sung after the Third collect, and a sermon may be preached; or this may come after the Morning or Evening Prayer. A sermon may be preached as a separate service, preceded by a collect with or without the Lord's Prayer, or by the Bidding Prayer, or by any duly authorized special service. After a sermon the service may be concluded with a Blessing, or a hymn may be sung, and a collect said before the Blessing. A person desiring the prayers of the congregation may be mentioned in the usual way in the Litany. The shortened Form of Service, as now often used, is sanctioned. The Litany may be omitted on Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Whitsunday.

Attempted Revision in 1879.

Proper Psalms are selected for ten additional Holy Days: the *Sanctus*, concluding the Preface in the Communion Office, should be printed as a separate paragraph: for Baptism of Infants, if three Sponsors cannot be found, two may suffice, and the parents may be Sponsors. For Burial, at the request, or with the consent of the friends, a shortened service may be used at the grave, or no service; or in cases for which the office may not be used, prayers taken from the Book of Common Prayer (only not from the Order of Burial, or of the Holy Communion), and portions of Scripture approved by the Ordinary may be read: or, if occasion require, the service at the grave after the Burial may be said in the church after the Lesson.[1]

The observance of certain *Octaves* is proposed. The Easter Anthems are to be said on the seven following days. The Collect for S. Michael's Day and for All Saints' Day is to be repeated on the seven days following, after the Collect for the Day.

An explanation is offered for the removal of doubts, and to prevent disquietude, in the use of expressions in the *Quicunque vult*:—'(1) That the Confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of S. Athanasius, doth not make any addition to the faith as contained in Holy Scripture, but warneth against errors which from time to time have arisen in the Church of Christ. (2) That as Holy Scripture in divers places doth promise life to them that believe, and declare the condemnation of them that believe not, so doth the Church in this Confession declare the necessity for all who would be in a state of salvation of holding fast the Catholic Faith, and the great peril of rejecting the same. Wherefore the warnings in this Confession of Faith are to be understood no otherwise than the like warnings of Holy Scripture.[2]

Since 1879 the position has greatly changed. The liturgical expansion which has been such a marked feature of the Catholic revival has gone on apace: old puritan glosses have been discarded; truer and less narrow interpretations have been given to the old provisions; but as yet no revision has been made.

[1] Cp. the Puritan Exceptions at the Savoy Conference, above, p. 186.

[2] *The Convocation Prayer Book, being the Book of Common Prayer with altered rubrics*, was printed by way of experiment in 1880.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. *THE NONJURORS' SERVICES.*

Nonjurors

One result of the conscientiousness of some ecclesiastics, who considered that they were so bound by their allegiance to James II. that after his deposition they could not take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, was that Archbishop Sancroft, with eight Bishops[1] and four hundred priests, were ejected from their benefices. These *Nonjurors*[2] denied the mission and jurisdiction of those who occupied the place of the deprived Bishops during their lifetime; and at last some of them made a division in the Church by ordaining Priests and consecrating Bishops, who continued to minister privately among those who held their opinions.[3]

The deprived Clergy.

The earlier Nonjurors adhered to the Book of Common Prayer; *i.e.* they used the Prayer Book of James II., ignoring the changes which had been introduced in the prayer for the King, and in the 'State Services.' Some, however, by degrees took advantage of their independent position to use forms which they regarded as more agreeable to primitive practice. Thus Hickes used the Communion Office in the First Book of Edward VI., and Collier probably did the same: but most others continued to use the current Book of Common Prayer until the year 1718.[4]

generally used the Prayer Book.

Communion Office of Edward VI. revived.

King Edward's Communion Office was printed in the Appendix to Dr. Hickes's *Two Treatises on Priesthood and Episcopal Order*, in 1707; and founded upon it, yet by no means identical with it, was *The Form and Manner of the Holy Communion*,[5] printed by the Nonjurors in 1717, as preliminary to their own office, which

Nonjurors' Communion Office.

[1] These were Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Lloyd of Norwich, White of Peterborough, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, and Cartwright of Chester. D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, I. 437.

[2] See Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors*; Dowden, *Historical Account of the Scottish Communion Office*, pp. 58 and ff.

[3] A rival communion was thus maintained for more than a century. Lathbury, p. 412.

[4] Hall, *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vol. I. Introd. p. xxxvi.

[5] Hall, *ibid.* p. xii. and p. 101.

Nonjurors.

was published in the following year.[1] The ceremonies revived in the new Communion Office were, The mixing of Water with the Wine, Prayer for the Dead, Prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Elements, and the Prayer of Oblation. These were called *The Usages*, and those who practised them were called *Usagers*. Three other ceremonies are frequently mentioned among the *Usages*, viz. Immersion three times at Baptism, the use of Chrism at Confirmation, and Unction at the Visitation of the Sick.[2] This publication caused a division in the Nonjuring communion ; several of the bishops and a good many of the clergy adhered from different motives to the Prayer Book of the Established Church. These at length succeeded in persuading the greater part of the *Usagers* to give up their revivals of old customs, and again conform to the English book. The few who still held out were headed by Bishop Deacon. Whether he had been concerned or not in the compilation of these offices is uncertain ; but he now introduced much greater changes into the congregational worship of the Nonjurors. In 1734 he published a large 8vo volume, comprising *A Complete Collection of Devotions both public and private*.[3] These Public Devotions became the form of Service among his followers ; whereupon, in 1746, Deacon published an 8vo pamphlet of fifty pages, containing :—(1) *The Form of Admitting a Convert into the Communion of the Church :* (2) *A Litany, together with Prayers in behalf of the Catholic Church :* (3) *Prayers on the Death of Members of the Church, and an Office for those who are deprived of the advantage of receiving the Sacrament*, &c. The Litany has been occasionally published for the use of the successors of the Nonjurors assembling in one or two of the larger towns northward : and an edition was printed at Shrewsbury so lately as 1797.[4]

The Usages.

Deacon's Collection of Devotions.

[1] *A Communion Office, taken partly from Primitive Liturgies : and partly from the First English reformed Common Prayer Book, together with Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick.* 1718. Hall, *ibid.* vol. v. p. 1. Dowden, as above, p. 293.

[2] Hall, *ibid.* vol. 1. Introd. p. xxxviii. Lathbury, pp. 492 and ff.

[3] Hall, *ibid.* pp. xli. and ff. The first part of this production is reprinted in *Frag. Liturg.* vol. VI. entitled, *A Complete Collection of Devotions : taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, the Ancient Liturgies, and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England. Part I. Comprehending the Public Offices of the Church. Humbly offered to the consideration of the present Churches of Christendom, Greek, Roman, English, and all others.* Lathbury, pp. 390 and 496 and ff.

[4] Hall, II p. 115.

Scottish Liturgy.

2. THE SCOTTISH LITURGY.

The Scottish Communion Office.

It has been noticed[1] that a Prayer Book for Scotland was sanctioned by King Charles I. in 1637, the introduction of which was a significant presage of the outbreak of the Great Rebellion. Its use was not revived at the Restoration; and during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. the Church of Scotland, although Episcopal in constitution, used no such liturgical forms of prayer. Archbishop Leighton aimed at the recovery of Daily Prayer and reading of the Scripture, but as yet the liturgy was too delicate a subject to be handled rashly, and the services were hardly distinguishable from Presbyterian services.[2] Soon after the disestablishment in 1688, a desire for such forms slowly sprang up among those who adhered to that communion, and they were gradually introduced. The difficulty of procuring copies of the Scottish Prayer Book (1637) led to the use of the English Book, considerable supplies of which were sent in Queen Anne's reign by English churchmen who sympathized with the sufferings of their friends in Scotland. The Communion Service, according to the form of 1637, however, began to come into use,[3] and the desire for it received a great impulse from the influence of the Nonjurors. From 1724 onward it was printed repeatedly in a separate form; it was formally adopted by the Bishops in 1731, and between 1735 and 1764 slight changes were made, all tending to bring it into closer agreement with the primitive Liturgies, especially with that of S. James of Jerusalem. This was due to the posthumous publication (in 1744) of Bishop Rattray's reconstruction of *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*. This laborious work gives in five columns, I. The Liturgy of S. James, as we have it at present: II. The same Liturgy, without later interpolations, or *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*; III. St. Cyril's Account of that Liturgy in his Fifth Mystagogical Catechism; IV. The Clementine Liturgy; V. Corresponding parts of the Liturgies of S. Mark, S. Chrysostom, and S. Basil: with an English Translation and Notes. Bishop Rattray had also put in suitable form *An Office for the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, being the Ancient Liturgy*

[1] Above, pp. 143–150.

[2] Dowden, *Historical Account of the Scottish Communion Office, and of the Communion Office of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, with Liturgical Notes*. 1884, pp. 43 and ff.

[3] The Scotch book of 1637 was reprinted in 1712 for use in the private chapel of the Earl of Winton.

Scottish Liturgy.

of the Church of Jerusalem : to which Proper Rubrics are added for Direction. That the volume was published without the name of the author, shows the difficulties of churchmen at that time.

In 1755, Bishop Gerard, of Aberdeen, issued an edition of the Communion Office, which was afterwards revised and published, in 1764, under the authority of Bishop Falconar, as Primus, and Bishop Forbes, of Ross, and its text has been regarded as the standard of the recognized Scottish Communion Office.[1] A few changes made in 1792[2] were only used locally. An edition was published by the Rev. John Skinner in 1800, and again in 1807 with a *Preliminary Dissertation on the Doctrine of the Eucharistical Sacrifice, a copious local Illustration, and an Appendix* containing *a Collation of the several Communion Offices in the Prayer Books of Edward VI., the Scotch Prayer Book of* 1637, *the present English Prayer Book, and that used in the present Scotch Episcopal Church*, made by Horsley, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1792. Other attempts[3] have been made to introduce variations, but with only local, or with no success.

The Canonical position of the Scottish Office has varied. The Synod at Aberdeen, in 1811, declared it to be the Office of primary authority, and ordered it to be used in all consecrations of bishops ; while liberty was given to retain the English Office in all Congregations where it had been, and was still desired to be, in use. But as the English Book of Common Prayer was used, the Communion Office became more generally used according to the English form ; and by the Canons of 1863 it was declared to be the Service Book of the Church, and its Communion Office to be used at all Consecrations, Ordinations, and Synods, and in all new congregations, unless a certain number of the communicants declare their desire to use the Scottish Office. The result is that, in 1850, out of 118 congregations, 40 used the Scottish Office, in 1888, out of 275 congregations, 59 used the Scottish Liturgy only, and 33 used both the Scottish and English forms ; in 1899 it was

[1] Dowden, pp. 95, 99.

[2] 'Every single bishop,' writes Bp. Drummond in 1792, 'has made editions, and even some changes and additions, according to their liking.' The editions, however, were published without any name of the editor, until Skinner's edition in 1800. The actual names of the bishops assigned to them are traditional conjectures. See Hall, Introd. p. lxii. Many of these varying forms are printed in *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vol. v.

[3] A Prayer Book may be mentioned, which was issued, with the sanction of Bp. Torry—*according to the use of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1849—which caused considerable controversy. See Neale's *Life of Bishop Torry*, ch. VII and appendix, and *The Episcopate of Charles Wordsworth*, appendix I.

Scottish Liturgy.

in use either jointly or solely in nearly half the churches: the dioceses of Aberdeen, Argyll and Brechin were its strongholds, while the dioceses of Edinburgh and Glasgow specially favoured the English Liturgy. The arrangement of this office will be seen from the tables printed below pp. 510 and ff.

3. *THE PRAYER BOOK OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.*

Mention has been made of the neglect of religious instruction in Ireland at the time of the Reformation. It was agreed that worship should be in a tongue understanded of the people; yet the Prayer Book was not given to the people in Irish until 1608.[1]

The civil union of the two countries was followed by the union of the Churches in 1800: and *The United Church of England and Ireland* continued, till the Act of 1869 left the Church of Ireland free from the control of the State, so far as a civil government will allow freedom to a National Church. This disestablishment, including the abstraction of the ancient revenues, took final effect January 1, 1871.

Meanwhile a Convention had met in 1870, and arranged the future government of the Church. The Prayer Book was for the moment accepted as it stood and was in use. Preparation, however, was made for a revision, which was debated and carried on by the General Convention or Synod until the work was completed, and the revised Book *according to the Use of the Church of Ireland* was issued in 1877.

A new Preface notes that there were serious differences of opinion about expressions used in the Administration of the Sacraments, but that no substantial change was made either in the Holy Communion or in the Baptismal services, or Ordination. Some complained of the changes that were made as being 'unnecessary or excessive,' and others that these 'changes were not enough.' But indeed more dissatisfaction has been aroused by the comments made on these subjects in the new Preface than by any question of changes in the services themselves, though some of these are far more grave than the Preface suggests.

The Lectionary follows the new Table of the English Book, except that all the Lessons are taken out of the Canonical Scriptures, and the whole of the Revelation of S. John is read. The black letter Saints' days are all omitted. The obligation to say the Daily Service is removed from the clergy. In Morning Prayer, the

[1] See above, pp. 62–64, 107, 125.

Irish Prayer Book.

Canticle after the First Lesson may be *Te Deum*, *Benedicite*, or Ps. cxlviii. *A Prayer for the Chief Governour or governours of Ireland* is added after the *Prayer for the Royal Family*. At Evening Prayer, a *Collect for Grace and Protection* (the second Collect at the end of the Communion Office) may be said as the Third Collect. 'With reference to the Athanasian Creed (commonly so called),' the Preface states that 'we have removed the Rubric directing its use on certain days; but, in so doing, this Church has not withdrawn its witness, as expressed in the Articles of Religion, and here again renewed, to the truth of the Articles of the Christian Faith, therein contained.' Among the *Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several Occasions*, are added the *Prayer for Unity*, *A Prayer for a Sick Person*, *On the Rogation Days*, *On New Year's Day*, *For Christian Missions*, *A Prayer for the General Synod of the Church of Ireland*, a Prayer *To be used in Colleges and Schools*, and a Thanksgiving *For Recovery from Sickness*.

Provision is made for two celebrations of the Holy Communion at Christmas and Easter with the following Collect for the latter festival:—O God, who for our redemption didst give thine only begotten Son to the death of the cross, and by his glorious resurrection has delivered us from the power of our enemy; Grant us so to die daily from sin, that we may evermore live with him in the joy of his resurrection; through the same Christ our Lord.[1] *Epistle*, Hebr. xiii. 20, 21; *Gospel*, S. Mark. xvi. 1—8.

In the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, the second and third rubrics are replaced by one: '*If the Minister shall have knowledge or reasonable ground to believe that any person who is living in open and notorious sin intends to come to the Holy Communion, so that scandal would thereby arise, he shall privately admonish him not to presume to come to the Lord's Table till the cause of offence shall have been removed; and in every such case the Minister shall have regard to the Canons relating thereto.*' Rubric:—*The Minister shall say the Service following in a distinct and audible voice.* The Collect for the Queen may be omitted, if the Queen '*has been prayed for in any service used along with this office.*' Before the reading of the Gospel *may be said or sung*, Glory be to

[1] *Oratio.* Deus qui pro nobis Filium tuum crucis patibulum subire voluisti, ut inimici a nobis expelleres potestatem: concede nobis famulis tuis ut in resurrectionis ejus gaudiis semper vivamus. See Brev. Sar. *Ante Matutinas* (1. p. dccviii); Brev. Ebor. *In statione ante crucem* (p. 408). The epistle for the first Sunday after Easter is altered to 1 Cor. v. 6-8.

Irish Prayer Book.

Thee, O Lord; *and, after the Gospel ended*, Thanks be to Thee, O Lord, *or* Hallelujah. An opportunity is to be given after the Prayer for the Church Militant for those who do not intend to communicate to withdraw: the long Exhortation may under certain conditions be omitted. The Consecration Prayer is to be said at the north side of the Table. The *Gloria in Excelsis* is to be said standing. Considerable alterations are made in the closing rubrics. The Ante-Communion service need not include the Prayer for the Church Militant. The minimum of communicants is reduced to 'three or two at the least.' The service may be begun at the Collect. The rubric excludes all but common usual Bread: the words of administration may be said to rails full instead of to each communicant. The rule of three communions in a year is omitted.

Parents may be *Sponsors for their own children. When three Sponsors cannot be found, two shall suffice; and if two cannot be found one shall suffice.* In the service used when a child that has been baptized privately is brought to Church, the Lord's Prayer is said after the Reception of the Child, as in the Office of Public Baptism. A Rubric directs the Service, when a child that has been already baptized is brought to the Church at the same time with a child that is to be baptized:—*The Minister, having enquired respecting the sufficiency of the baptism, and having certified the same, shall read all that is appointed for the Publick Baptism of Infants until he have baptized and signed the Child that has not been baptized; he shall then call upon the Sponsors of the Child that has been already baptized to answer in his behalf, only instead of again reciting the Apostles' Creed, he asks*, Dost thou believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith, as set forth in the Apostles' Creed? *He then signs the Child, and proceeds with the remainder of the Order for Publick Baptism*,—Seeing now, dearly beloved, &c.

In the *Catechism*, the word *Mistresses* is substituted for *Dames* in the Rubric, and the following Question and Answer, based upon the 28th Article, is inserted,—'*Q.* After what manner are the Body and Blood of Christ taken and received in the Lord's Supper? *A.* Only after a heavenly and spiritual manner; and the mean whereby they are taken and received is Faith.'

In the *Order of Confirmation*, instead of the Second Collect,—O Almighty Lord, &c.—*some other Collect out of this Book* may be said. *Rubric:—Every person ought to present himself for Confirmation (unless prevented by some urgent reason) before he partakes of the Lord's Supper.* No sponsor is required.

Irish Prayer Book.

In the *Form of Solemnization of Matrimony*, the opening address is shortened and bowdlerized ; and, to conclude the Service, after the Sermon or Address, the Minister says, Let us pray. O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God, &c. (the Second Collect at the end of the Communion Office), and *if there be no Communion*, The grace of our Lord, &c.

In the *Order for the Visitation of the Sick*, the Rubric about Confession is :—*Here, if the sick person feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, he shall be moved to open his grief, after which (if he humbly and heartily desire it) the Minister shall say thus*, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, &c. (the Absolution in the Communion Office). An alternative is provided for the prayer following. After the special Prayers at the end of the office is added *A Prayer for a sick person, when his sickness has been mercifully assuaged.*

For the *Communion of the Sick*, *If the sick person be very weak, and necessity so require, it shall suffice to use for this Office, the Confession, Absolution, Prayer of Consecration, Form of Delivery of the Sacrament, Lord's Prayer, and Blessing.*

The first Rubric in *The Order for the Burial of the Dead* is enlarged :—*Here is to be noted, that the Office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or in whose case a verdict shall have been found of* felo de se. *But if any be brought for burial who have died unbaptized, being infants of tender age, the offspring of Christian parents, and not having been withheld from Baptism by wilful default or neglect, or being persons known or certified to the Minister to have been at the time of their death prepared for or desirous of Baptism, the Minister shall in such cases read one of the following Psalms and Lessons, or such portion of them as he shall see fit, and the four Sentences at the grave, concluding with the Lord's Prayer, and the Benediction at the close of the office.* An alternative Lesson is provided,—1 Thess. iv. 13 *to end.*

After the Accession Service are the following :—

1. The Order for Morning Service, to be used on the first Sunday on which a Minister officiates in the Church of a Cure to which he has been instituted.

2 A Form of Thanksgiving for the Blessings of Harvest.

3. The Form for the Consecration of a Church.

4. The Form of Consecration of a Churchyard or other Burial ground.

5. A Form of Prayer for the Visitation of Prisoners, Treated

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upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of *Ireland*, and agreed upon by Her Majesty's License in their Synod, holden at *Dublin*, in the year 1711, and amended in the Synod of said Church, holden in *Dublin* in the year 1875.[1]

6. *Articles of Religion* (xxxix.) *Agreed upon . . . in the Convocation holden at London in* 1562. *Received and approved. . . . in the Synod holden in Dublin* A.D. 1634. *Received and approved . . . . in the Synod holden in Dublin* A.D. 1870.

7. A Table of Kindred and Affinity.

8. Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical. *Agreed to and Decreed. . . . at General Synods held in Dublin* in 1871 and 1877.

4. *THE PRAYER BOOK IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.*

Before the Declaration of the Independence of the United States, the Church of England in the several Colonies held different relations to the Civil Authority. In Virginia and Maryland it was established by law, and these Colonies were divided into parishes with metes and bounds which remain to this day. In other Colonies there were Royal Governors, who gave to the Church a position of dignity and honour, even where the great body of the people were opposed to Episcopacy. In Connecticut, which continued a Charter Government, Churchmen were tolerated by law as 'sober dissenters' from the Congregational establishment; and they were also freely tolerated in the other chartered Colony of Rhode Island. But the Churchmen in all the thirteen Colonies considered themselves members of the Church of England, acknowledged the somewhat shadowy authority of the Bishop of London as their Diocesan, and used the Prayer Book of the English Church. In fact, the use of the Prayer Book was one of the distinguishing marks of Churchmen,

[1] There was also printed with the editions of the Irish Prayer Book in 1690, 1700 and 1721, &c., a *Form for receiving lapsed Protestants or Reconciling converted Papists to our Church*, as well as the Form of Consecration of Churches. The former is said to have been written by Bp. Anthony Dopping, of Meath. The latter first appeared in 1666, with the sanction of the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin. It was possibly taken from the form which Bishop Cosin prepared for the English Convocation (see above, p. 201). See Reeves' introduction to *Irish Form of Consecration of Churches*. (S.P.C.K.)

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then as now ; and in many places copies of hat book were the Church's first and most effective Missionaries, leading many from other bodies to consider and to embrace the doctrine, discipline, and worship which were enshrined in it. As no bishop ever visited the Colonies, it was, of course, impossible that the Ordinal or the Confirmation Office should be used ; but the other services were constantly employed, the only variation noted being that some clergymen felt that they could not honestly exhort the sponsors of children baptized to bring them to the bishop to be confirmed. Apart from this, there would appear to have been, with very few exceptions, the most careful conformity to all the provisions of the Prayer Book.

When Independence was declared by the Congress sitting in Philadelphia on the 4th day of July 1776, the vestry .of the united parishes of Christ Church and S. Peter's in that city met at once at the rectory, and directed the omission of the prayers for the King and the Royal Family. On the following day the Legislature of Virginia (where, it will be remembered, the Church was established) ordered these prayers to be 'accommodated to the change of affairs.' So also in Boston, when the news of the Declaration was received, the vestry of Trinity Church recommended their Rector, who had asked their advice, to omit the State prayers. A like course was followed by others of the clergy, whose sympathy was with the Revolution, and who felt themselves to be in the same position as that of the majority of the English clergy in 1688 ; and presently prayers for the United States and for Congress were read in many Churches. But a large part of the clergy, especially in the northern Colonies, were strong adherents of the Crown ; they were persuaded that a redress of grievances could be had in a peaceable way ; and they did not believe that they were released from the oath of allegiance which they had taken in England at the time of their ordination. Some of these, under the pressure of circumstances, ceased to minister at all in public ; some found safety within the British lines ; and some, with the bravery of confessors, continued to read the services in their churches without alteration or omission, conducting the worship of those who were persuaded that their allegiance was due to the King of England, though at the risk of loss of liberty or of life.

The cessation of hostilities at the close of the Revolutionary War was proclaimed on the 19th of April 1783 ; and the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris on the third day of the

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following September. The war had weakened the Church in all the States, and the problems which confronted Churchmen were no less difficult than those which lay before the statesmen of the new Republic. It is not within the scope of this chapter to do more than allude to them ; but it may not be amiss to say that the difficulties were met and overcome with a far-sighted wisdom and bravery which command our respect and often call forth our sincere admiration.

In the North,[1] where Church principles have been held more strongly and under greater difficulties than elsewhere, the Churchmen of Connecticut had made an attempt to complete their organization, in the conviction that until they had a bishop they could not rightly provide for ecclesiastical government or take any action in regard to formularies of worship. On the feast of the Annunciation in 1783, before the end of the war had been officially proclaimed, the clergy of the State met at Woodbury, elected the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury to be their bishop, and instructed him to seek consecration in England, or, if it was refused him there, in Scotland.

But before Dr. Seabury's consecration, the first steps towards united action on the part of Churchmen in the several States had been taken, in consequence of the recommendation of certain clergymen of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, who met in 1784, with a few laymen at the town of New Brunswick in New Jersey, to consult as to the revival of a charitable corporation. They sent out an invitation to influential men in different parts of the country, asking them to meet at New York in October of the same year to take counsel for the interests of the Church. At the time appointed there were present representative Churchmen from the three States just mentioned, and also from Massachusetts (with Rhode Island), Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland, together with one clergyman from Virginia who took no part in the proceedings. It was agreed that a general ecclesiastical constitution ought to be framed in accordance with certain fundamental principles; and a General Convention to take the whole matter into consideration was called to meet at Philadelphia in September

[1] The distinction between 'North' and 'South' in the early days of the country was not the same as in later years, when the terms were applied to the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States respectively. In the 18th century the division was at New York, and the Northern States were those commonly known as New England, now the six States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

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of the following year. The fourth of these 'fundamental principles' was as follows: 'That the said Church shall maintain the Doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and shall adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States.'[1]

Meanwhile Dr. Seabury, having been consecrated at Aberdeen 14th November 1784 by the bishops of the disestablished Church of Scotland, had returned to Connecticut. He met his Clergy in Convocation, 2nd August 1785; and on the fourth day of the meeting the Rev. Messrs. Bowden and Jarvis, together with the Rev. Samuel Parker of Massachusetts, who had come to consult with the bishop and clergy of Connecticut, were appointed a committee 'to consider of and make with the Bishop some alterations in the Liturgy needful for the present use of the Church.' One week later, Bishop Seabury published a letter to his clergy in the form of a broadside, directing them to make in the use of the Prayer Book certain specified changes, all of which were required by the alteration in the form of government. The committee, as it appeared, were prepared to recommend other changes, but they reserved these that they might be reported for consideration to the several Convocations or Conventions. There is no evidence that they were formally laid before the Convocation of Connecticut; the Clergy there were well known to be opposed to any alterations that were not absolutely necessary. The Convention of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire approved of certain changes, but finally decided to leave the matter of their adoption to the decision of the several parishes. Thus the English Prayer Book continued to be used in New England with practically no variation except such as was demanded by political changes.

When the 'General Convention' called by the meeting of October 1784 met at Philadelphia near the end of September 1785 there were found to be present clerical and lay deputies from seven States—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina—the New England States not being represented. The Convention drafted 'an Ecclesiastical Constitution for the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America,' adopted a petition to

[1] It should be remembered that there was no Constitution of the United States until 1789.

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the English Archbishops and Bishops that they would convey the episcopate to the Church in this country, and also, referring the fourth fundamental principle of the meeting of 1784 to a committee, instructed that committee to consider 'such further alterations in the Liturgy as it may be advisable for this Convention to recommend to the consideration of the Church here represented.' A few alterations of the same kind as had been made in the North, due to the change in the form of government, were 'approved of and ratified.' A large number of other alterations, involving changes in all parts of the Prayer Book, were reported to the Convention by a sub-committee without having been considered in full committee, and the Convention, giving (as it appears) but little time to their discussion, agreed to 'propose and recommend' them to the Church, leaving the question of their adoption to another Convention. This revision (if it may be so called) is known to have been largely the work of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, formerly of Pennsylvania, but then of Maryland; and to him with the Rev. Dr. William White, president of the Convention, and afterwards Bishop of Pennsylvania, and the Rev. Dr. C. H. Wharton of Delaware, was entrusted the publication of a book containing the proposed changes, with rather large editorial powers. At the close of the Convention, 'the Liturgy, as altered, was read,' and Dr. Smith preached a sermon in which he spoke of what had been done as 'taking up our Liturgy or Public Service where our former venerable Reformers had been obliged to leave it, and proposing to the Church at large such further alterations and improvements as the length of time, the progress in manners and civilization, the increase and diffusion of charity and toleration among all Christian denominations, and other circumstances (some of them peculiar to our situation among the highways and hedges of this new world), seem to have rendered absolutely necessary.'

Under date of 1st April 1786, the book known by the name of the 'Proposed Book' was published, the title-page stating that it was 'The Book of Common Prayer as revised and proposed to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church.' It was reprinted in England with the label 'American Prayer Book,' and also, appeared as one of the volumes of Hall's *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*; and it has been often quoted in England as being the Prayer Book of the American Church. But in point of fact, though proposed in a way which might have carried much authority,

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it was used but in a few places and for a short time; it was, as will be seen presently, generally disapproved; and four years later, when a General Convention of the whole American Church entered upon the work of Prayer Book revision, it was not deemed necessary to mention the Proposed Book, much less to abolish its use. The book was a very unfortunate and entirely unsuccessful experiment, and its publication was regretted by none more sincerely than by some who, with too little consideration, had given it an *imprimatur*.

The mention of the most important of the changes from the English Prayer Book which were made in the Proposed Book will show that, although it had some features which might commend it, it could not have been accepted in its entirety by the American Church without involving most serious consequences. The Absolution in the daily service was headed 'A Declaration concerning the Forgiveness of Sins'; the *Benedicite* was omitted, except for discretionary use in place of a portion of the Psalms on the thirty-first day of the month; the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian were entirely omitted; the clause 'He descended into hell' was dropped from the Apostles' Creed; parents were allowed to be admitted as sponsors; the sign of the Cross might be omitted in baptism; the word 'regenerate' was removed from the latter part of the Baptismal Offices; the Marriage Service was abridged; the Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick was given in the form used in the Communion Office; a service for the Visitation of Prisoners was inserted from the Irish Book of 1711; the answer to the second question in the Catechism was given in these words: 'I received it in Baptism, whereby I became a member of the Christian Church'; the Commination Service was omitted, but the prayers from the service were ordered to be said on Ash-Wednesday after the Litany; sixty selections were made from the Psalter for use at daily Morning and Evening Prayer, the so-called damnatory clauses being among those omitted; forms of Prayer and Thanksgiving were provided, one to be used on the 4th of July for the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and one to be used in the autumn for the fruits of the earth and other blessings of God's merciful providence; the Articles of Religion were modified and reduced in number to twenty; and new tables of Lessons were prepared, both for the daily services and for Sundays and Holy-days.

It was at once evident that, as Bishop White confesses, 'in

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regard to the Liturgy, the labours of the Convention had not reached their object.' Dr. William Smith wrote a few days after the publication of the book that it could only be received 'for temporary use till our Churches are organised and the book comes again under review of Conventions having their Bishops, &c., as the primitive rules of Episcopacy require.' Not one of the Conventions in the States[1] represented at Philadelphia in 1785 approved of the Proposed Book. New Jersey formally rejected it, and memorialized the next General Convention as to the 'unseasonableness and irregularity' of some of the alterations; New York postponed the question of ratification 'out of respect to the English Bishops and because the minds of the people are not sufficiently informed'; Maryland demanded the restoration of the Nicene Creed and the insertion of an Invocation in the Prayer of Consecration in the Communion Office; Pennsylvania and South Carolina called for other amendments; Virginia held it to be 'intolerable that the Minister might repel an evil liver from the Communion'; and no Convention met in Delaware. From the northern States there came most earnest protests, both private and public, against the book. In the September following its publication, Bishop Seabury delivered his second charge to the clergy of Connecticut, in which he spoke strongly as to some of the changes made in the services, and urged no less strongly that it was an unprecedented thing that any changes of this kind should be accepted by a Diocese before its organization was completed by the consecration of a Bishop. And at the same time, acting in accordance with a Concordat which he had made with the Scottish Bishops at the time of his consecration, he 'set forth and recommended' to the use of his congregations a Communion Office almost identical with the Scottish Office of 1764, adding to it certain private devotions. The influence of this Office upon the theology and the forms of worship of the American Church, through the introduction of an explicit Oblation and Invocation into the Prayer of Consecration, has been very great; and the Office was used by some of the older Clergy of Connecticut for many years after the adoption of the revised Prayer Book.

[1] In these early days, and especially before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the word 'State' is constantly used where we should use 'Diocese.' In fact, the Dioceses of the American Church were in every case coterminous with the States, until New York was divided into two Dioceses in 1838. In that year the word 'Diocese' was substituted for 'State' throughout the Constitution of the Church.

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But besides the objections to the Proposed Book which came from all parts of the Church in the United States, there were objections, which had perhaps greater weight, from the English prelates to whom copies of the book had been sent with the application for the consecration of Bishops for the dioceses represented in the Philadelphia Convention. They wrote that they were grieved to observe some of the changes which had been made in the forms of worship, and particularly that two of the Creeds had been omitted altogether, while the third had been mutilated by the excision of an important clause; and they 'earnestly exhorted' the Convention 'to restore to its integrity the Apostles' Creed,' and 'to give to the other two Creeds a place in the Book of Common Prayer, even though the use of them should be left discretional.' The letter was laid before a Convention of the southern Dioceses which met at Wilmington, in Delaware, October 1786; which thereupon voted unanimously to allow the use of the Nicene Creed, placing it as an alternative for the Apostles' Creed, while it ordered by a scanty vote that the omitted clause should be restored to the Apostles' Creed, and negatived a proposition to replace the Athanasian Creed in the Prayer Book. The English Bishops were satisfied with the action that was taken; and on the 4th of February 1787, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, the Rev. Dr. William White was consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost Bishop of New York.

Before the next Convention met, wise and godly Churchmen in all parts of the country were preparing the way for a complete union of the Church in all the States; and at length in Philadelphia, on the second day of October 1789, the bishop and delegates from the north gave in their consent to a modified constitution, and the Church in the United States was united in one Convention, of which the Bishops formed a separate house. Action was at once taken in regard to the Prayer Book. Bishops Seabury and White (Bishop Provoost being detained at home by illness) entered upon the work in their house of proposing amendments to the English Prayer Book; the house of Clerical and Lay Deputies appointed committees as if to propose new services, but they also practically undertook a revision of the English formularies; the 'Proposed Book,' though it furnished some suggestions, was not taken as a basis for the work of either house. At the end of two weeks the Convention adjourned, having set forth and ratified 'The Book of Common Prayer and

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Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church,' requiring it to be used from and after the first day of October in the following year.

Although the work of revision was accomplished thus rapidly in the Convention, the new Prayer Book was not in reality carelessly or hastily prepared. The two bishops and such men among the deputies as Dr. Smith of Maryland, Dr. Parker of Massachusetts, and Dr. Jarvis of Connecticut, had long had the matter in mind both in its general outlines and in its details. They were well acquainted with the English book and with the objections which had been made to its use in the Colonies; and they knew no less well the needs of the Church in the new Republic, just beginning to recover from the shock of the Revolution. The two bishops in particular, both of whom gave their consent to everything that was admitted into the new book, were men in whom were united practical wisdom and strong convictions, while they looked at the great truths of theology from different standpoints; and the more the revision of 1789 is studied in the light of the time when it was made, although it is found open to criticism in one way or another, the more it will command the respect of posterity.

In this revision of the Prayer Book of the Church of England —for such in fact it was —a considerable number of minor changes were made, which it is unnecessary to mention in detail and for most of which the reason is apparent. A few words, used in an obsolete sense, were changed for words which would be better understood; thus, 'adorable' was substituted for 'honourable' in the *Te Deum;* 'prevent,' in the Collect of which it is the first word, was changed to 'direct,' and 'indifferently,' in the Prayer for the Church Militant, to 'impartially'; while for 'leasing,' in the two places where it occurs in the Psalter, there was substituted in one place 'falsehood' and in the other 'lies,' due regard being paid here as elsewhere to the rhythm of each verse. In some instances a sentence was recast; thus, in the Collect for Grace at Morning Prayer, the phrase 'but that all our doings may be ordered by thy governance, to do always that is righteous in thy sight' was changed to 'but that all our doings, being ordered by thy governance, may be righteous in thy sight.' Certain other changes show an over-precision in language which was characteristic of the times; as, for instance, the frequent use of 'those who' for 'them which,' the omission of 'again' in the Apostles' Creed, and the change of 'which' into 'who' at the beginning of

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the Lord's Prayer. Perhaps undue scrupulousness led to the change of the phrase in the *Te Deum*, 'thou didst not abhor the virgin's womb' to 'thou didst humble thyself to be born of a virgin'; a fear of misunderstanding may account for the alteration of 'the good estate of the Catholic Church,' in the Prayer for All Conditions of Men, to 'thy holy Church universal'; and a criticism of earlier days may explain the alteration of 'who alone workest great marvels,' at the beginning of the Prayer for the Clergy and People, to 'from whom cometh every good and perfect gift.' A desire to avoid repetitions must account for the omission of the Lord's Prayer after the Creed in the daily services and the permission to omit it at the beginning of the Communion Office 'if Morning Prayer hath been said immediately before,' as also for the provision that the Creed is not to be said after the Gospel if it 'hath been read immediately before in the Morning Service,' and the other provision that the Collect for the Day is to be omitted in Morning Prayer 'when the Communion Service is read.' A desire to shorten the ordinary Sunday Service, and to make it possible to mark special solemn days or seasons, probably led to the permission for the minister to omit at his discretion the part of the Litany beginning 'O Christ, hear us' and ending 'As we do put our trust in thee.' Special care seems to have been taken to use the word 'Priest' in the rubrics only when the particular part of the service could not be read by a deacon or a layman; thus, in the daily offices the word 'Minister' was employed except in the rubric before the Absolution, and in like manner 'Minister' was substituted for 'Priest' in the Litany and in the introductory part of the Communion Office.

The variations of any importance between the English and American books will be noted as the several offices come under review in Part II. of this work. But the more characteristic changes may be mentioned here, as giving a general idea of the form of the American book. Three new sentences, Habakkuk ii. 20, Malachi i. 11, and Psalm xix. 14, 15, were prefixed to those at the beginning of Daily Morning and Evening Prayer; the Absolution in the daily offices was headed 'The Declaration of Absolution, or Remission of Sins,' and the form in the Communion Office was allowed as an alternative for it; the *Venite* was composed of Psalms xcv. 1–7 and xcvi. 9, 13; permission was given to use the *Gloria in excelsis* at the end of the portion of Psalms for the day; only the

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first four verses were printed for the *Benedictus*[1]; the Nicene Creed was printed as an alternative to the Apostles' Creed; the rubric as to the Litany was placed after the Prayer for the President and other Civil Rulers,[2] and but one supplication for 'all Christian Rulers and Magistrates' was left in the Litany in place of the six petitions in the English book for the Civil Authority; the Prayer for All Conditions of Men and the General Thanksgiving were inserted in their place before the Prayer of St. Chrysostom; in Evening Prayer the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis* were omitted, the first four verses of Psalm xcii. being allowed for use after the first Lesson, and the first four and the last three verses of Psalm ciii. after the second Lesson as alternatives to the *Cantate* and *Deus misereatur* respectively; and the opening words of the Collect for Aid against Perils were changed to a form more like that of the corresponding Morning Collect, 'O Lord, our heavenly Father, by whose Almighty power we have been preserved this day.' The Athanasian Creed was omitted, the New England Bishop and Deputies 'giving it up with great reluctance.'[3] To the special prayers five were added: For a Sick Person, For a Sick Child, For a Person going to Sea, For a Person under Affliction, and For Malefactors after Condemnation; and the Thanksgiving from the Churching Office was placed among the special thanksgivings, and Thanksgivings For a Recovery from Sickness and For a Safe Return from Sea were appended.

In the Communion Service, permission was given to say after the Commandments our Lord's Summary of the Law with the Collect for grace to keep the Commandments (the second of those at the end of the English office); the *Gloria tibi* was ordered to be said after the announcement of the Gospel; it was provided that either the Apostles' or the Nicene Creed should be said after the Gospel, unless it had been read immediately before in the Morning Service; the words 'here in earth' were omitted from the title of the Prayer for the

[1] However much this is to be deplored on principle, it has kept the *Benedictus* within the range of practical use, and prevented its being nearly displaced by the *Jubilate*.

[2] This change is said to have been made because President Washington, whose home was eight miles from a church, did not ordinarily attend Evening Prayer.

[3] Bishop Seabury wrote a year later that he 'never was fully convinced as to the propriety of reading the Athanasian Creed,' but that he was 'clear as to the impropriety of banishing it out of the Prayer Book.'

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Church Militant; an alternative Preface was provided for Trinity Sunday, and the use of any Proper Preface on that day was left discretionary; a hymn was required to be sung after the Consecration, and a metrical hymn was allowed in place of the *Gloria in excelsis*; and the 'Black Rubric,' with all but two of the other rubrics at the end, was omitted. And, most important of all the changes made in the whole book, the Scottish form of the Prayer of Consecration was adopted, with a single modification, itself in the direction of primitive usage and almost identical with one formerly suggested by Dr. Sancroft, which was proposed at this time by deputies from Maryland. As modified, the Invocation, following the words of Institution and the Oblation, ends with these words; 'that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's Holy Institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood.' The adoption of the Scottish form of the Prayer of Consecration, derived from primitive Eastern liturgies through the Service-book of the English Nonjurors, was due to Bishop Seabury, who, it will be remembered, had set forth an edition of the Scottish office for the use of his diocese. But Bishop White did not oppose its adoption; and in the House of Deputies the President, Dr. William Smith, read it so solemnly and impressively that it was accepted without objection.

In the Office for the Baptism of Infants, it was provided that parents might be admitted as sponsors; and permission was given to omit the Gospel and other parts of the service, provided that the whole should be read once a month if there were a baptism. In the Catechism, 'spiritually' was substituted for 'verily and indeed' in the answer to the third question on the Lord's Supper. In the Marriage Service, the first exhortation was shortened, and the service was made to end with the first blessing. In the Visitation of the Sick, the rubric as to a special confession of sins and the special Absolution were omitted, leaving the ancient form for the reconciliation of a dying penitent (the prayer beginning 'O most merciful God') in its proper place and with its full significance; and a prayer was inserted, 'in behalf of all present at the visitation,' taken from the writings of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. In the Burial Office, it was left to the discretion of the minister to use one or both of the closing prayers, and the phraseology of the first prayer was made more general. The Commination Service was not retained, but the last three prayers

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were ordered to be said at the close of the Litany on Ash-Wednesday. The Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea were placed after the Churching Office; and they were followed by a Form for the Visitation of Prisoners from the Irish Book of 1711, a Form of Service for the annual Thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth and the other blessings of God's Providence, and Family Prayers adapted from those drawn up by Bishop Gibson of London. To the Psalter were prefixed ten Selections of Psalms (or, in some cases, parts of Psalms) which might be used at any service instead of the Psalms regularly appointed. In the preliminary part of the book a new Preface was inserted, the black-letter days with all vigils were dropped from the Calendar, and the ornaments rubric was omitted. The table of Daily Lessons was nearly the same as that prepared by Bishop White for the Proposed Book; the table of Sunday Lessons, two for each service, was new; it began Isaiah in Advent, read other prophets from Septuagesima to Whitsunday (except on Easter and the Sunday following), began Genesis on Trinity Sunday, and then read the historical books and Proverbs till the end of the year, while the New Testament Lessons were selected with reference to the Church's seasons.

Special notice must be made of the permission given as to one of the clauses in the Apostles' Creed, and as to the sign of the Cross in Baptism. To the rubric before the Apostles' Creed was added this clause: '*And any Churches may omit the words*, He descended into hell, *or may, instead of them, use the words*, He went into the place of departed spirits, *which are considered as words of the same meaning in the Creed.*' The permission, it should be noted, was not given to any clergyman, or to any congregation, but to 'any Churches'; and no student of the ecclesiastical documents of the day can doubt what that means. It was a reservation of the right of any Diocese to omit from the Creed a clause of comparatively late introduction, or to substitute for it a synonymous expression which might be more easily understood. Whatever may be thought of the principle of allowing such omission or substitution, there can be no doubt that the permission took away much of the desire to omit or to change the words, and that it was a great advantage to the Church to be able to explain in clear words and in a conspicuous place the meaning of a phrase which has been a stumbling-block to many. It is almost needless to add that no Diocese ever availed itself of the privilege granted to omit or alter the words,[1] and that there is no

[1] The permission to omit was withdrawn in 1886.

likelihood that any Diocese will ever avail itself of the permission which still remains to substitute explanatory words for the ancient phraseology. In like manner it may be said, as to the permission to omit in Baptism the sign of the Cross with the accompanying form of words, that the concession has removed nearly all desire for the omission, while the Church has been enabled to say in the rubric in very plain words that she 'knows no worthy cause of scruple touching the same.'

Many editions of the Prayer Book thus prepared and set forth were published, several of which were from time to time established by canon as standards. The most valuable was the Standard of 1845, carefully edited and corrected by the learned Dr. Thomas Winthrop Coit.

The Convention of 1792 set forth an Ordinal, containing the three ordination services, the Litany with special suffrage as a separate service, and the Order for the Communion with 'Bishop' substituted for 'Priest' or 'Minister' in the rubrics. An alternative form of words was provided at the laying-on of hands in the Ordination of Priests, beginning with 'Take thou authority' instead of 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' and omitting the reference to the remission and the retaining of sins. Bishop Seabury consented with great reluctance to allow the use of this alternative; but he yielded to the three Bishops of English consecration (Drs. White, Provoost, and Madison), all of whom were present at the Convention. It may be noted that the first American consecration to the episcopate was held on the 17th of September 1792, Dr. Thomas John Claggett being consecrated Bishop of Maryland by the four Bishops who had been consecrated abroad; and through him both the English and the Scottish successions have come to all the later Bishops of the Church in the United States.

A form of Consecration of a Church, based on that drawn up by Bishop Andrewes in 1620, and a Prayer to be used at the Meetings of Convention, taken in great part from a paragraph in the Homily for Whit-Sunday, were added to the Prayer Book in 1799; and an Office of Institution of Ministers, substantially that drawn up by Dr. William Smith of Connecticut and adopted by the clergy of that Diocese in 1799, was added in 1804 and amended in 1808. After considerable discussion as to the desirability of Articles of Religion, and some attempts at recasting those of the English Church, the English Articles were adopted in 1801, the twenty-first being omitted

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'because it is partly of a local and civil nature, and is provided for, as to the remaining parts of it, in other Articles,' and a note being added to the thirty-fifth explaining the sense in which it is received, and suspending the order for the reading of the Homilies in Churches.

In 1811 an amendment to the Constitution was adopted which provides that 'no alteration or addition shall be made in the Book of Common Prayer, or other Offices of the Church, unless the same shall be proposed in one General Convention, and by a resolve thereof made known to the Convention of every Diocese, and adopted at the subsequent General Convention.' In 1829 this provision was extended to the Articles of Religion; and in 1877 a permission was added for one Convention, under certain restrictions, to make changes in the tables of Lessons. The only change made in the Prayer Book or Offices, after their final adoption as above stated until the year 1886, with the exception of modifications of the tables of Lessons in and after 1877,[1] was the change of 'north' to 'right' in the rubric at the beginning of the Communion Office, which was made in 1835. The House of Bishops, however, on several occasions expressed their formal opinion upon matters as to which the rubrical directions were not sufficiently clear, or for which (as for the proper postures in certain parts of the Communion Service) there were no rubrical directions.

In 1826 the House of Bishops adopted a resolution proposed by Bishop Hobart of New York, being a provision for shortened services; it was approved by the Deputies, but found so little favour in the Church at large, that it was quietly dropped at the next Convention. In 1853 the Rev. Dr. W. A. Muhlenberg and others presented to the Bishops a memorial favouring a relaxation of the obligation of the rubrics in certain cases. The immediate result of the memorial and of the discussion to which it gave rise was only a declaration from the Bishops in 1856 that Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Order for the Holy Communion were separate services, that on special occasions the clergy might use any parts of the Bible and the Prayer Book at their discretion, and that bishops might set forth forms of service for use under peculiar circumstances. Other proposals for the modification of

[1] The Sunday Lessons have been anew in 1880 and 1883, at which but slightly modified from those time the Lessons appended to the adopted in 1789. The Lessons for Calendar were also entirely re- Holy-days were nearly all selected arranged.

rubrical requirements were made in 1868 and later years; but the plans suggested or proposed were not adopted.

At the General Convention of 1880, a resolution introduced by the Rev. Dr. W. R. Huntington, then of Massachusetts but later of New York, was adopted by both Houses, providing for the appointment of a joint committee of seven bishops, seven presbyters, and seven laymen, to consider and report whether, at the end of the first century of the work of the fully organized Church in the United States, there was occasion for 'alterations in the Book of Common Prayer in the direction of liturgical enrichment and flexibility of use.' This committee, of which Bishop Williams of Connecticut was chairman, presented to the next Convention a full report, with the 'Book Annexed,' which exhibited the Prayer Book as it would appear if all the changes proposed by the committee should be adopted. The whole matter was discussed at length; a large number of propositions, partly from the committee's report, and partly introduced by individual members of the Convention, many of them of no great importance in themselves, but all intended to provide for the enrichment of the Prayer Book or for flexibility or accuracy in its use, received a preliminary approval, and it was ordered that the Dioceses be notified of these amendments in order that final action might be taken upon them in 1886. The 'Book Annexed as Modified' showed the Prayer Book as it would appear if all the amendments proposed by the Convention of 1883 should be finally approved. The Convention of 1886 referred the whole matter to a committee, which had before it the recommendations of several of the Dioceses as to the proposed changes, together with other criticisms upon them; so that there was little doubt as to the mind of the Church with regard to either the general matter or its important details. The committee recommended for adoption, as it happened, exactly one-half of the propositions which had been approved three years before; and eighty-four of these resolutions, together with three others which were not thus specially recommended, passed both Houses. Besides these, the committee introduced twenty-five substitutes for former propositions, which could not be finally acted upon till 1889; and it proposed and obtained a vote in favour of the preparation of a Book of Offices to contain forms for occasions for which no provision is made in the Book of Common Prayer. The whole of the unfinished work was again referred to a committee, which in 1889 reported such resolutions of addition and alteration

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in the Prayer Book as they judged desirable in order to complete the work of revision, and also a somewhat full Book of Offices with prayers for various occasions. No action was taken upon the latter except to continue it for three years, when the whole matter was allowed to drop; but in the matter of changes in the Prayer Book, the Convention took affirmative action upon seventeen resolutions which had been proposed three years before, and, after considering the committee's report, approved fifty-two resolutions that final action might be taken upon them in 1892. Besides this, a committee was appointed to prepare and report to the next Convention the text of a Standard Book of Common Prayer, into which all the changes constitutionally made might be incorporated. Finally, in 1892 the General Convention adopted forty-three of the amendments proposed by the preceding Convention, and accepted the text reported by the committee on the Standard, ordering a Standard Book to be printed and *replicas* to be prepared for the several Dioceses with certificated copies for important libraries and for representatives of Churches in communion with that in the United States. Much labour was bestowed upon the preparation of the Standard, reference being constantly made to earlier standards and especially to that of 1845; the text of the Epistles and Gospels was compared with the best modern editions of the English Bible; that of the Psalter was corrected from a careful study of the Great Bible; and use was made of the facsimile edition of the Convocation Book and the manuscript Annexed Book of 1662. A canon provides for the comparison of all editions with certified copies of the Standard, and requires that all ordinary editions above the 24mo size shall keep uniform pagination.

It remains to speak of the more important of the changes introduced into the American Prayer Book by the action completed in 1886, 1889, and 1892. By far the larger part call for no notice here, being corrections of rubrical inaccuracies or inconsistencies, or having to do with such matters as the readjustment of the Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea, and those for the Visitation of Prisoners.

Additional sentences, differing for the two services and for the most part intended for use at special seasons of the Church's year, have been prefixed to Morning and Evening Prayer without displacing any of the former sentences. Provision has been made for shortening both Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer; and the prefatory note 'concerning the Service of the

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Church' declares that 'the Order for Morning Prayer, the Litany and the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, are distinct services, and may be used either separately or together, provided that no one of these services be habitually disused.' The full form of the *Benedictus* has been restored, but the shortened form (the first four verses) may still be used except on the Sundays in Advent; and the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis* now stand in their proper place, the former Canticles (two after each Lesson) remaining as alternatives. From the rubric before the Apostles' Creed the permission for 'any Churches' to omit the clause 'He descended into hell' has been removed. The full number of versicles and responses after the Creed is now found at Evening Prayer, the second versicle reading 'O Lord, save the State,' and the response to the versicle for peace being 'For it is thou, Lord, only, that makest us dwell in safety.' A new Prayer for the Civil Authority has been provided for Evening Prayer, based on one of the Collects for the Sovereign in the English Communion Office. In the Litany, a petition has been inserted after that for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, 'That it may please thee to send forth labourers into thy harvest.'

New occasional prayers have been inserted, For the Unity of God's people (from the English Accession Service), For Missions, and For Fruitful Seasons (to be used at Rogation-tide): and a Thanksgiving has been inserted For a Child's Recovery from Sickness. To the Prayers which alone had been retained from the Commination Service has been prefixed the *Miserere* with Lord's Prayer and Versicles, and the Collect beginning 'O God, whose nature and property' has been added, making a Penitential Office for use on Ash-Wednesday or at other times. Collects, Epistles, and Gospels have been provided for first Communions on Christmas Day and Easter Day (these are from the Book of 1549), and also for the festival of the Transfiguration on the sixth day of August.

In the Communion Office, it is provided that the Decalogue may be omitted, provided it be said once on each Sunday; but when it is omitted, the Lord's Summary of the Law is to be read, followed by the Lesser Litany. The Nicene Creed is printed in its place after the rubric as to the reading of the Gospel, and it is required that it be used on the five great festivals of the year. Acts xx. 35 (last part) has been prefixed to the Offertory Sentences, and Exodus xxv. 2, Deuteronomy xvi. 16, 17, and I. Chronicles xxix. 11 and 14 (last part) have been added to them.

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The Exhortation 'may be omitted if it hath been already said on one Lord's Day in that same month.' The *Sanctus* is printed as a separate paragraph, with a side rubric '¶ *Priest and People*'; and the Oblation and the Invocation in the Prayer of Consecration have been made distinctly separate paragraphs. The Warnings have been removed to the end of the service.

In the Baptism of Adults, for the words 'these persons' or 'the persons' in the prayers there have been substituted the words 'these thy servants'; the Thanksgiving at the end has been conformed to that in the Baptism of Infants; and rubrics have been added allowing the shortening of the service when used in private 'in case of great necessity,' and providing for hypothetical administration of the Sacrament 'if there be reasonable doubt concerning the baptism of any person.' A form of presentation of candidates and a Lesson from Acts viii. 14-17 (the latter for discretionary use) have been inserted in the Order of Confirmation, and the reading of the Preface has been made optional. Certain of the clauses omitted from the exhortation in the Marriage Service in 1789, making reference to the institution of matrimony and its mystical meaning and to Christ's blessing of it, have been restored. In the Visitation of the Sick, the Commendatory Prayer has been amended by the omission of the last clause. Provision has been made for shortening the Office for the Communion of the Sick in case of necessity. At the Burial of the Dead, permission has been given for the insertion of a hymn or anthem, the Creed, and fitting prayers after the Lesson: and three additional prayers have been provided. The former ten Selections of Psalms, which were printed before the Psalter, have been omitted, but there is a table of twenty Selections of Psalms, any one of which may be used at any service for which Proper Psalms are not appointed; and the table of Proper Psalms has been extended to include the first Sunday in Advent, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Easter Even, Trinity Sunday, Transfiguration, S. Michael's, and All Saints' Days. On the twenty-ninth day, Psalm cxli. has been removed from Morning to Evening Prayer. The Articles of Religion have been placed at the end of the book, where they have a separate title-page. It should be added also that the former tables for finding Easter Day, &c., have been replaced by others, much more convenient and intelligible, prepared by the late Rev. Dr. Francis Harison.

Occasional Offices.

5. NOTICES OF CERTAIN OCCASIONAL OFFICES

Touching for the King's Evil

1. A curious religious ceremony was used from at least the time of Henry VII. to that of Queen Anne, for the supposed cure by the royal touch of scrofula, or, as it was formerly called, the King's Evil: the tradition was that the Kings of England, and France too, had this power, derived from Edward the Confessor.[1] The earliest form on record is that used by Henry VII. in Latin. Subsequently modifications were made, and the service appeared in several forms in English.[2] The efficacy of this mode of cure was believed by such men as Heylyn, Collier, and Carte;[3] but it was never formally sanctioned by the Church, though the service was printed in some Prayer Books between the reign of Charles I. and the year 1719.

The form, as it stands in the Prayer Books of Queen Anne, probably after undergoing a careful revision, is as follows:—[4]

The Service used at the ceremony.

'AT THE HEALING.'

Prevent us, O Lord, &c.

The Gospel (*for Ascension-day*) S. Mark xvi. 14—20.

Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us, &c.

Our Father, &c.

Then shall the infirm persons, one by one, be presented to the Queen upon their knees; and as every one is presented and while the Queen is laying her hands upon them, and putting the gold about their necks, the Chaplain that officiates, turning himself to her Majesty, shall say these words following:

God give a blessing to this work; and grant that *these* sick *persons* on whom the Queen lays her hands may recover, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

After all have been presented, the Chaplain shall say,

O Lord, save thy servants, &c. (*the Versicles from the Commination Service*).

Let us pray.

O Almighty God, who art the Giver of all health, and the aid of them that seek to thee for succour, we call upon thee for thy help

[1] See Lathbury, *Convoc.* p. 428.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 435 and ff.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 432.
[4] The old Latin form (from Pegge's *Curialia Miscell.*, pp. 154 and ff.), as well as this later one, is printed in *The Book of Common Prayer with Notes* (ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.), II. pp. 991 and ff.

Touching for the King's Evil.

and goodness mercifully to be showed upon these thy servants, that they being healed of their infirmities may give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then the Chaplain, standing with his face towards them that come to be healed, shall say,

The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong, &c. (*from the Visitation of the sick*).

The grace of our Lord, &c.

Prayer for the Fire of London.

2. '*A Form of Prayer, to be used yearly on the second of September, for the Dreadful Fire of London*,' appears in some Prayer Books printed at Oxford (1681—1683), and in Parsell's Latin Prayer Book. It is the usual office for Holy Days, with a versicular Hymn instead of *Venite;* a portion of the Commination Service after the Litany, with an additional Prayer; and a Prayer to be '*used continually so long as the navy is abroad*.' A note to the Litany directs it to be '*used publicly in churches, not only upon the monthly Fast-day, but on Wednesday in every week (and may by every man be used daily in private Families), during the time of this Visitation*.' The original form[1] gives the Order of Morning and of Evening Prayer at full length. The *General Thanksgiving* is omitted, together with the *Prayer for all Conditions of Men*. The service was revised under Archbishop Tenison's authority, in 1696; and it was reprinted in a separate shape, as lately as 1821. Its use continued at S. Paul's until 1859, when its observance ceased, together with that of the three State Holy-days.

Convocation Service.

3. A Latin Form of Prayer, used at the meeting of Convocation, was printed in 1700: it is found in Parsell's Latin Prayer Book, and in the appendix to Percival's *Original Services for the State Holy-days*.[2]

4. In 1714 there was also prepared, *A Form for admitting Converts from the Church of Rome, and such as shall renounce their errors*. It was not regularly carried through both Houses of Convocation: but it is occasionally used, as offering the nearest approach to an authorized form.[3]

5. Before the Reformation, there was interpolated into the

[1] A copy is preserved in Sion College Library. It was ordered to be used on Wednesday, Oct. 10th, 1666.

[2] Cp. Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 580 [705].

[3] It was drawn up at the command of the Queen, probably by Archbp. Wake; Lathbury, pp. 426 and ff.; Wilkins, *Concil.* IV. 660. A new form was drawn up and published (1898) as No. XLIX. of the Church Historical Society Tracts. (S.P.C.K.)

Form of Reception of Converts.

The Bidding Prayer.

Sunday Mass in parochial churches a form of vernacular prayer called the *Bidding of the bedes*.[1] The people were bid to pray, as the preacher successively named the subjects of their devotion, and psalms and prayers followed. The same practice continued after the Reformation, the subjects introduced being gradually changed.[2] When Henry VIII. assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, the name of the Pope was omitted, and especial care taken that the new title of the King should be correctly stated. *The Form of bidding the Common-prayers* is given in the Injunctions of Edward VI. (1547);[3] prayer for the dead was still enjoined, until the form given in the Injunctions of Elizabeth (1559),[4] which directed praise for the departed. It seems that this form was chiefly followed by those who framed the Canons of 1603.

The revival of preaching and the appointment of a sermon by the rubric of the Prayer Book at the same point in the service as the old vernacular prayer brought the two things into connexion; consequently the Bidding Prayer figures as *The Form of a Prayer to be used by all Preachers before their Sermons* in the 55th Canon. It appears, however, from various sermons extant that, from the early period of the Reformation downwards until the year 1662, no exact rule was observed as to the position of the prayer: it was used either before, or after, or more commonly *in*, the Sermon.[5] Strictly to comply with the Canon requires that the subjects which are there specified should be mentioned *briefly*, whether in the bidding or precatory form, always concluding with the Lord's Prayer. The connection with the Eucharist is now generally given up, as the Bidding Prayer is now almost entirely confined to sermons preached apart from the Communion service, and when it forms part of another service a collect or the Invocation is used

[1] In cathedrals this formed part of the Sunday procession: in parish churches it took place after the Gospel and Offertory, either before some altar or in a pulpit designed for the purpose. *Process. Sar.*, p. 8.

[2] See ancient forms in *Sarum Proc.* (ed. Wordsworth) p. 22; Dr. Henderson's *York Manual* (Surtees Society), p. 123, pp. 219* and ff.; Maskell III. p. 342 [400]: the form ordered by Henry VIII., in Hilsey's *Primer*, p. 329. See also H. O. C[oxe] *Forms of Bidding Prayer*; L'Estrange, *Alliance*, pp. 253 and ff.

[3] Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I. p. 21.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 235.

[5] See the instances collected by Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 210 and ff. *note*: e.g. Latimer's Two Sermons preached before the Convocation, in the morning and afternoon, June 9, 1536—the prayer is at the conclusion of the morning sermon (p. 40 ed. Park. Soc.); and Wren, preaching at Whitehall, in 1627, calls upon the people to pray after the text is named and the scheme stated.

The Bidding Prayer.

instead of the longer form.[1] The form of the Bidding Prayer is not rigidly prescribed, and under cover of this circumstance some liberty for the exercise of the gift of extempore prayer has been allowed, to meet the continual requests of the Puritans and others: strictly speaking, however, the use in the pulpit of an extempore prayer at this point, unless it be modelled after the form in the canon, is quite unauthorized.[2]

[1] It is stated that this practice was begun in the reign of William, to evade the recognition of his supremacy; so that, in its origin, it was a mark of disaffection to the Government. On the other hand, in the time of George I. some clergy incurred the charge of disaffection for using the *Bidding Prayer*, as if they would only call upon the people to pray for the King. Lathbury, p. 211, *note*.

[2] The amount of liberty conceded has varied very much at different times. In the Convocation of 1661, a committee of the Lower House was appointed to compile a form of prayer to be used before sermon, but nothing was concluded. Lathbury, p. 212, *note*. See *B.C.P. with Notes*, pp. 1157 and ff.

DOCUMENTS.

I.—*The Hour Services for the First Sunday in Advent from the Sarum Breviary.*

Pica de Dominica Prima Adventus.

Litera Dominicalis A.—*Tertia Decembris tota cantetur historia* Aspiciens. *Secundæ Vesperæ erunt de Sancto Osmundo, cum pleno servitio in crastino; et solemnis memoria de octava, et de Dominica, et de Sancta Maria cum antiphona* Ave Maria. *Feria* 2 *de S. Osmundo: ix. lectiones: omnia de Communi unius Confessoris et Pontificis. Sec. Vesp. erunt de commemoratione, et mem. de Sancto, de octava, de Adventu, et de S. Maria, cum ant.* Ave Maria. *Feria* 3, 5, *et Sabbato, de commemorationibus, et Responsoria ferialia prætermittantur; et Missa de oct. S. Andreæ dicitur in capitulo.*

Litera Dominicalis B, &c. . . .

* Pie.

Regulating the services for the week, according as the Sunday letter is A,

or B, &c.

Dominica Prima Adventus.

Ad Matutinas.

Matins.

Dicat sacerdos Pater noster, *et* Ave Maria.

Introductory.

Postea sacerdos incipiat servitium hoc modo, Domine, labia mea aperies.

1. *Private prayers.*

Chorus respondeat, Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.

2. *Opening versicles.*

Sacerdos statim, Deus in adjutorium meum intende.

Resp. Domine ad adjuvandum me festina.

Gloria Patri. Sicut. Alleluia.

Sequatur invitatorium hoc modo. Ecce venit rex; Occurramus obviam salvatori nostro. *Ps.* Venite. *Post i., iii., et v. versus*

3. *The Invitatory, with Ps.* Venite.

Mattins.

psalmi repetatur totum invitatorium. Post ii. vero, iiii. et vi. versus psalmi repetatur solum hæc pars, Occurramus. *Et deinde reincipiatur totum invitatorium.*

4. *Hymn.* *Hymnus*, Verbum supernum prodiens, &c.

5. *The Nocturns.* (a) *First Nocturn.* (i) *Group of psalms. Ps. i.—iii. and vi.—xv., in three series.*

In primo nocturno. Antiphona: Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore ejus, donec veniat qui mittendus est. *Ps.* Beatus vir. *Ps.* Quare fremuerunt. *Ps.* Domine quid multipl. *Ps.* Domine ne in furore. *Sub uno* Gloria Patri.

Antiphona: Erit expectatio gentium, lavabitque vino stolam suam, et sanguine uvæ pallium suum. *Ps.* Domine Deus meus. *Ps.* Domine Dominus noster. *Ps.* Confitebor. *Ps.* In Domino confido. *Sub uno* Gloria.

Antiphona: Pulchriores sunt oculi ejus vino, et dentes ejus lacte candidiores. *Ps.* Salvum me fac. *Ps.* Usque quo. *Ps.* Dixit insipiens. *Ps.* Domine quis habitabit.

with (ii) *Versicle and Response.* ℣. Ex Sion species decoris ejus. ℟. Deus noster manifeste veniet.

Paternoster *and* Credo *said privately.* *Deinde dicatur* Pater noster, *et* Credo in Deum, *a toto choro privatim. Et postea dicat sacerdos in audientia*, Et ne nos. *Chorus.* Sed libera.

Blessing of the reader. *Clericus lector dicat*, Jube domine benedicere. *Sacer.* Benedictione perpetua: benedicat nos Pater æternus.

(iii) *Group of lessons, Lectio I.* [*Isa. i.* 1, 2.] *Clericus primam lectionem legat hoc modo. Lect. i.* Visio Esaiæ filii Amos quam vidit super Judam et Hierusalem: in diebus Oziæ, Joatham, Achaz, et Ezechiæ, regum Judæ. Audite cœli, et auribus percipe terra: quoniam Dominus locutus est. Filios enutrivi et exaltavi: ipsi autem spreverunt me.

Et finiatur cum hac clausula, Hæc dicit Dominus: convertimini ad me, et salvi eritis. *Et notandum quod omnes lectiones de prophetia per totum annum terminantur cum hac clausula*, Hæc dicit Dominus, *nisi in tribus noctibus ante pascha. Reliquæ vero lectiones cum* Tu autem domine miserere nostri *finiantur, nisi solummodo in vigiliis mortuorum, et nisi in tribus noctibus ante pascha.*

(iv) *and their Responds.* *Finita lectione non respondeat chorus* Deo gratias *in audientia: sed statim absque intervallo Responsorium incipiatur.* Aspiciens a longe ecce video Dei potentiam venientem, et nebulam totam terram tegentem. Ite obviam ei et dicite: Nuntia nobis si tu es ipse: Qui regnaturus es: In populo Israel. *Primum* ℣. Quique terrigenæ, et filii hominum, simul in unum dives et pauper. *Chorus.* Ite obviam, &c. *Secundum* ℣. Qui regis Israel intende, qui deducis velut ovem Joseph. *Chorus.* Nuntia, &c. *Tertium* ℣. Excita potentiam tuam et veni, ut salvos facias nos. *Chorus.*

Qui regnaturus es, &c. Gloria Patri. *Chorus.* In populo. ℟. Aspiciens. *Et percantetur a choro.* — Mattins.

Ben. Deus Dei Filius : nos benedicere et adjuvare dignetur.

Lectio secunda. Cognovit bos possessorem suum, et asinus præsepe domini sui : Israel autem non me cognovit, et populus meus non intellexit. Væ genti peccatrici, populo gravi iniquitate, semini nequam, filiis sceleratis. Dereliquerunt Dominum, blasphemaverunt sanctum Israel, abalienati sunt retrorsum. Hæc dicit. — *Lectio II.* [*Isa. i.* 3, 4.]

℟. Aspiciebam in visu noctis : et ecce in nubibus cœli filius hominis venit. Et datum est ei regnum et honor : et omnis populus, tribus, et linguæ servient ei. ℣. Potestas ejus potestas æterna, quæ non auferetur : et regnum ejus quod non corrumpetur. ℟. Et datum est ei regnum et honor, &c. — *Respond.*

Ben. Spiritus Sancti gratia : illuminet corda et corpora nostra.

Lectio tertia. Super quo percutiam vos ultra addentes prævaricationem ? Omne caput languidum et omne cor mœrens : a planta pedis usque ad verticem non est in eo sanitas. Vulnus et livor et plaga tumens, non est circumligata : nec curata medicamine, neque fota oleo. — *Lectio III.* [*Isa. i.* 5, 6.]

℟. Missus est Gabriel angelus ad Mariam virginem desponsatam Joseph, nuntians ei verbum, et expavescit virgo de lumine : ne timeas, Maria, invenisti gratiam apud Dominum : ecce concipies et paries. Et vocabitur altissimi filius. ℣. Dabit et Dominus Deus sedem David patris ejus : et regnabit in domo Jacob in æternum. ℟. Et vocabitur, &c. — *Respond.*

In secundo nocturno. Ant. Bethleem non es minima in principibus Juda : ex te enim exiet dux qui regat populum meum Israel : ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. *Ps.* Conserva. *An.* Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium : et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel. *Ps.* Exaudi Deus. *An.* Orietur in diebus ejus justitia et abundantia pacis : et adorabunt eum omnes reges : omnes gentes servient ei. *Ps.* Diligam te. — (b) *Second Nocturn.* (i) *Group of Psalms. Ps. xvi.—xviii.*

℣. Egredietur virga de radice Jesse. ℟. Et flos de radice ejus ascendet. — (ii) *Versicle and Response.*

Tres mediæ lectiones de sermone beati Maximi episcopi : et legantur sine titulo, sed cum Jube Domine *incipiantur : et cum* Tu autem *finiantur.* — (iii) *Group of Lessons.*

Ben. Omnipotens Dominus : sua gratia nos benedicat.

Lectio quarta. Igitur quoniam post tempus spiritualibus epulis reficere nos debemus : videamus quid evangelica lectio prosequatur. Ait enim Dominus (sicut audivimus) de adventus sui tempore. — *Maximus of Turin, Homily, Lectio IV.*

Mattins.

Sicut fulgur coruscans de sub cœlo : ita erit adventus filii hominis. Et addidit in consequentibus : In illa nocte erunt duo in lecto uno : unus assumetur, et alter relinquetur. Duæ molentes in pistrino : una assumetur, et altera relinquetur.

and (iv) *Respond.*

℟. Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum. Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi : quod enim ex te nascetur sanctum, vocabitur filius Dei. ℣. Quomodo fiet istud quoniam virum non cognosco ? et respondens angelus dixit ei. ℟. Spiritus sanctus, &c.

Ben. Christus perpetuæ : det nobis gaudia vitæ.

Lectio V.

Lectio quinta. Movet fortasse nos fratres ; cur Dominus adventum suum indicans noctis se tempore ostenderit adventurum. Utique ejus adventus magna cum claritate diei, magno cum timore et tremore suscipietur a cunctis. Frequenter audivimus sacris literis prædicatum : priusquam Dominus Jesus Christus adveniat antichristum regnaturum. Qui ita tenebras humano generi suæ pravitatis infundet ; ut lucem veritatis nemo pœne respiciet : et caligine propria operiens mentes hominum cœcitatem quandam spiritualibus oculis exhibebit.

Respond.

℟. Suscipe verbum, virgo Maria, quod tibi a Domino per angelum transmissum est : concipies per aurem, Deum paries et hominem. Ut benedicta dicaris inter omnes mulieres. ℣. Paries quidem filium : sed virginitatis non patieris detrimentum : efficieris gravida, et eris mater semper intacta. ℟. Ut benedicta, &c.

Ben. Intus et exterius : nos purget Spiritus almus.

Lectio VI.

Lectio sexta. Nec mirum si diabolus emittat iniquitatis tenebras : cum ipse sit nox omnium peccatorum. Ad hujus igitur noctis tetram caliginem depellendam, velut fulgur quoddam Christus adveniet. Et sicut lucescente die nox subvertitur, ita coruscante salvatore antichristus effugabitur. Nec ulterius poterit disseminare iniquitatis suæ tenebras, cum lumen veritatis effulserit.

Respond.

℟. Salvatorem expectamus Dominum Jesum Christum : Qui reformabit corpus humilitatis nostræ : Configuratum corpori claritatis suæ. ℣. Sobrie et juste et pie vivamus in hoc sæculo, expectantes beatam spem et adventun gloriæ magni Dei. ℟. Qui reformabit corpus, &c. Gloria Patri et Filio. ℟. Configuratum corpori, &c.

(c) *Third Nocturn.*

(i) *Group of Psalms.*

In tertio nocturno. Ant. Nox præcessit, dies autem appropinquavit : abjiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum, et induamur arma lucis. *Ps.* Cœli enarrant. *An.* Hora est jam nos de somno surgere : et

Mattins.

aperti sunt oculi nostri surgere ad Christum ; quia lux vera est et fulgens in cœlo. *Ps.* Exaudiat te. *An.* Gaudete in Domino semper : modestia vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus ; Dominus prope est : nihil solliciti sitis, sed in omni oratione petitiones vestræ innotescant apud Deum. *Ps.* Domine in virtute.

Ps. xix.—xxi.

℣. Egredietur Dominus de loco sancto suo.

(ii) *Versicle and Response.*

℟. Veniet ut salvet populum suum a peccatis eorum.

Ben. Evangelica lectio : sit nobis salus et protectio.

(iii) *Group of Lessons. Gospel and its Homily. Lectio VII.*

Lectio septima de expositione evangelii hoc modo incipiatur post acceptam benedictionem. Lectio sancti evangelii secundum Matheum. In illo tempore : cum appropinquasset Jesus Hierosolymis, et venisset Bethphage ad montem Oliveti : tunc misit duos discipulos suos dicens eis ; Ite in castellum quod contra vos est : et statim invenietis asinam alligatam et pullum cum ea. Solvite et adducite mihi. Et reliqua. *Finitis verbis evangelii dicat lector titulum de omelia sub eodem tono . . .* Omelia ex diversis tractatibus.

Bethphage domus buccæ, sive domus maxillarum interpretatur, qui sacerdotum viculus erat ; et confessionis portabat typum. Et erat situs in monte Oliveti, ubi lumen scientiæ, ubi laborum et dolorum requies est. Tunc misit duos discipulos suos. Non immerito possunt duo discipuli, ad exhibenda Domino animalia destinati, duo prædicatorum ordines (unus videlicet in gentes, alter in circumcisionem directus) intelligi. Qui recte duo mittuntur : sive propter scientiam veritatis et operationis munditiam : sive propter geminæ dilectionis (Dei videlicet et proximi) sacramentum toto orbe prædicandum.

℟. Audite verbum Domini gentes, et annuntiate illud in finibus terræ : et in insulis quæ procul sunt dicite : Salvator noster adveniet. Annuntiate, et auditum facite : loquimini et clamate. ℟. Salvator, &c.

(iv) *Respond.*

Ben. Divinum auxilium : maneat semper nobiscum.

Lectio VIII

Lectio octava. Ite in castellum quod contra vos est. Contra enim apostolos erat, nec jugum doctrinarum volebat accipere. Missi isti discipuli doctores significant, quos ut indocta ac barbara totius orbis loca (quasi contra positi castelli mœnia) evangelizando penetrarent, destinavit. Et statim invenietis asinam alligatam et pullum cum ea : solvite et adducite mihi. Introeuntes mundum prædicatores sancti invenerunt pullum nationum perfidiæ vinculis irretitum. Funiculis enim peccatorum suorum unusquisque constrictus erat. Nec solum nationum, verum etiam Judæorum. Omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent gloria Dei.

Respond.

℟. Ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium, dicit Dominus : Et

Mattins.

vocabitur nomen ejus admirabilis Deus fortis. ℣. Super solium David et super regnum ejus sedebit in æternum. ℟. Et vocabitur, &c.

Lectio IX.

Ben. In unitate Sancti Spiritus : benedicat nos Pater et Filius.

Lectio nona. Asina quippe quæ subjugalis fuit et edomita, synagogam quæ jugum legis traxerat, pullus asinæ lascivus et liber, populum nationum significat. Super quem nullus adhuc hominum sedit : quia nemo rationabilium doctorum frænum correctionis quod vel linguam cohiberet a malo, vel in arctam vitæ viam ire cogeret : nemo indumenta salutis quibus spiritualiter calefieret populo gentium utilia suadendo contulerat. Sederet namque super illum homo, si aliquis ratione utens ejus stultitiam deprimendo corrigeret.

Respond.

℟. Lætentur cœli et exultet terra ; jubilate montes laudem ; quia Dominus noster veniet : Et pauperum suorum miserebitur.

℣. Orietur in diebus ejus justitia et abundantia pacis. ℟. Et pauperum, &c. Gloria Patri. ℟. Et pauperum, &c.

6. Te Deum.

Non dicatur Te Deum laudamus[1] *per totum Adventum, de quocunque fit servitium, sed nonum responsorium reincipiatur. Finito responsorio dicat sacerdos loco nec habitu mutato.*

7. *Sacerdotal Versicle leading to* Lauds.

℣. Emitte agnum Domine dominatorem terræ.

℟. De petra deserti ad montem filiæ Sion.

1. *Introduction.*

Sacerdos dicat Deus in adjutorium *ut supra.*

2. *Psalms and Canticles. Ps.* xciii., c., lxiii., lxvii.

In Laudibus An. In illa die stillabunt montes dulcedinem, et colles fluent lac et mel, alleluia. *Ps.* Dominus regnavit. *An.* Jocundare filia Sion, exulta satis filia Hierusalem, alleluia. *Ps.* Jubilate Deo. *An.* Ecce Dominus veniet, et omnes sancti ejus cum eo : et erit in die illa lux magna, alleluia. *Ps.* Deus, Deus meus, *et Ps.* Deus misereatur, *sub uno* Gloria Patri *dicantur, quod etiam per totum annum observetur, quando* Gloria Patri *dicitur. An.* Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas : quærite Dominum dum inveniri potest, alleluia. *Ps.* Benedicite omnia opera, *et dicatur sine* Gloria Patri *per totum annum quandocunque dicitur. An.* Ecce veniet propheta magnus ; et ipse renovabit Hierusalem, alleluia. *Ps.* Laudate Dominum de cœlis, *Ps.* Cantate Domino, *et Ps.* Laudate Dominum in sanctis, *sub uno* Gloria Patri *dicantur in Laudibus per totum annum quando* Gloria Patri *dicitur.*

Benedicite. *cxlviii.—cl.*

Hi psalmi prædicti dicantur in Laudibus omnibus dominicis per

[1] *Cf. Brev. Sar.* In die nativitatis Domini. '*Finito evangelio incipiat sacerdos executor officii in cappa serica in stallo suo Ps.* Te Deum *alta voce. Notandum est quod per totum annum dicitur ad matutinas* Te Deum *extra adventum, et nisi a septuagesima usque ad pascham, et nisi in ferialibus quando de feria agitur, et nisi in festis trium lectionum quæ fiunt in vigiliis, et in quatuor temporibus extra hebdomadam pentecostes . . .*'

annum præterquam a Septuagesima usque ad pascha tantum. Dicantur etiam in omnibus festis sanctorum, tam trium quam novem lectionum, per totum annum, et non in feriis.

Lauds.

Capitulum. Hora est jam nos de somno surgere : nunc enim propior est nostra salus quam cum credidimus. *Chorus.* Deo gratias. 3. *The Chapter Rom.xiii.11.*

Hymnus. Vox clara ecce intonat, &c. 4. *The Hymn and Versicle.*

℣. Vox clamantis in deserto.

℟. Parate viam Domini : rectas facite semitas Dei nostri.

An. Spiritus sanctus in te descendet Maria : ne timeas habens in utero filium Dei, alleluia. *Ps.* Benedictus.

℣. Dominus vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo. Coremus. 5. Benedictus.

Oratio. Excita quæsumus, Domine, potentiam tuam et veni : ut ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis te mereamur protegente eripi, te liberante salvari ; Qui vivis. 6. *The Collect,*

℣. Dominus vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo. *and closing Versicles.*

℣. Benedicamus domino. ℟. Deo gratias.

Memoria de sancta Maria. An. Missus est Gabriel angelus ad Mariam virginem desponsatam Joseph. ℣ Egredietur virga. 7. *The Memorial.*
Oratio. Deus qui de beatæ Mariæ (p. 266).

℣. Dominus vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.

℣. Benedicamus domino. ℟. Deo gratias.

Ad Primam.

Prime.

Dicto Pater *et* Ave, *incipiat sacerdos* Deus in adjutorium, &c. 1. *Introduction.*

Hymnus : Jam lucis orto sidere, &c. 2. *Hymn.*

An. In illa die. (*Prima de Laudibus.*) *Ps.* Deus, Deus meus, respice. *Ps.* Dominus regit. Gloria Patri. *Ps* Domini est terra. *Ps.* Ad te Domine levavi. Gloria Patri. *Ps.* Judica me. *Ps.* Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac. Gloria Patri. *Ps.* Confitemini. *Ps.* Beati immaculati. Gloria Patri. *Ps.* Retribue. Gloria Patri. 3. *The Psalms. Ps. xxii.—xxvi., liv., cxviii., cxix.* 1—32.

In omnibus Dominicis quandocunque dicitur Ps. Deus, Deus meus, respice, *cum reliquis Psalmis ad Primam, dicetur super* Quicunque *hæc antiphona :* Te Deum patrem ingenitum, te filium unigenitum, te spiritum sanctum paraclitum, sanctam et individuam Trinitatem toto corde et ore confitemur, laudamus atque benedicimus : tibi gloria in sæcula. 4. *The* Quicunque vult

Symbolum Athanasii. Quicunque vult, &c.

Capitulum. Regi sæculorum, immortali, invisibili, soli Deo honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. ℟. Deo gratias. 5. *The Chapter.* [1 *Tim.i.17.*]

Hoc prædictum capitulum dicitur omnibus dominicis, et in festis, et in octavis et infra, quando chorus regitur.

Prime.

℟. Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, miserere nobis.

6. *Respond, and*

℣. Qui sedes ad dexteram patris. ℟. Miserere, &c. Gloria Patri. ℟. Jesu Christe, &c.

7. *Versicle.*

℣. Exsurge domine adjuva nos.

℟. Et libera nos propter nomen tuum.

8. *The Suffrages, with Lord's Prayer.*

Et his dictis sequuntur preces hoc modo.

Kyrie eleison. *iii.* Christe eleison. *iii.* Kyrie eleison. *iii.*

Pater noster. ℣. Et ne nos inducas. ℟. Sed libera.

℣. Vivet anima mea et laudabit te.

℟. Et judicia tua adjuvabunt me.

℣. Erravi sicut ovis qui periit.

℟. Quære servum tuum, Domine, qua mandata tua non sum oblitus.

Creed.

Credo in Deum.

℣. Carnis resurrectionem. ℟. Et vitam æternam. Amen.

℣. Repleatur os meum laude.

℟. Ut cantem gloriam tuam,tota die magnitudinem tuam.

℣. Domine averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis.

℟. Et omnes iniquitates meas dele.

℣. Cor mundum crea in me Deus.

℟. Et Spiritum Sanctum tuum ne auferas a me.

℣. Redde mihi lætitiam salutaris tui.

℟. Et spiritu principali confirma me.

℣. Eripe me Domine ab homine malo.

℟. A viro iniquo eripe me.

℣. Eripe me de inimicis meis Deus meus.

℟. Et ab insurgentibus in me libera me.

℣. Eripe me de operantibus iniquitatem.

℟. Et de viris sanguinum salva me.

℣. Sic psalmum dicam nomini tuo in sæculum sæculi.

℟. Ut reddam vota mea de die in diem.

℣. Exaudi nos Deus salutaris noster.

℟. Spes omnium finium terræ et in mari longe.

℣. Deus in adjutorium meum intende.

℟. Domine ad adjuvandum me festina.

℣. Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et immortalis.

℟. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

℣. Benedic anima mea Domino.

℟. Et omnia quæ intra me sunt nomini sancto ejus.

℣. Qui propitiatur omnibus iniquitatibus tuis.

℟. Qui sanat omnes infirmitates tuas.

℣. Qui redimit de interitu vitam tuam.

℟. Qui coronat te in misericordia et miserationibus.

℣. Qui replet in bonis desiderium tuum. **Prime.**
℟. Renovabitur ut aquilæ juventus tua.

Deinde dicitur Confiteor, *et* Misereatur, *et* Absolutio *ut ad Completorium.* (p. 267). *Sequuntur preces hoc modo.* *Mutual Confession and Absolution,*

℣. Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos.
℟. Et plebs tua lætabitur in te.
℣. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.
℟. Et salutare tuum da nobis.
℣. Dignare, Domine, die isto.
℟. Sine peccato nos custodire.
℣. Miserere nostri, Domine.
℟. Miserere nostri.
℣. Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos.
℟. Quemadmodum speravimus in te.
℣. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos.
℟. Et ostende faciem tuam, et salvi erimus.
℣. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.
℟. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

℣. Dominus vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Hæc sequens oratio dicitur in omnibus festis duplicibus per annum extra hebdomada Paschæ. *and Collect (either this)*

In hac hora hujus diei tua nos, Domine, reple misericordia : ut per totum diem exultantes in tuis laudibus delectemur. Per.

℣. Dominus vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo. *with closing Versicles*
℣. Benedicamus Domino. ℟. Deo gratias.

In omnibus dominicis, et in festis sanctorum non duplicibus, et in festis extra hebdomada Paschæ dicatur hæc oratio. Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui nos ad principium hujus diei pervenire fecisti, tua nos hodie salva virtute : et concede ut in hac die ad nullum declinemus peccatum, nec ullum incurramus periculum : sed semper ad tuam justitiam faciendam omnis nostra actio tuo moderamine dirigatur. Per. *(or this* i.e. *the Collect for Grace.)*

℣. Dominus vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.
℣. Benedicamus Domino. ℟. Deo gratias.

AD TERTIAM. TERCE. (*Sext. and None are similar.*)

Deus in adjutorium, &c.
Hymnus. Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus, &c. 2. *Hymn.*
An. Jocundare (p. 262). *Ps.* Legem pone. *Ps.* Memor esto. *Ps.* Bonitatem. 3. *Ps.* cxix. 33—80.
Cap. Hora est jam (p. 263). 4. *Chapter.*

Terce.

5. *Respond and Versicle.*

℟. Veni ad liberandum nos Domine deus virtutum.

℣. Et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus. ℟. Domine deus virtutum. Gloria Patri. ℟. Veni ad liberandum, &c.

℣. Timebunt gentes nomen tuum.

℟. Et omnes reges terræ gloriam tuam.

6. *Collect.*

Oratio. Excita quaesumus (p. 263).

Evensong.

Ad Vesperas.

1. *Introduction.*

Deus in adjutorium, &c.

2. *Ps. cx.—cxv.*

An. Sede a dextris meis : dixit Dominus domino meo. *Ps.* Dixit Dominus domino meo. Gloria. *An.* Fidelia omnia mandata ejus, confirmata in sæculum sæculi. *Ps.* Confitebor tibi. Gloria. *An.* In mandatis ejus volet nimis. *Ps.* Beatus vir. Gloria. *An.* Sit nomen Domini benedictum in sæcula. *Ps.* Laudate pueri. Gloria. *An.* Nos qui vivimus benedicimus Domino. *Ps.* In exitu Israel. Gloria.

3. *The Chapter.* [*Rom. xiii.* 11.]

Capitulum. Hora est jam nos de somno surgere : nunc enim propior est nostra salus quam cum credidimus.

4. *Respond.*

Clericus de ii. forma incipiat hoc responsorium, Tu exsurgens Domine, *et percantetur a choro*, misereberis Sion. *Cler.* Quia tempus miserendi ejus, quia venit tempus. *Chor.* Misereberis. *Cler.* Gloria. *Chor.* Tu exsurgens.

5. *The Hymn, and its Versicle.*

Hymnus. Conditor alme siderum, &c.

℣. Rorate cœli desuper.

℟. Et nubes pluant justum : aperiatur terra et germinet salvatorem.

6. Magnificat.

An. Ne timeas Maria, invenisti gratiam apud Dominum : ecce concipies et paries filium, alleluia. *Ps.* Magnificat.

7. *The Collect and Memorial.*

Oratio. Excita quæsumus, Domine, *ut supra* (p. 263).

Versiculi ut supra (p. 263).

Memoria de S. Maria. An. Beata es Maria quæ credidisti, quoniam perficientur in te quæ dicta sunt tibi a Domino : alleluia. ℣. Egredietur virga de radice Jesse. ℟. Et flos de radice ejus ascendet. *Oratio.* Deus qui de beatæ Mariæ virginis utero verbum tuum angelo nuntiante carnem suscipere voluisti : præsta supplicibus tuis ut qui vere eam Dei genitricem credimus, ejus apud te intercessionibus adjuvemur. Per eundem.

Versiculi ut supra (p. 263).

Compline.

Ad Completorium.

1. *Introduction.*

Dicto Pater noster *et* Ave Maria, *incipiat sacerdos.*

℣. Converte nos, Deus, salutaris noster.

℟. Et averte iram tuam a nobis.
℣. Deus in adjutorium meum intende.
℟. Domine ad adjuvandum me festina, &c.

An. Miserere mei Domine, et exaudi orationem meam. *Ps.* Cum invocarem. Gloria Patri. *Ps.* In te Domine speravi. *Ps.* Qui habitat. *Ps.* Ecce nunc. Gloria Patri. *An.* Miserere, &c.

Capitulum. Tu in nobis es Domine : et nomen sanctum tuum invocatum est super nos : ne derelinquas nos Domine Deus noster.

Chorus respondeat, Deo gratias.

Hymnus. Te lucis ante terminum, &c.

℣. Custodi nos Domine.

℟. Ut pupillam oculi sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos.

An. Veni Domine visitare nos in pace ; ut lætemur coram te corde perfecto. *Canticum Simeonis.* Nunc Dimittis. Gloria.

Sequuntur preces.

Kyrie eleison *iii.* Christe eleison *iii.* Kyrie eleison *iii.*
Pater noster. Ave Maria. Et ne nos. Sed libera.
℣. In pace in id ipsum. ℟. Dormiam et requiescam.
Credo. Carnis resurrectionem. Et vitam æternam. Amen.
℣. Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum Sancto Spiritu.
℟. Laudemus et superexaltemus eum in sæcula.
℣. Benedictus es Domine in firmamento cœli.
℟. Et laudabilis, et gloriosus, et superexaltatus in sæcula.
℣. Benedicat et custodiat nos omnipotens et misericors Dominus.
℟. Amen.

Confiteor, Misereatur, *et* Absolutionem, *tam ad Primam quam ad Completorium.*

Sacerdos respiciens ad altare, privatim ut vix audiatur a choro, hoc modo :—Confiteor Deo, beatæ Mariæ, omnibus sanctis, *vertens se ad chorum*, et vobis : peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere : mea culpa. *Respiciens ad altare*, Precor sanctam Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei, *respiciens ad chorum*, et vos orare pro me.

Chorus respondeat ad eum conversus, Misereatur, &c.

Postea, primo ad altare conversus, Confiteor ; *deinde ad sacerdotem conversus, ut prius sacerdos se habuit.*

Deinde dicat sacerdos ad chorum.

Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus : et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra : liberet vos ab omni malo : conservet et confirmet in bono : et ad vitam perducat æternam. Amen.

Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum, spatium veræ pœnitentiæ, emendationem vitæ, gratiam et con-

Compline.

2. *Psalms.* *Ps. iv. xxxi. 1—6. xci., cxxxiv.*

3. *The Chapter.* [*Jer. xiv. 9.*]

5. *The Hymn and Versicle.*

6. *Nunc dimittis.*

7. *The Suffrages, with Lord's Prayer and Creed.*

Mutual Confession and Absolution.

Compline.

solationem Sancti Spiritus : tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus. Amen.

℣. Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos.
℟. Et plebs tua lætabitur in te.
℣. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam.
℟. Et salutare tuum da nobis.
℣. Dignare Domine nocte ista. ℟. Sine peccato nos custodire.
℣. Miserere nostri Domine. ℟. Miserere nostri.
℣. Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos.
℟. Quemadmodum speravimus in te.
℣. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos.
℟. Et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus.
℣. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.
℟. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.
℣. Dominus vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.

[*Alternative suffrages*

Hæ preces prædictæ dicuntur supradicto modo per totum annum ad Completorium, tam in festis duplicibus quam simplicibus, etiam sine regimine chori : et in feriis, nisi a Cœna Domini usque ad oct. Paschæ.

[*Ita tamen quod in omnibus feriis per Adventum, et a* Domine ne in ira, *usque ad Cœnam Domini, et a* Deus omnium, *usque ad Adventum Domini, (quando de feria agitur), post versiculum* Fiat misericordia, *statim sequatur,*

℣. Exaudi Domine vocem meam qua clamavi ad te.
℟. Miserere mei et exaudi me.

Sequatur Ps. Miserere. *Totus Ps. dicitur cum* Gloria, *et* Sicut erat, *sine nota. Et tunc omnia fiant in prostratione ab inceptione primi* Kyrie eleison *usque post orationem, et* Confiteor, *et* Misereatur, *et* Absolutionem ; *ita tamen quod immediate post psalmum erigat se sacerdos solus sic dicens :*

℣. Exsurge Domine, adjuva nos.
℟. Et libera nos propter nomen tuum.

leading to]

℣. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos.
℟. Et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus.
℣. Domine exaudi orationem meam.
℟. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.
℣. Dominus vobiscum.
℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.]

Oremus.

(The Collect for Aid.)

Illumina, quæsumus, Domine Deus, tenebras nostras : et totius hujus noctis insidias tu a nobis repelle propitius. Per Dominum.

Closing Versicles.

℣. Dominus vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.
℣. Benedicamus Domino. ℟. Deo gratias.

Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.

II.—*The Deacon's Litany of the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.*[1]

Ὁ Διάκονος· Ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὁ Χορός· Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄνωθεν εἰρήνης, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, εὐσταθείας τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἑνώσεως.

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου Οἴκου τούτου, καὶ τῶν μετὰ πίστεως, εὐλαβείας, καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ εἰσιόντων ἐν αὐτῷ.

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δεῖνος), τοῦ τιμίου Πρεσβυτερίου, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Διακονίας, παντὸς τοῦ Κλήρου, καὶ τοῦ Λαοῦ.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ Θεοφυλάκτων Βασιλέων ἡμῶν, παντὸς τοῦ Παλατίου, καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας Μονῆς (ἢ τῆς πόλεως) ταύτης, πάσης πόλεως καὶ χώρας, καὶ τῶν πίστει οἰκούντων ἐν αὐταῖς.

Ὑπὲρ εὐκρασίας ἀέρων εὐφορίας τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς, καὶ καιρῶν εἰρηνικῶν.

Ὑπὲρ πλεόντων, ὁδοιπορούντων, νοσούντων, καμνόντων, αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν.

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης θλίψεως, ὀργῆς, κινδύνου, καὶ ἀνάγκης, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, τῇ σῇ χάριτι.

Τῆς Παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης, ἐνδόξου, Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου, καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, μετὰ πάντων τῶν Ἁγίων μνημονεύσαντες, ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ παραθώμεθα.

Ὁ Χορός· Σοί Κύριε.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως· Ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν.

[1] *Euchologion*, p. 47; *L.E.W.*, 362. Cp. below pp. 274, 275.

Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.

III.—*The Anaphora of S. Chrysostom's Liturgy.*[1]

Η ΑΝΑΦΟΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ.[1]

The Anaphora.

Ὁ Διάκονος· Στῶμεν καλῶς· στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου· πρόσχωμεν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἀναφοραν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσφέρειν.

Ὁ Χορός· Ἔλεον εἰρήνης, θυσίαν αἰνέσεως.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἱερεὺς, ἐπάρας τὸν Ἀέρα[2] ἀπὸ τῶν Ἁγίων, ἀποτίθησιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ, λέγων τὸ, Ἡ χάρις, κ.τ.λ. Ὁ δὲ Διάκονος προσκυνήσας εἰσέρχεται ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Βήματι· καὶ λαβὼν Ῥιπίδιον[3] ῥιπίζει τὰ Ἅγια εὐλαβῶς.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς, στραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν, ἐκφωνεῖ·

The Salutation

Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἴη μετα πάντων ὑμῶν.

Ὁ Χορός· Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

and Sursum Corda.

Ὁ Ἱερεύς· Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας.

Ὁ Χορός· Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.

Ὁ Ἱερεύς· Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Ὁ Χορός· Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον ἐστὶ προσκυνεῖν Πατέρα, Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Τριάδα ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἀχώριστον.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς, πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἑστραμμένος·

The Commemoration (*Cp. Preface*).

Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ αἰνεῖν,[4] σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σὲ προσκυνεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τῆς δεσποτείας σου· σὺ γὰρ εἶ Θεὸς ἀνέκφραστος, ἀπερινόητος, ἀόρατος, ἀκατάληπτος, ἀεὶ ὢν, ὡσαύτως ὢν, σὺ καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον· σὺ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἤμᾶς παρήγαγες, καὶ

[1] Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα, περιέχον τὰς τῶν ἑπτὰ μυστηρίων ἀκολουθίας· pp. 61 sqq. Venice, 1862. Αἱ θεῖαι λειτουργίαι· pp. 17 sqq. Venice, 1867. *The Divine Liturgy of our Father among the Saints*, John Chrysostom, *Archbishop of Constantinople. Done into English, with some Prefatory Notes, and the original Greek of the open parts.* London, 1866.

[2] The *Air* (ἀήρ or νεφέλη) is the outer covering, placed over the Paten and Cup, each being first covered with its own veil. Neale, p. 170; *Divine Liturgy*, p. 4.

[3] The Fans (*Flabella, Muscaria*), originally of light material, to keep away insects, in process of time came to signify mystically the vibration of the wings of the Seraphim: they are now generally made of silver, and in the shape of cherubs' heads and wings. Neale, *Liturgies*, p. xxv. *note.*

[4] Cf. *Martyrium S. Polycarpi*, § 14.

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παραπεσόντας ἀνέστησας πάλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστης πάντα ποιῶν ἕως ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγες καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐχαρίσω τὴν μέλλουσαν. Ὑπὲρ τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦμεν Σοί, καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ σου Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ· ὑπὲρ πάντων ὧν ἴσμεν, καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν, τῶν φανερῶν καὶ ἀφανῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Λειτουργίας ταύτης, ἣν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν δέξασθαι κατηξίωσας· καίτοι σοι παρεστήκασι χιλιάδες Ἀρχαγγέλων, καὶ μυριάδες Ἀγγέλων, τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ Σεραφίμ, ἑξαπτέρυγα, πολυόμματα, μετάρσια, πτερωτά.

Ἐκφώνως· Τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, κεκραγότα, καὶ λέγοντα·

Ὁ Χορός· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαὼθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ δόξης σου. Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου· ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις. *The Sanctus.*

Ἐνταῦθα πάλιν λαβὼν ὁ Διάκονος τὸν Ἀστερίσκον[1] ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου Δίσκου ποιεῖ Σταυροῦ τύπον ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ἀποτίθησιν ἐν μέρει τινί.

Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται μυστικῶς·

Μετὰ τούτων καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν μακαρίων Δυνάμεων, Δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, βοῶμεν καὶ λέγομεν· Ἅγιος εἶ καὶ πανάγιος, Σὺ, καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου Υἱὸς, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Ἅγιος εἶ καὶ πανάγιος, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἡ δόξα σου· ὃς τὸν κόσμον σου οὕτως ἠγάπησας, ὥστε τὸν μονογενῆ σου Υἱὸν δοῦναι, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον· ὃς ἐλθὼν, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν πληρώσας, τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτὸν παρεδίδου ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς, λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ ἀμωμήτοις χερσὶν, εὐχαριστήσας καὶ εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας, κλάσας, ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ Μαθηταῖς καὶ Ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών· *Commemoration of redemption, including*

Ἐκφώνως· Λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ Σῶμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν. *The Recital of the Institution.*

Μυστικῶς· Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων·

Ἐκφώνως· Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ Αἷμά μου

[1] Two crossed strips of metal, used to cover the Paten, to prevent the Veil (διακοκάλυμμα) from disarranging the portions of Bread. Neale, *Liturgies*, p. 170.

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τὸ τῆς καινῆς Διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν.

Μυστικῶς· Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τῆς σωτηρίου ταύτης ἐντολῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γεγενημένων, τοῦ Σταυροῦ, τοῦ Τάφου τῆς τριημέρου Ἀναστάσεως, τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς Ἀναβάσεως, τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν Καθέδρας, τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐνδόξου πάλιν Παρουσίας·

Ἐκφώνως· Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρομεν κατὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ πάντα.

Ὁ Χορός· Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν, σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν, σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, Κύριε, καὶ δεόμεθά σου, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπεύχεται μυστικῶς·

The Oblation and Invocation.

Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, καὶ δεόμεθα, καὶ ἱκετεύομεν· Κατάπεμψον τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Διάκονος ἀποτίθησι τὸ Ῥιπίδιον, καὶ ἔρχεται ἐγγύτερον τῷ Ἱερεῖ, καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν ἀμφότεροι τρὶς ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας Τραπέζης.

Εἶτα τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑποκλίνας ὁ Διάκονος δεικνύει σὺν τῷ Ὡραρίῳ[1] τὸν ἅγιον Ἄρτον, λέγων μυστικῶς·

Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα, τὸν ἅγιον Ἄρτον.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἀνιστάμενος σφραγίζει τρὶς τὰ ἅγια Δῶρα, λέγων·

Καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν Ἄρτον τοῦτον, τίμιον Σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου.

Ὁ Διάκονος· Ἀμήν. Καὶ αὖθις ὁ αὐτὸς δεικνύων σὺν τῷ Ὡραρίῳ τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον·

Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα, τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱερεὺς εὐλογῶν λέγει·

Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ, τίμιον Αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου.

Ὁ Διάκονος· Ἀμήν. Καὶ αὖθις ὁ Διάκονος, δεικνύων μετὰ τοῦ Ὡραρίου ἀμφότερα τὰ Ἅγια, λέγει·

Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα, τὰ ἀμφότερα.

[1] Ὡράριον, seu potius ὁράριον, denotat *pannum oblongum*, brachio Sacerdotis imponi solitum. Suicer. 'It appears only to be used of the *deacon's* "stole," as we now call it, not as in Latin of the corresponding vestment (περιτραχήλιον) worn by priests.' Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, p. 84, *note*. Hammond, *Liturgies*, p. 391.

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Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς εὐλογῶν ἀμφότερα τὰ Ἅγια λέγει·

Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ Ἁγίῳ.

Ὁ Διάκονος· Ἀμὴν, Ἀμὴν, Ἀμήν. Καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑποκλίνας τῷ Ἱερεῖ, καὶ εἰπὼν τὸ, Μνήσθητί μου, ἅγιε Δέσποτα, τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ἵσταται ἐν ᾧ πρότερον ἵστατο τόπῳ· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ Ῥιπίδιον, ῥιπίζει τὰ Ἅγια, ὡς καὶ τὸ πρότερον.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς· Ὥστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς νῆψιν ψυχῆς, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος, εἰς βασιλείας οὐρανῶν πλήρωμα, εἰς παῤῥησίαν τὴν πρὸς σὲ, μὴ εἰς κρίμα, ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα. Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων Προπατόρων, Πατέρων, Πατριαρχῶν, Προφητῶν, Ἀποστόλων, Κηρύκων, Εὐαγγελιστῶν, Μαρτύρων, Ὁμολογητῶν, Ἐγκρατευτῶν, καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου·

The Intercession.

Εἶτα θυμιῶν τὴν ἁγίαν Τράπεζαν κατέμπροσθεν, λέγει ἐκφώνως·

Ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης, ἐνδόξου, Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου, καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.

Καὶ ἐπιδίδωσι τὸ θυμιατήριον τῷ Διακόνῳ, ὅστις θυμιάσας τὴν ἁγίαν Τράπεζαν κύκλῳ, μνημονεύει ἔπειτα τὰ Δίπτυχα τῶν Κεκοιμημένων. Μνημονεύει δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὧν βούλεται ζώντων καὶ τεθνεώτων.

The Diptychs of the Dead.

Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς ἐπεύχεται μυστικῶς·

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου, Προφήτου, Προδρομου, καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ· τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων, καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων· τοῦ ἁγίου (τοῦ δεῖνος) οὗ καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν, καὶ πάντων σου τῶν Ἁγίων· ὧν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός. Καὶ μνήσθητι πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως ζωῆς αἰωνίου· (Ὁ Ἱερεὺς μνημονεύει ὧν θέλει) καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτοὺς, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅπου ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου.

Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμεν σε· Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, πάσης Ἐπισκοπῆς Ὀρθοδόξων, τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας, παντὸς τοῦ Πρεσβυτερίου, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Διακονίας, καὶ παντὸς Ἱερατικοῦ, καὶ Μοναχικοῦ Τάγματος.

Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῆς Οἰκουμένης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἁγνείᾳ καὶ σεμνῇ πολιτείᾳ διαγόντων, ὑπὲρ,

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ὧν πιστοτάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν Βασιλέων, παντὸς τοῦ Παλατίου καὶ τοῦ Στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν. Δὸς αὐτοῖς, Κύριε, εἰρηνικὸν τὸ Βασίλειον, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτῶν ἥμερον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.

Ἐκφώνως· Ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν (τοῦ δεῖνος), ὃν χάρισαι ταῖς ἁγίαις σου Ἐκκλησίαις ἐν εἰρήνῃ, σῶον, ἔντιμον, ὑγιᾶ, μακροημερεύοντα, καὶ ὀρθοτομοῦντα τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας.

and of the living.

Ὁ Διάκονος μνημονεύει τὰ δίπτυχα τῶν ζώντων.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς· Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς Πόλεως ἐν ᾗ παροικοῦμεν, καὶ πάσης πόλεως καὶ χώρας καὶ τῶν πίστει οἰκούντων ἐν αὐταῖς. Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, πλεόντων, ὁδοιπορούντων, νοσούντων, καμνόντων, αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν. Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῶν καρποφορούντων καὶ καλλιεργούντων ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις σου Ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ μεμνημένων τῶν πενήτων· καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐλέη σου ἐξαπόστειλον.

Ἐκφώνως· Καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι καὶ μιᾷ καρδίᾳ δοξάζειν καὶ ἀνυμνεῖν τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου, τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν.

The Blessing.

Καὶ στραφεὶς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν, καὶ εὐλογῶν αὐτον, λέγει·

Καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ Μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

Ὁ Χορός· Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

Deacon's Litany, said at the same time as

Ὁ δὲ Διάκονος λαβὼν καιρὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ἱερέως, καὶ ἐξελθὼν, καὶ στὰς ἐν τῷ συνήθει τόπῳ, λέγει·

Πάντων τῶν Ἁγίων μνημονεύσαντες, ἔτι, καὶ ἔτι, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν προσκομισθέντων καὶ ἁγιασθέντων τιμίων Δώρων τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὅπως ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ προσδεξάμενος αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερὸν αὐτοῦ Θυσιαστήριον, εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας πνευματικῆς, ἀντικαταπέμψῃ ἡμῖν τὴν θείαν χάριν καὶ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης θλίψεως, ὀργῆς, κινδύνου, καὶ ἀνάγκης, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Priest's prayer.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς· Σοὶ παρακατατιθέμεθα τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν

ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα, Δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε· καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν, καὶ δεόμεθα, καὶ ἱκετεύομεν· Καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐπουρανίων σου καὶ φρικτῶν Μυστηρίων ταύτης τῆς Ἱερᾶς καὶ Πνευματικῆς Τραπέζης, μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς συγχώρησιν πλημμελημάτων, εἰς Πνεύματος ἁγίου κοινωνίαν, εἰς βασιλείας οὐρανῶν κληρονομίαν, εἰς παρρησίαν τὴν πρὸς σέ, μὴ εἰς κρίμα, ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα.

Deacon's Litany continued.

Ὁ Διάκονος· Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τῇ σῇ χάριτι.

Τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν, τελείαν, ἁγίαν, εἰρηνικὴν, καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

Ἄγγελον εἰρήνης, πιστὸν ὁδηγὸν, φύλακα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

Συγγνώμην καὶ ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τῶν πλημμελημάτων ἡμῶν, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

Τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

Τὸν ὑπόλοιπον χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ μετανοίᾳ ἐκτελέσαι, παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αἰτησώμεθα.

Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, ἀνώδυνα, ἀνεπαίσχυντα, εἰρηνικὰ, καὶ καλὴν ἀπολογίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ Βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, αἰτησώμεθα.

Τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς Πίστεως, καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αἰτησάμενοι, ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ παραθώμεθα.

End of the Priest's Prayer, leading to Lord's Prayer.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως· Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς, Δέσποτα, μετὰ παρρησίας ἀκατακρίτως τολμᾷν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι σὲ τὸν ἐπουράνιον Θεὸν Πατέρα, καὶ λέγειν·

Ὁ Λαὸς τό· Πάτερ ἡμῶν.

Ὁ Ἱερεύς· Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν.

Εἶτα· Εἰρήνη πᾶσι.

The Inclination.

Ὁ Διάκονος· Τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ κλίνατε.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Βασιλεῦ ἀόρατε, ὁ τῇ ἀμετρήτῳ σου δυνάμει τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ ἐλέους σου ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα παραγαγών. Αὐτὸς, Δέσποτα, οὐρανόθεν ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποκεκλικότας σοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλάς· οὐ γὰρ ἔκλιναν σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι ἀλλὰ σοὶ τῷ φοβερῷ Θεῷ. Σὺ οὖν, Δέσποτα τὰ προκείμενα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν

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εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐξομάλισον, κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου ἰδίαν χρείαν· τοῖς πλέουσι σύμπλευσον· τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσι συνόδευσον· τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἴασαι, ὁ ἰατρὸς τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν·

Ἐκφώνως· Χάριτι, καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς, καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν.

The Elevation.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς· Πρόσχες, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου, καὶ ἀπὸ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ ἔλθε εἰς τὸ ἁγιάσαι ἡμᾶς, ὁ ἄνω τῷ Πατρὶ συγκαθήμενος, καὶ ὧδε ἡμῖν ἀοράτως συνών· καὶ καταξίωσον τῇ κραταιᾷ σου χειρὶ μεταδοῦναι ἡμῖν τοῦ ἀχράντου Σώματός σου, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου Αἵματος, καὶ δι' ἡμῶν παντὶ τῷ Λαῷ.

Εἶτα προσκυνεῖ ὁ Ἱερεύς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Διάκονος ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τόπῳ, λέγοντες μυστικῶς τρίς· Ὁ Θεὸς ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. Ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ ὁ Διάκονος ζώννυται καὶ τὸ Ὡράριον αὐτοῦ σταυροειδῶς. Ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃ τὸν Ἱερέα ἐκτείνοντα τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἁπτόμενον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἄρτου, πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὴν ἁγίαν Ὕψωσιν, ἐκφωνεῖ· Πρόσχωμεν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἱερεύς, ὑψῶν τὸν ἅγιον Ἄρτον, ἐκφωνεῖ·

Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Manual Acts.

Εἶτα ὁ Διάκονος εἰσέρχεται ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Βήματι, καὶ στὰς ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Ἱερέως κρατοῦντος τὸν ἅγιον Ἄρτον, λέγει· Μέλισον, Δέσποτα, τὸν ἅγιον Ἄρτον. Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεύς, μελίσας αὐτὸν εἰς μερίδας τέσσαρας, μετὰ προσοχῆς καὶ εὐλαβείας, λέγει·

Μελίζεται, καὶ διαμερίζεται ὁ Ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ μελιζόμενος, καὶ μὴ διαιρούμενος, ὁ πάντοτε ἐσθιόμενος, καὶ μηδέποτε δαπανώμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετέχοντας ἁγιάζων.

Καὶ τίθησιν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Δίσκῳ σταυροειδῶς, οὕτως·[1]

ΙΣ
ΝΙ ΚΑ
ΧΣ

[1] Five loaves of oblation are usually prepared, but in Greece frequently only one. These loaves are flat leavened cakes, somewhat resembling pieces of money: in the middle is a square projection, stamped with a

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Καὶ ὁ Διάκονος δεικνύων σὺν τῷ Ὡραρίῳ τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον, λέγει· Πλήρωσον, Δέσποτα, τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον. Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς, λαβὼν τὴν ἄνω κειμένην μερίδα, τὴν ἔχουσαν δηλαδὴ τὸ ὄνομα ΙΣ, ποιεῖ σὺν αὐτῇ σταυρὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ ἁγίου Ποτηρίου, λέγων·

Πλήρωμα Ποτηρίου, πίστεως, Πνεύματος Ἁγίου.

Καὶ οὕτως ἐμβάλλει αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον.

Ὁ Διάκονος· Ἀμήν. Καὶ δεχόμενος ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ Ζέον,[1] λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἱερέα· Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα, τὸ Ζέον. Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς εὐλογεῖ, λέγων·

Εὐλογημένη ἡ ζέσις τῶν Ἁγίων σου πάντοτε· νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Καὶ ὁ Διάκονος ἐγχέει τοῦ ζέοντος τὸ ἀρκοῦν σταυροειδῶς, ἔνδον τοῦ ἁγίου Ποτηρίου, λέγοντος τοῦ Ἱερέως·

Ζέσις πίστεως, πλήρης Πνεύματος Ἁγίου.

Communion of Priest,

Ὁ Διάκονος· Ἀμήν. Καὶ ἀποθέμενος τὸ Ζέον, ἵσταται μικρὸν ἄποθεν. Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς, κλίνας κάτω τὴν κεφαλὴν, προσεύχεται, λέγων· Πιστεύω, Κύριε, καὶ ὁμολογῶ, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ἀληθῶς ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι, ὧν πρῶτος εἰμὶ ἐγώ. Ἔτι πιστεύω, ὅτι τοῦτο αὐτό ἐστι τὸ ἄχραντον Σῶμά σου, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτό ἐστι τὸ τίμιον Αἷμά σου. Δέομαι οὖν σου· Ἐλέησόν με, καὶ συγχώρησόν μοι τὰ παραπτώματά μου, τὰ ἑκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια, τὰ ἐν λόγῳ τὰ ἐν ἔργῳ, τὰ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· καὶ ἀξίωσόν με ἀκατακρίτως μετασχεῖν τῶν ἀχράντων σου Μυστηρίων, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Ἀμήν. Εἶτα· Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ σήμερον, Υἱὲ Θεοῦ, κοινωνόν με παράλαβε· οὐ μὴ γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου τὸ Μυστήριον εἴπω· οὐ φίλημά σοι δώσω, καθάπερ ὁ Ἰούδας· ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ Λῃστὴς ὁμολογῶ σοι· Μνήσθητί μου, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.[2] Καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ, Μή μοι εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα γένοιτο ἡ μετάληψις τῶν ἁγίων σου Μυστηρίων, Κύριε, ἀλλ' εἰς ἴασιν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος.

cross and the letters noted above in the quarters. This projection is called *the Holy Lamb*, and is used for the Sacrament, being cut out of the loaf and divided with a chisel-shaped instrument, called the *Spear*. *The Divine Liturgy*, p. 3.

[1] Warm water, poured into the Chalice after consecration.

[2] These prayers occur in the ἀκο-

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Εἶτα, λαβὼν μίαν μερίδα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἄρτου, λέγει·

Τὸ τίμιον καὶ παναγιον Σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεταδίδοταί μοι (τῷ δεῖνι) Ἱερεῖ, εἰς ἄφεσίν μου ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

of Deacon.

Καὶ οὕτω μεταλαμβάνει τοῦ ἐν χερσὶ, μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης ἀσφαλείας. Εἶτα λέγει· Ο Διάκονος, πρόσελθε.

Καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Διάκονος, ποιεῖ μετάνοιαν[1] εὐλαβῶς, αἰτῶν συγχώρησιν· ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς, κρατῶν τὸν ἅγιον Ἄρτον, δίδωσι τῷ Διακόνῳ· καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ὁ Διάκονος τὴν μεταδιδοῦσαν αὐτῷ χεῖρα, λαμβάνει τὸν ἅγιον Ἄρτον, λέγων· Μετάδος μοι, Δέσποτα, τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιοι Σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς λέγει·

(Τῷ δεῖνι) Ἱεροδιακόνῳ μεταδίδοταί σοι τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον καὶ ἄχραντον Σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς ἄφεσίν σου ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Καὶ ἀπέρχεται ὁ Διάκονος ὄπισθεν τῆς ἱερᾶς Τραπέζης· καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν προσεύχεται, καὶ μεταλαμβάνει, ὡς ὁ Ἱερεύς.

Εἶτα ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἱερεὺς λαμβάνει ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις μετὰ τοῦ Καλύμματος τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον, καὶ μεταλαμβάνει τρίτον ἐξ αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὕτω τά τε ἴδια χείλη, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Ποτήριον τῷ ἐν χερσὶ Καλύμματι ἀποσπογγίσας, καλεῖ τὸν Διάκονον, λέγων· Διάκονε, πρόσελθε. Καὶ ὁ Διάκονος ἔρχεται, καὶ προσκυνεῖ ἅπαξ, λέγων· Ἰδοὺ προσέρχομαι τῷ ἀθανάτῳ Βασιλεῖ· καὶ τὸ, Πιστεύω, Κύριε, καὶ ὁμολογῶ, ὅλον. Καὶ λέγει ὁ Ἱερευς·

Μεταλαμβάνει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ Διάκονος (ὁ δεῖνα) τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον Αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς ἄφεσιν αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Μεταλαβόντος δὲ τοῦ Διακόνου, λέγει ὁ Ἱερεύς·

λουθία τῆς μεταλήψεως, *Horologion*, p. 450. In administering the communion to the people, the whole form is pronounced slowly and distinctly by the priest in the native tongue, and should be repeated after him by the communicants. See *Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church*, by Romanoff (Lond. 1868), p. 134.

[1] '*makes an obeisance*,' Neale: ποιεῖν μετάνοιαν μικράν is *to bow the head*; — μεγάλην is *prostration*: *Horologion*, p. 3, *note*.

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Τοῦτο ἥψατο τῶν χειλέων σου, καὶ ἀφελεῖ τὰς ἀνομίας σου, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου περικαθαριεῖ.

Τότε λαβὼν τὸν ἅγιον Δίσκον ὁ Διάκονος, ἐπάνω τοῦ ἁγίου Ποτηρίου, ἀποσπογγίζει τῷ ἁγίῳ σπόγγῳ πάνυ καλῶς, καὶ μετὰ προσοχῆς καὶ εὐλαβείας σκεπάζει τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον τῷ Καλύμματι· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον Δίσκον ἀνατίθησι τὸν Ἀστέρα, καὶ τὸ Κάλυμμα.

Priest's thanksgiving.

Εἶτα ἐπιλέγει τὴν τῆς Εὐχαριστίας Εὐχὴν ὁ Ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι, Δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, εὐεργέτα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, ὅτι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐπουρανίων σου καὶ ἀθανάτων Μυστηρίων. Ὀρθοτόμησον ἡμῶν τὴν ὁδὸν, στήριζον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ φόβῳ σου τοὺς πάντας, φρούρησον ἡμῶν τὴν ζωὴν, ἀσφάλισαι ἡμῶν τὰ διαβήματα, εὐχαῖς καὶ ἱκεσίαις τῆς ἐνδόξου Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, καὶ πάντων τῶν Ἁγίων σου.

Communion of people.

Καὶ οὕτως ἀνοίγουσι τὴν Θύραν τοῦ ἁγίου Βήματος. Καὶ ὁ Διάκονος προσκυνήσας ἅπαξ, λαμβάνει παρὰ τοῦ Ἱερέως τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον μετὰ εὐλαβείας, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν Θύραν, καὶ ὑψῶν αὐτὸ δείκνυσι τῷ λαῷ, λέγων·

Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ, πίστεως, καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθετε.[1]

Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς εὐλογεῖ τὸν λαὸν, ἐπιλέγων ἐκφώνως·

Σῶσον, ὁ Θεὸς, τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου.

Καὶ ἐπιστρέφουσιν, ὅ τε Διάκονος καὶ ὁ Ἱερεὺς, εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Τραπέζαν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Διάκονος, ἀποθέμενος ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον, λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἱερέα· Ὕψωσον, Δέσποτα.

Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς θυμιᾷ τρὶς, λέγων καθ' ἑαυτόν·

Ὑψώθητι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἡ δόξα σου.

[1] *The communicants come forwards with reverence, having their arms crossed on their breasts; and the Priest communicates them as they stand at the door of the sanctuary, saying to each,* Μεταλαμβάνει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ τ. δ. τὸ ἄχραντον καὶ ἅγιον Σῶμα καὶ Αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν αὐτοῦ (or αὐτῆς) ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. *The Divine Liturgy*, p. 78. The Bread, in very small pieces, is put into the Cup, and administered in a spoon with a little Wine: *Sketches, &c.*, by Romanoff. p. 135.

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Εἶτα λαβὼν τὸν ἅγιον Δίσκον τίθησιν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Διακόνου· καὶ ὁ Διάκονος κρατῶν αὐτὸν μετ εὐλαβείας, καὶ θεωρῶν ἔξω πρὸς τὴν Θύραν, οὐδὲν λέγων, ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν Πρόθεσιν, καὶ ἀποτίθησιν αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς προσκυνήσας, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ἅγιον Ποτήριον, καὶ ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς τὴν Θύραν, ὁρᾷ τὸν λαὸν, λέγων μυστικῶς· Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· εἶτα ἐκφωνεῖ· Πάντοτε· νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Thanksgiving.

Καὶ ἐξελθὼν ὁ Διάκονος; καὶ στὰς ἐν τῷ συνήθει τόπῳ λέγει·

Ὀρθοί· μεταλαβόντες τῶν θείων, ἁγίων, ἀχράντων, ἀθανάτων, ἐπουρανίων, καὶ ζωοποιῶν φρικτῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μυστηρίων, ἀξίως εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Ἀντιλαβοῦ, σῶσον, ἐλέησον, καὶ διαφύλαξον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεὸς, τῇ σῇ χάριτι.

Τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν, τελείαν, ἁγίαν, εἰρηνικὴν, καὶ ἀναμάρτητον αἰτησάμενοι, ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ παραθώμεθα.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως· Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ὁ Χορός· Ἀμήν.

The Dismissal.

Ὁ Ἱερεύς· Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν.

Ὁ Διάκονος· Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Εὐχὴ Ὀπισθάμβωνος, ἣν λέγει ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως·

Ὁ εὐλογῶν τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε, Κύριε, καὶ ἁγιάζων τοὺς ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιθότας, σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου. Τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας σου φύλαξον· ἁγίασον τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ Οἴκου σου. Σὺ αὐτοὺς ἀντιδόξασον τῇ θείᾳ σου δυνάμει, καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σέ. Εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ σου δώρησαι, ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις σου, τοῖς Ἱερεῦσι, τοῖς Βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν, τῷ Στρατῷ, καὶ παντὶ τῷ Λαῷ σου. Ὅτι πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ, καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστι καταβαῖνον ἐκ σοῦ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν φώτων· καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, καὶ προσκύνησιν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Ταύτης δὲ τελεσθείσης, ὁ μὲν Ἱερεὺς εἰσέρχεται διὰ

τῶν ἁγίων Θυοῶν, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῇ Προθέσει λέγει τὴν παροῦσαν Εὐχὴν μυστικῶς·

Τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Νόμου καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πληρώσας πᾶσαν τὴν Πατρικὴν οἰκονομίαν, πλήρωσον χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Ὁ Διάκονος· Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὁ Ἱερεὺς ἐκφώνως· Εὐλογία Κυρίου, καὶ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, ἔλθοι ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Εἶτα· Δόξα σοι, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοί.

Ὁ Λαός· Δόξα Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Καὶ γίνεται Ἀπόλυσις.[1]

Ὁ δὲ Διάκονος, εἰσελθὼν καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ βορείου μέρους, συστέλλει τὰ Ἅγια μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης ἀσφαλείας, ὥστε μηδέν τι τῶν ἅγαν λεπτοτάτων ἐκπεσεῖν, ἢ καταλειφθῆναι, καὶ ἀπονίπτεται τὰς χεῖρας ἐν τῷ συνήθει τόπῳ.

The Eulogia. *Dismissal of the Ministers.*

Ὁ δὲ Ἱερεὺς ἐξελθὼν δίδωσι τῷ λαῷ τὸ Ἀντίδωρον. Εἶτα εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Βήματι ἀποδύεται τὴν Ἱερατικὴν στολὴν, λέγων· Νῦν ἀπολύεις· τὸ Τρισάγιον· καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Εἶτα τὸ Ἀπολυτίκιον τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου·

Ἡ τοῦ στόματός σου, καθάπερ πυρσὸς, ἐκλάμψασα χάρις τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐφώτισεν, ἀφιλαργυρίας τῷ κόσμῳ θησαυροὺς ἐναπέθετο, τὸ ὕψος ἡμῖν τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης ὑπέδειξεν· ἀλλὰ σοῖς λόγοις παιδεύων, Πάτερ Ἰωάννη Χρυσόστομε, πρέσβευε τῷ Λόγῳ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ, σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Τὸ, Κύριε ἐλέησον, ιβ'. Δόξα, καὶ νῦν. Τὴν τιμιωτέραν.

Καὶ ποιεῖ Ἀπόλυσιν· καὶ προσκυνήσας καὶ εὐχαριστήσας τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ἐξέρχεται.

[1] The ordinary Dismissal is:—Χριστὸς, ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς παναχράντου αὐτοῦ Μητρὸς, τοῦ ἐν Ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, καὶ πάντων τῶν Ἁγίων, ἐλεήσαι καὶ σώσαι ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. Ὁ Διάκ.' Ἀμήν. *Euchologion*, p. 43. On an ordinary Sunday it would be—Ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν Χριστὸς, κ.τ.λ.: and this opening phrase varies on the Festivals of our Lord; *e.g.* for Christmas it is—Ὁ ἐν σπηλαίῳ γεννηθεὶς, καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ ἀνακλιθεὶς, διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν. *Ib.*, p. 684.

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IV.—*The Mass of the First Sunday in Advent according to the use of Sarum.*

ORDINARIUM MISSÆ.

1. *Preparation—Collect for purity.*

Ad missam dicendam dum sacerdos induit se sacris vestibus dicat hymnun : Veni creator Spiritus, &c.

℣. Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur.

℟. Et renovabis faciem terræ.

Oratio. Deus cui omne cor patet et omnis voluntas loquitur, et quem nullum latet secretum : purifica per infusionem Sancti Spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri ; ut perfecte te diligere et digne laudare mereamur. Per Christum.

2. *Psalm, Lesser Litany, Lord's Prayer, and Salutation.*

Deinde sequatur Antiph. Introibo ad altare. *Ps.* Judica me Deus. *Deinde dicitur Antiph.* Introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui lætificat juventutem meam.

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster. Ave Maria.

3. *Introit, and approach to the altar.*

His finitis et Officio missæ inchoato, cum post Officium Gloria Patri *incipitur, accedat sacerdos cum suis ministris ad gradum altaris, et dicat ipse confessionem, diacono assistente a dextris, et subdiacono a sinistris, hoc modo incipiendo :* ℣. Et ne nos, &c. ℟. Sed libera, &c. ℣. Confitemini domino quoniam bonus.

℟. Quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus.

Mutual Confession and Absolution of the Celebrant and the Ministers. Versicles.

Confiteor. Misereatur. Absolutionem (ut supra, p. 267).

Deinde dicat sacerdos : ℣. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

℟. Qui fecit cœlum et terram.

℣. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

℟. Ex hoc, nunc, et usque in sæculum.

Off. Ad te levavi animam meam : Deus meus, in te confido, non erubescam, neque irrideant me inimici mei : etenim universi qui te expectant non confundentur. *Ps.* Vias tuas, Domine, demonstra mihi, et semitas tuas edoce me. *Repetatur Officium :* Ad te levavi. *Et postea dicatur :* Gloria Patri. *Quo dicto iterum repetatur Officium ut prius.*

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Deinde finitis precibus, sacerdos deosculetur diaconum, et postea subdiaconum, ita dicens: Habete osculum pacis et dilectionis, ut apti sitis sacrosancto altari ad perficiendum officia divina.

His itaque peractis, ceroferarii candelabra cum cereis ad gradum altaris dimittant: deinde accedat sacerdos ad altare, et dicat in medio altaris tacita voce inclinatoque corpore et junctis manibus: Oremus. Aufer a nobis Domine cunctas iniquitates nostras: ut ad sancta sanctorum puris mentibus mereamur introire. Per Christum.

Collect.

Tunc erigat se sacerdos et osculetur altare, et hoc in medio, et signet se in facie sua, ita dicens: In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Deinde ponat diaconus thus in thuribulum, et dicat prius sacerdoti: Benedicite. *Et sacerdos dicat:* Dominus. Ab ipso benedicatur in cujus honore cremabitur: In nomine Patris, &c. *Tunc diaconus ei thuribulum tradens deosculetur manum ejus; et ipse sacerdos thurificet medium altaris, et utrumque cornu altaris, primo in dextera, secundo in sinistra parte, et interim in medio. Deinde ab ipso diacono ipse sacerdos thurificetur: et postea Textum ministerio subdiaconi sacerdos deosculetur.*

Censing with 4. Kyrie.

Sequatur Kyrie eleison (iij) Christe eleison (iij) Kyrie eleison (iij).

5. Gloria in Excelsis.

Gloria in excelsis Deo. Et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis. Laudamus te, Benedicimus te, Adoramus te. Glorificamus te, Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine Deus, Rex cœlestis, Deus Pater omnipotens. Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe. Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus

His itaque gestis in dextro cornu altaris, cum diacono et

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subdiacono officium missæ usque ad orationem prosequatur vel usque ad Gloria in excelsis *quando dicitur. Quo facto sacerdos et sui ministri in sedibus paratis se recipiant, et expectent usque ad* Gloria in excelsis, *quod incipiatur semper in medio altaris quandocunque dicitur. Post inceptionem* Gloria in excelsis *divertat se sacerdos ad dextrum cornu altaris et ministri cum eo prosequentes diaconus a dextris et subdiaconus a sinistris submissa voce dicant idem.*

sanctus, Tu solus Dominus, Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe, cum Sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

His peractis, factoque signaculo crucis in facie sua, vertat se sacerdos ad populum; elevatisque aliquantulum brachiis, junctisque manibus, dicat: Dominus vobiscum. *Chorus respondeat:* Et cum spiritu tuo. *Et iterum revertat se sacerdos ad altare, et dicat:* Oremus. *Deinde dicitur Oratio.* Excita quæsumus domine potentiam, &c. (p. 263).

6. *The Collect for the day and Memorials.*

Et si aliqua memoria habenda est, iterum dicat sacerdos, Oremus, *ut supra. Et quando sunt plures collectæ dicendæ, tunc omnes orationes quæ sequuntur sub uno* Per Dominum, *et uno* Oremus *dicuntur: ita tamen quod septenarium numerum excedere non debeat secundum usum ecclesiæ Sarum.*

Post introitum missæ unus ceroferariorum panem, vinum, et aquam, quæ ad Eucharistiæ ministrationem disponuntur, deferat: reliquus vero pelvim cum aqua et manutergio portet.

7. *The Epistle and the chants following.*

Incepta vero ultima oratione ante epistolam, subdiaconus per medium chori ad legendum Epistolam in pulpitum accedat.

Lectio Epistolæ Beati Pauli apostoli ad Romanos.

Fratres scientes quia hora est, &c. (Rom. xiii, 11–14).

Quando epistola legitur, duo pueri in superpelliceis facta inclinatione ad altare ante gradum chori in pulpitum per medium chori ad Gradale incipiendum se præparent, et suum versum cantandum.

8. *Gradual.*

Grad. Universi: *Chorus idem prosequatur per totum usque ad finem:* qui te expectant non confundentur, Domine. ℣. Vias tuas Domine notas fac mihi et semitas tuas edoce me.

Post versum chorus repetat Gradale.

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Dum versus gradalis canitur, duo de superiori gradu ad Alleluya *cantandum cappas sericas se induant, et ad pulpitum per medium chori accedant.*

9. (ii) *Alleluya.*

Sequatur Alleluya. *Chorus idem repetat et prosequatur cum pneuma. Clerici* ℣. Ostende nobis domine misericordiam tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis. *Et finiatur a choro. Deinde clerici repetant* Alleluya *sine neupma.*

(iii) *Sequence, or* (iv) *Tract.*

Finito Alleluya, *sequatur* Sequentia.

Salus eterna indeficiens mundi vita.

Lux sempiterna et redemptio vere nostra, &c.

10. *Censing and prayers,*

In fine Alleluya, *vel Sequentiæ, vel Tractus, diaconus antequam accedat ad evangelium pronuntiandum, thurificet medium altaris tantum.*

Deinde accipiat Textum, scilicet librum Evangeliorum, et humilians se ad sacerdotem stantem coram altari, versa facie ad meridiem, ita dicat: Jube domne benedicere. *Sacerdos respondeat:* Dominus sit in corde tuo et ore tuo ad pronuntiandum sanctum evangelium Dei, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. *Et sic procedat diaconus per medium chori, ipsum textum super sinistram manum solenniter gestando ad pulpitum accedat, thuribulario et ceroferario precedentibus. . . . Et semper legatur evangelium versus aquilonem. Cum autem inceperit evangelium, post* Dominus vobiscum, *faciat signum crucis super librum, deinde in sua fronte, et postea in pectore cum pollice.*

and reading of

11. *The Gospel.*

Evangelium secundum Matthæum. In illo tempore cum appropinquasset Jesus, &c. (S. Mat. xxi, 1–9).

Lecto evangelio osculetur librum. . . .

12. *The Creed.*

Finito evangelio, incipiat sacerdos in medio altaris: Credo in unum Deum. *Deinde cantetur a choro non alternatim sed a toto choro.*

13. *Versicle and bidding.*

Sequatur: Dominus vobiscum. *Et* Oremus.

14. *Offertory sung during the offertory, and*

Deinde dicitur Offertorium. Post Offertorium vero porrigat diaconus sacerdoti calicem cum patena et sacrificio; et osculetur manum ejus utraque vice. Ipse vero accipiens ab eo calicem diligenter ponat in loco suo debito super medium altare; et inclinato parumper elevet calicem utraque manu offerens

Ad te, Domine, levavi animam meam: Deus meus, in te confido, non erubescam: neque irrideant me inimici mei; etenim universi qui te expectant non confundentur.

℣. Dirige me in veritate, &c.

℣. Respice in me et miserere mei, &c. *Isti duo versus dicuntur per ebdomadam alternis*

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15. *its prayers.*

sacrificium Domino, dicendo hanc orationem :

Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam ego indignus peccator offero in honore tuo, beatæ Mariæ, et omnium sanctorum tuorum, pro peccatis et offensionibus meis, et pro salute vivorum et requie omnium fidelium defunctorum.

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo hoc sacrificium novum.

Dicta oratione reponat calicem, et cooperiat cum corporalibus : ponatque panem super corporalia decenter ante calicem vinum et aquam continentem ; et osculetur patenam, et reponat eam a dextris sacrificii super altare sub corporalibus parum cooperiendo. Hoc peracto accipiat thuribulum a diacono, et thurificet sacrificium . . . . et dum thurificat, dicat :

The censing of the Elements and altar,

Dirigatur Domine ad te oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.

Postea thurificetur ipse sacerdos, &c.

His itaque peractis, eat sacerdos ad dextrum cornu altaris, et abluat manus, dicens :

and the Lavatory

Munda me Domine ab omni inquinamento cordis et corporis mei : ut possim mundus implere opus sanctum Domini.

Deinde revertat se, et stans ante altare inclinatoque capite et corpore, junctis manibus dicat :

In spiritu humilitatis et in

vicibus quando de feria agitur et non in dominica.

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animo contrito suscipiamur Domine a te: et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo, ut a te suscipiatur hodie et placeat tibi, Domine Deus meus:

Et erigens se deosculetur altare a dextris sacrificii; et dans benedictionem ultra sacrificium: postea signet se, dicens: In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.

Deinde vertat se sacerdos ad populum, et tacita voce dicat: Orate fratres et sorores pro me, ut meum pariterque vestrum acceptum sit Domino Deo nostro sacrificium. *Responsio cleri privatim:* Spiritus Sancti gratia illuminet cor tuum et labia tua; et accipiat Dominus digne hoc sacrificium laudis de manibus tuis pro peccatis et offensionibus nostris.

16. *The Secret.*

Et reversus ad altare sacerdos secretas orationes dicat juxta numerum et ordinem antedictarum ante epistolam, ita incipiens: Oremus.

Or. Hæc sacra nos, Domine, potenti virtute mundatos ad suum faciant puriores venire principium. Per Dominum.

Quibus finitis dicat sacerdos aperta voce: Per omnia sæcula sæculorum: *manibus non levatis donec dicitur* Sursum corda. *Et tunc accipiat subdiaconus offertorium et patenam de manu diaconi, &c. . . .*

Hoc modo incipiantur omnes præfationes ad missam per totum annum, tam in feriis quam in festis: Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

The Anaphora begins.

17. *The Salutation. Cp. p.* 450.

Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.
Hic elevet sacerdos manus, ita dicendo:
Sursum corda.
Habemus ad Dominum.
Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.
Dignum et justum est.
Hæc Præfatio est quotidiana.

18. *The Preface.*

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus: per Christum Dominum nostrum: Per quem majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates, Cœli, cœlorumque Virtutes, ac beata Seraphin socia exultatione

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concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes :

19. *The* Sanctus.

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua : osanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini : osanna in excelsis.

Deinde confestim manibus junctis et oculis elevatis incipiat :

20. *The Canon.*

TE IGITUR, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus ac petimus,

Hic erigens se sacerdos osculetur altare a dextris sacrificii, dicens :

Uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc ✠ dona, hæc ✠ munera, hæc ✠ sancta sacrificia illibata ;

(i) *Intercession.*

Factisque signaculis super calicem, elevet manus suas, ita dicens :

Imprimis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum ; una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N. et antistite nostro N. (*id est proprio episcopo tantum*) et rege nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis, atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.

Hic oret cogitando pro vivis.

Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N. et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio : pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt, hoc sacrificium laudis pro se, suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ : tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo, vivo et vero.

Communicantes, et memoriam venerantes, imprimis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ, genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi : sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum, Petri, et Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Joannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis, et Thaddæi : Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Grisogoni, Joannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani : et omnium Sanctorum tuorum : quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Hic respiciat sacerdos hostiam cum magna veneratione, dicens :

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus Domine, ut placatus accipias : diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Hic iterum respiciat hostiam dicens :

Quam oblationem tu Deus omnipotens in omnibus, quæsumus,

bene✠dictam, adscrip✠tam, ra✠tam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis Cor✠pus et San✠guis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi. The Sarum Mass.

Hic erigat sacerdos manus et conjungat : et postea tergat digitos, et elevet hostiam, dicens : (ii) *Consecration.*

Qui, pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem in sanctas et venerabiles manus suas, et elevatis oculis in cœlum (*Hic elevet oculos suos*) ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, (*Hic inclinet se, et postea elevet paululum dicens :*) tibi gratias agens, bene✠dixit, fregit, (*Hic tangat hostiam, dicens :*) deditque discipulis suis, dicens : Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes : Hoc est enim corpus meum.

Et debent ista verba proferri cum uno spiritu et sub una prolatione, nulla pausatione interposita. Post hæc verba inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam, et postea elevet eam supra frontem, ut possit a populo videri ; et reverenter illud reponat ante calicem in modum crucis per eandem factæ. Et tunc discooperiat calicem et teneat inter manus suas non disjungendo pollicem ab indice, nisi dum facit benedictiones tantum, ita dicens :

Simili modo, posteaquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi (*Hic inclinet se dicens :*) gratias agens, bene✠dixit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens : Accipite, et bibite ex eo omnes : (*Hic elevet sacerdos parumper calicem, ita dicens :*) Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei, novi et æterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum : *Hic elevet calicem usque ad pectus vel ultra caput dicens :*) Hæc quotienscunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.

Hic reponat calicem, et elevet brachia in modum crucis, junctis digitis, usque ad hæc verba, de tuis donis.

Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis, offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis, (iii) *Oblation.* hostiam pu✠ram, hostiam sanc✠tam, hostiam imma✠culatam ; Panem sanc✠tum vitæ æternæ, et Ca✠licem salutis perpetuæ : supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris : et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.

Hic sacerdos corpore inclinato et cancellatis manibus dicat :

Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per

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manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ : ut quotquot (*Hic erigens se osculetur altare a dextris sacrificii, dicens :*) ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui Cor✠pus, et San✠guinem sumpserimus, omni (*Hic signet se in facie, dicens :*) bene✠dictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Hic oret pro mortuis.

Memento etiam, Domine, animarum famulorum famularumque tuarum, N. et N., qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas, deprecamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Hic percutiat pectus suum semel, dicens :

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus : cum Joanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et cum omnibus sanctis tuis : intra quorum nos consortium, non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ, quæsumus, largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, (*Hic sacerdos ter signet calicem, dicens :*) sancti✠ficas, vivi✠ficas, bene✠dicis, et præstas nobis.

Hic sacerdos discooperiat calicem, et faciat signaculum crucis cum hostia quinquies. . . . .

Per ip✠sum, et cum ip✠so, et in ip✠so, est tibi Deo Patri omni✠potenti, in unitate Spiritus ✠ Sancti, omnis honor et gloria, (*Hic cooperiat sacerdos calicem, et teneat manus suas super altare usque dum dicitur* Pater noster, *ita dicens :*) Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

(iv) *Lord's Prayer.*

Oremus. Præceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere, (*Hic accipiat diaconus patenam, eamque a dextris sacerdotis extento brachio in altum, usque* Da propitius, *discooperiam teneat. Hic elevet manus sacerdos, ita dicens :*) Pater noster, &c. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. *Chorus respondeat :* Sed libera nos a malo. *Sacerdos privatim,* Amen.

Libera nos, quæsumus Domine, ab omnibus malis, præteritis præsentibus, et futuris : et intercedente beata et gloriosa semperque virgine Dei genitrice Maria, et beatis apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque Andrea, cum omnibus sanctis, (*Hic committat diaconus patenam sacerdoti, deosculans manum ejus ; et sacerdos deoseulctur patenam : postea ponat ad sinistrum oculum ; deinde ad dextrum :*

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postea faciat crucem cum patena ultra caput: et tunc reponat eam in locum suum, dicens:) Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris: ut ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi. (*Hic discooperiat calicem, et sumat corpus cum inclinatione, transponens in concavitate calicis, retinendo inter pollices et indices, et frangat in tres partes dum dicitur:*) Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum. (*Secunda fractio.*) Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus. (*Hic teneat duas fracturas in sinistra manu, et tertiam fracturam in dextera manu in summitate calicis, ita dicens aperta voce:*) Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[1]

Hic faciat tres cruces infra calicem cum tertia parte hostiæ dicendo: Pax Do✠mini sit sem✠per vobiscum.

Chorus respondeat: Et cum spiritu tuo.

21. Agnus Dei

Ad Agnus *dicendum accedant diaconus et subdiaconus ad sacerdotem uterque a dextris; diaconus propior, subdiaconus remotior; et dicant privatim:*

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.

22. *Prayers at Commixture*

Hic cruce signando deponat dictam tertiam partem hostiæ in sacramentum sanguinis, sic dicendo:

Hæc sacro ✠ sancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi omnibusque sumentibus salus mentis et corporis, et ad vitam æternam promerendam et capescendam præparatio salutaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

and Pax.

Antequam pax detur, dicat sacerdos:

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, da mihi hoc sacrosanctum Corpus et Sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi ita digne sumere, ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium

[1] Here the episcopal benediction was given. For the First Sunday in Advent it was:—

'Omnipotens Deus, cujus Unigeniti adventum et præteritum creditis et futurum expectatis, ejusdem adventus vos illustratione sanctificet, et sua benedictione locupletet. Amen.

'In præsentis vitæ stadio vos ab omni adversitate defendat, et se vobis in judicio placabilem ostendat. Amen.

'Quo a cunctis peccatorum contagiis liberati in præsentis vitæ curriculo cum sanctis animabus tanto intercessore inveniamini digni, et illius tremendi examinis diem expectetis interriti. Amen.

'Quod ipse præstare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

'Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Pa✠tris, et Fi✠lii, et Spiritus✠ Sancti, descendat super vos et maneat semper. Amen.'

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peccatorum meorum accipere, et tuo sancto Spiritu repleri, et pacem tuam habere. Quia tu es Deus, et non est alius præter te : cujus regnum gloriosum permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Hic osculetur sacerdos corporalia in dextera parte et summitatem calicis, et postea diaconum, dicens : Pax tibi et ecclesiæ Dei.

Responsio : Et cum spiritu tuo.

The Pax.

Diaconus a dextris sacerdotis ab eo pacem recipiat, et subdiacono porrigat : deinde ad gradum chori ipse diaconus pacem portet rectoribus chori : et ipsi pacem choro portent utercque suæ parti, incipiens a majoribus. . . . Post pacem datam dicat sacerdos orationes sequentes privatim, antequam se communicet, tenendo hostiam duabus manibus :

23. *Prayers at reception.*

Deus Pater, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui ductus misericordia Unigenitum tuum pro nobis ad infima mundi descendere et carnem sumere voluisti, quam ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo : (*Hic inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam, dicens :*) Te adoro, te glorifico, te tota cordis intentione laudo : et precor, ut nos famulos tuos non deseras, sed peccata nostra dimittas : quatenus tibi soli Deo vivo et vero puro corde ac casto corpore servire mereamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu Sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti : libera me per hoc sacrosanctum Corpus et hunc Sanguinem tuum a cunctis iniquitatibus meis, et ab universis malis : et fac me tuis semper obedire mandatis : et a te nunquam in perpetuum permittas separari : qui cum Deo Patre et eodem Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus ; per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Corporis et Sanguinis tui, Domine Jesu, sacramentum, quod licet indignus accipio, non sit mihi judicio et condemnationi, sed tua prosit pietate corporis mei et animæ saluti. Amen.

Ad corpus dicat cum humiliatione antequam percipiat :

Ave in æternum sanctissima caro Christi, mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit mihi peccatori via et vita, in nomine ✠ Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Hic sumat corpus, cruce prius facta cum ipso corpore ante os.

Deinde ad sanguinem cum magna devotione dicat :

Ave in æternum cœlestis potus, mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus et Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi prosint mihi peccatori ad remedium sempiternum in vitam æternam, in nomine ✠ Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

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Hic sumat sanguinem: quo sumpto inclinet se sacerdos, et dicat cum devotione orationem sequentem:

Gratias tibi ago, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui me refecisti de sacratissimo Corpore et Sanguine Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et precor, ut hoc sacramentum salutis nostræ quod sumpsi indignus peccator, non veniat mihi ad judicium neque ad condemnationem pro meritis meis, sed ad profectum corporis et animæ in vitam æternam. Amen.

24. *Prayers at Ablutions.*

Qua dicta eat sacerdos ad dextrum cornu altaris cum calice inter manus, digitis adhuc conjunctis sicut prius; et accedat subdiaconus, et effundat in calicem vinum et aquam; et resinceret sacerdos manus suas, ne aliquæ reliquiæ corporis vel sanguinis remaneant in digitis vel in calice. . . .

Post primam ablutionem dicitur hæc oratio:

Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus: et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum.

Hic lavet digitos in concavitate calicis cum vino infuso a subdiacono; quo hausto, sequatur oratio:

Hæc nos communio, Domine, purget a crimine: et cœlestis remedii faciat esse consortes.

Post perceptionem ablutionum ponat sacerdos calicem super patenam, ut si quid remaneat stillet; et postea inclinando se dicat:

Adoremus crucis signaculum, per quod salutis sumpsimus sacramentum.

Deinde lavet manus: diaconus interim corporalia complicet. Ablutis manibus et redeunte sacerdote ad dextrum cornu altaris, diaconus calicem porrigat ori sacerdotis, si quid infusionis in eo remanserit resumendum.

Postea vero dicat cum suis ministris Communionem.

25. *The Anthem 'Communio.'*

Co. Dominus dabit benignitatem, et terra nostra dabit fructum suum.

Deinde tacto signo crucis in facie, vertat se sacerdos ad populum, elevatisque aliquantulum brachiis, et junctis manibus, dicat: Dominus vobiscum. *Et iterum revertens se ad altare dicat:* Oremus. *Deinde dicat Postcommuniones, juxta numerum et ordinem antedictarum orationum ante Epistolam.*

26. *Postcommunion.*

Postcom. Suscipiamus Domine misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui: et reparationis nostræ ventura solemnia congruis honoribus præcedamus. Per Dominum.

Finita ultima Postcommunione, factoque signo crucis in fronte, iterum vertat se sacerdos ad populum, et dicat: Dominus vobiscum.

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27. *Dismissal.*

Deinde diaconus: Benedicamus Domino. *Alio vero tempore dicitur*, Ite missa est. *Quotiescunque enim dicitur*, Ite, missa est, *semper dicitur ad populum convertendo, et cum dici debeat*, Benedicamus Domino, *vel* Requiescat in pace, *convertendo ad altare dicitur.*

28. *Closing Prayer*

His dictis sacerdos inclinato corpore, junctisque manibus, tacita voce coram altari in medio dicat hanc orationem:

Placeat tibi, sancta Trinitas, obsequium servitutis meæ: et præsta, ut hoc sacrificium, quod oculis tuæ majestatis indignus obtuli, tibi sit acceptabile, mihique et omnibus pro quibus illud obtuli sit, te miserante, propitiabile. Qui vivis et regnas Deus; Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Qua finita erigat se sacerdos, signans se in facie sua, dicens: In nomine Patris, etc.

Et sic inclinatione facta, eo ordine quo prius accesserunt ad altare in principio missæ, sic induti cum ceroferario et cæteris ministris redeant. Et statim post Deo gratias, *incipiatur in choro hora nona quando post missam dicitur. Sacerdos vero in redeundo dicat Evangelium:* In principio, &c. (S. John i. 1—14.)

and Gospel.

V.—*Celebratio Ordinum.*[1]

1. *The Eucharist begins.*

2. *Presentation*

Dum officium (*Missæ*) *canitur, vocentur nominatim illi qui ordinandi sunt; quibus vocatis et introductis sequatur oratio. . . .*

Deinde sedeat episcopus ante altare conversus ad ordinandos, et archidiaconus capa indutus humiliter respiciens in episcopum cum his verbis alloquatur, ita dicens: Postulat hæc sancta ecclesia, reverende pater, hos viros ordinibus aptos consecrari sibi a vestra paternitate. *Resp. episcopi:* Vide ut natura, scientia, et moribus tales per te introducantur, immo tales per nos in domo Domini ordinentur personæ, per quas diabolus procul pellatur, et clerus Deo nostro multiplicetur. *Resp. archidiaconi:* Quantum ad humanum spectat examen, natura, scientia, et moribus digni habentur, ut probi cooperatores effici in his, Deo volente, possint.

Quibus expletis dicat episcopus: Auxiliante Domino, et Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo, præsentes fratres nostri in sacrum ordinem

[1] Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* III. p. 154 [*Celebratio Ordinum*. Cp. Pontificals. Lib. Pontif. Exon. (ed. Barnes, 1847), *Qualiter ordines generales agantur*, pp. 76 & ff: and other II. 164 The distinctions of type are explained below, p. 656.

electi sunt a nobis, et clericis huic sanctæ sedi famulantibus. Alii ad officium presbyterii, diaconii, vel subdiaconii, quidam vero ad cæteros ecclesiasticos gradus. Proinde admonemus et postulamus, tam vos clericos quam cæterum populum, ut pro nobis et pro illis, puro corde et sincera mente apud divinam clementiam intercedere dignemini, quatenus nos dignos faciat pro illis exaudiri : et eos unumquemque in suo ordine eligere, et consecrare per manus nostras dignetur. Si quis autem habet aliquid contra hos viros, pro Deo et propter Deum, cum fiducia exeat et dicat, verumtamen memor sit communionis suæ.

and final inquiry. Notice to the people, or 'Si quis.'

Tunc dicat archidiaconus : Accedant qui ordinandi sunt ostiarii.

3. *Admission to Minor Orders.*

Tunc accedant immediate antequam lectio legatur vel gradale ad consecrandum. Episcopus sedens cum mitra eos instruendo dicat sine nota: Ostiarium oportet percutere cymbalum, aperire ecclesiam et sacrarium et librum tenere ei qui predicat.

Et cum ordinantur, surgens tradat eis episcopus claves ecclesiæ et ipsi eas ambabus manibus recipiant : et dicat eis plane episcopus . . . **Sic agite quasi reddituri rationem pro iis rebus quæ istis clavibus recluduntur.**

Tunc ducat eos archidiaconus ad ostium ecclesiæ et tradat eis ostium præfero ostiario : quibus reversis dicat episcopus cum nota, stando, præfationem ad eos conversus hoc modo :

Deum patrem omnipotentem fratres carissimi suppliciter deprecemur, ut hos famulos suos benedicere dignetur, quos in officium ostiariorum eligere dignatus est ; ut sit eis fidelissima cura diebus ac noctibus ad distinctionem horarum certarum, ad invocandum nomen D.N.J.C.

Oremus. *Diaconus.* **Flectamus genua. Levate.**

Oratio. **Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, benedicere dignare hos famulos tuos in officio ostiariorum ut inter janitores ecclesiæ tuæ pareant obsequio ; et inter electos tuos partem tuæ mereantur habere mercedis. Per.**

Similar forms follow at intervals in the service for (2) *readers*, (3) *exorcists*, (4) *acolytes*, (5) *sub-deacons.*

These last, after receiving their instruments and after the bidding and prayer, have these additional ceremonies.

Tunc tradat eis singulis in sinistro brachio episcopus manipulos dicens. . . . Accipe manipulum, imple ministerium tuum; potens est enim Dominus ut augeat tibi gratiam : qui vivit et regnat.

Pax tecum. ℟ Et cum spiritu tuo.

The Ordinal.

Ad induendam tunicam dicat episcopus. Induat te Dominus vestimenta salutis et indumento justitiæ circumdet te semper.

Then after the Epistle and tract, Recedant qui ordinati sunt subdiaconi ; accedant qui ordinandi sunt diaconi et sacerdotes.

4. *Deacons and Priests.*

Deinde accedentes qui ordinandi sunt diaconi et sacerdotes cum vestibus suis, et prostrato episcopo ante altare cum sacerdotibus et levitis ordinandis, postea duo clerici incipiant litaniam.

Kyrie eleison, &c.

The Litany, with special suffrages inserted.

Cum ventum fuerit ad, **Ut domnum apostolicum**, &c. **Te rogamus**, &c., *erigens se episcopus et vertens se ad ordinandos dicat :*

Ut electos istos bene✠dicere digneris. Te rogamus.

Ut electos istos bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare digneris. Te rogamus.

Ut electos istos bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, et conse✠crare digneris. Te rogamus.

Hoc peracto, genuflectat episcopus cum cæteris ministris, usque ad finem litaniæ . . .

5. *Instruction of Deacons.*

Finita litania, redeant sacerdotes electi ad loca sua, remanentibus levitis ad consecrandum et episcopus dicat eis sine nota, sedendo : Diaconum oportet ministrare ad altare, evangelium legere, baptizare et prædicare.

6. *Imposition of hands,*

Quibus inclinantibus, ***solus episcopus, qui eos benedicit, manum super capita singulorum ponat,*** *dicens solus secrete :* Accipe Spiritum Sanctum. ***Quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecrantur.***[1]

7. *Bidding*

Sequitur præfatio super inclinatos diaconos.

Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos, quos ad officium diaconatus assumere dignatus est, bene✠dictionis suæ gratiam clementer effundat, et consecrationis indultæ propitius dona conservet, et preces nostras clementer exaudiat ; ut quæ nostro gerenda sunt ministerio, suo benignus prosequatur auxilio, et quos sacris mysteriis exequendis pro nostra intelligentia credimus offerendos, sua electione sanctificet.

Oremus. *Diaconus.* **Flectamus genua. Levate.**

and Collect

Oratio. **Exaudi Domine preces nostras et super hos famulos tuos spiritum tuæ benedictionis emitte ut**

[1] This rubric is from the *Statuta* words is a later addition. *Antiqua* (see p. 651) but the form of

cœlesti munere ditati et tuæ gratiam possint majestatis acquirere et bene vivendi aliis exemplum præbere. Per.

8. *Consecratory Prayer.*

Dominus vobiscum.
Et cum spiritu tuo.
Sursum corda.
Habemus ad dominum.
Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.
Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est æquum et salutare nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, Honorum dator ordinumque distributor qui in te manens. . . . (*Long consecratory prayer.*)

9. *Vesting with Stole.*

Tunc ponat singulis super sinistrum humerum stolam usque ad axillam dexteram subtus, dicens sine nota :—

In nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis, accipe stolam immortalitatis : imple ministerium tuum : potens est enim Deus ut augeat tibi gratiam. Qui vivit et regnat.

Pax tecum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.

10. *Tradition of Gospel Book.*

Post hæc tradat eis librum Evangeliorum, dicens sine nota : In nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis, accipe potestatem legendi evangelium in ecclesia Dei, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, in nomine Domini. Amen. ℟. Deo gratias.

11. *Bidding.*

Ad consummandum diaconatus officium. **Commune votum communis oratio prosequatur et hi totius ecclesiæ prece, qui in diaconatus officii ministerio preparantur, leviticæ benedictionis ordine clarescant et spirituali conversatione præfulgentes gratia sanctificationis eluceant. Per.**[1]

Sequitur Benedictio cum nota. Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

12. *Consecration.*

Domine sancte, Pater fidei, spei, gratiæ, et perfectuum munerator, qui in cœlestibus et terrenis angelorum ministeriis ubique dispositis per omnia elementa voluntatis tuæ diffundis effectum : hos quoque famulos tuos speciali dignare illustrare aspectu, ut tuis obsequiis expediti, sanctis tuis altaribus ministri puri accrescant, et indulgentia puriores, eorum gradu, quos Apostoli in septenario numero, beato Stephano duce ac prævio, Sancto Spiritu auctore, elegerunt, digni

[1] This Gallican bidding which should precede the Gallican consecratory prayer is omitted in the later English Pontificals. It is in its place in *Egbert* (p. 20), in Cuthbert's Pontifical (in appendix to *De Bernham's Pontifical*, p. 62), Sampson's Pontifical (Corpus Christi Camb. MS. 146) and Brit. Mus. Cotton MS. Claudius A. III. &c.

The Ordinal.

existant, et virtutibus universis, quibus tibi servire oportet, instructi polleant. Per Dominum. . . .

13. *Vesting in dalmatic.* *Tunc tradat singulis eos circueundo dalmaticam dicens sine nota :* Induat te Dominus vestimento salutis.[1]

14. *The Gospel.* *The Gospel follows.*

15. *Instruction of priests.* *Post evangelium . . . dicat archidiaconus :* Recedant qui ordinati sunt diaconi ; accedant qui ordinandi sunt sacerdotes.

Deinde episcopus dicat : Sacerdotem oportet offerre, benedicere, præesse, prædicare, conficere, et baptizare.

16. *Imposition of hands.* ***Benedicente eos episcopo postea et manum super capita eorum tenente,*** {*et nihil eis dicente, et una manu tangente,*} ***et omnes presbyteri, qui præsentes sunt, manus suas super capita eorum*** {*levatas*} ***teneant.***[2]

17. *Bidding* *Sequitur præfatio sacerdotum :*[3]

Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos, quos ad presbyterii munus elegit, cœlestia dona multiplicet, et quod ejus dignatione suscipiunt, ipsius consequantur auxilio.

Oremus. *Diaconus.* Flectamus genua. Levate.

and Collect. *Oratio.* Exaudi nos quæsumus Domine Deus noster et super hos famulos tuos benedictionem Sancti Spiritus et gratiæ spiritualis effunde virtutem : ut, quos tuæ pietatis aspectibus offerimus consecrandos, perpetua muneris tui largitate prosequaris. Per.

[1] Here follow in the earlier English Pontificals the prayers for the vestments, *Egbert* p. 16 (cp. Sampson and Claudius, &c.), and the consecration of hands, *Egbert* p. 21.

[2] This rubric is drawn from the *Statuta antiqua :* the bracketed words are a later addition, analogous to the similar addition above, but in the opposite sense.

[3] This is preceded by a short form of examination in the Compiegne Pontifical and the Salzburg Pontifical of about the eleventh century. '*Episc.* Est justus? ℟. Justus est. *Episc.* Est dignus? ℟. Dignus est. *Episc.* Faciat illum Deus semper in suo servitium dignum et justum manere. *Deinde interrogat episcopus presbyterum his verbis :* Vis presbyterii gradum in nomine Domini accipere? ℟. Volo. Vis in eodum gradu quantum prævales et intelligis secundem canonum sanctiones jugiter manere? ℟. Volo. Vis episcopo tuo, ad cujus parochiam ordinandus es, obediens et consentiens esse secundum justitiam et ministerium tuum. ℟. Volo. Voluntatem tuam bonam et rectam ad perfectionem sibi bene placitam Deus perducere dignetur. *Tunc eo inclinato, imponat manum super caput ejus, et omnes presbyteri qui adsunt manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant : et ille det orationem super eum.*' Martene, *Eccl. Rit.* Lib. I. Cap. VIII. Ordines VII. and VIII.

Dominus vobiscum.
Et cum spiritu tuo.
Sursum corda, &c.

18. *Consecratory Prayer.*

Vere dignum et justum. . . . Domine sancte Pater omnipotens æterne Deus, Honorum dator et distributor omnium dignitatum, per quem proficiunt universa. . . . (*Long consecratory prayer*).

19. *Vesting with Stole and Chasuble.*

Hic reflectat episcopus stolam super humerum eorum dextrum ad pectus, dicens eis per singulos sine nota: Accipe jugum Domini: jugum enim eius suave est et onus eius leve. Stola innocentiæ induat te Dominus.

Pax tecum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Hic vestiat eos casula circa humeros tantum dicens ad unumquemque: Accipe vestem sacerdotalem per quam caritas intelligitur: potens est enim Deus augere tibi caritatem et opus perfectum. ℟. Deo gratias.

20. *Bidding*

[***Ad consummandum presbyteratus officium.*** **Sit nobis fratres communis oratio ut hi, qui in adjutorium et utilitatem vestræ salutis eliguntur, presbyteratus benedictionem divinæ indulgentiæ munere consequantur: ut Sancti Spiritus sacerdotalia dona privilegio virtutum, ne impares loco deprehendantur, obtineant. Per.**[1]]

21. *Consecration.*

Sequitur consecratio. **Deus sanctificationum omnium auctor, cujus vera consecratio, plenaque benedictio est, tu, Domine, super hos famulos tuos, quos presbyterii honore dedicamus, munus tuae benedictionis effunde: ut gravitate actuum et censura vivendi probent se esse seniores, his instituti disciplinis, quas Tito et Timotheo Paulus exposuit, ut in lege tua die ac nocte meditantes, quod legerint credant, quod crediderint doceant, quod docuerint imitentur; justitiam, constantiam, misericordiam, fortitudinem, cæterasque virtutes in se ostendant, exemplo probent, admonitione confirment, ac purum et immaculatum ministerii sui donum custodiant; et per obsequium plebis tuae, panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem Filii tui sancta et immaculata benedictione transforment, et inviolabili caritate, in virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi, in die justi et æterni judicii,**

[1] This Gallican bidding here, as before, should precede the Gallican consecratory prayer, as it does in the earlier Pontificals: in the later ones it is omitted or placed elsewhere. The books vary much in the order of events at this point, since the newer ceremonies and prayers have been inserted differently in different books.

The Ordinal.

conscientia pura, fide plena, Spiritu Sancto pleni persolvant. Per eundem.

22. Veni Creator.

Expleta autem hac oratione, genuflectendo coram altare incipiat episcopus hymnum. Veni Creator. . . .

23. *Blessing*

Dicto hymno, omnibus surgentibus, episcopus stando benedicat manus ordinandorum expansas cum nota.

Dominus vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus.

Benedic et sanctifica Domine has manus sacerdotum tuorum ad consecrandas hostias, quæ pro delictis atque negligentiis populi offeruntur, et ad cætera benedicenda, quæ ad usus ejus necessaria sunt. Per Christum. *Quæ quidem oratio potest dici vel dimitti ad placitum episcopi.* . . .

and consecration of hands.

Sequitur consecratio manuum sacerdotis. **Consecrare et sanctificare digneris Domine manus istas per istam unctionem et nostram benedictionem, ut quæcunque consecraverint consecrentur, et quæcunque benedixerint benedicantur, et sanctificentur in nomine D.N.J.C.**[1] . . .

24. *Tradition of instruments.*

Accipiat patenam cum oblatis et calicem cum vino et det singulis . . . ita dicens sine nota et eos circueundo : Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo missamque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis : in nomine D.N.J.C. ℟. Deo gratias.

25. *Offertory to Communion.*

Tunc vertat episcopus et dicat Offertorium.

26. *Imposition of hands and charge.*

Antequam dicatur postcommunio, ponat episcopus manus suas super capita singulorum, dicens : Accipe Spiritum Sanctum : quorum remiseris peccata, remittuntur eis : et quorum retinueris, retenta erunt.

27. *Kiss and* Pax.

Tunc trahat unicuique casulam in sinu per scapulas, osculans eum et dicens : Pax Domini sit semper tecum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Et per manus commendet se orationibus eorum, singulis dicens, Ora pro me frater.

28. *Special Blessing.*

Sequitur finalis benedictio cum nota stando et ad eos converso.

Benedictio Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti descendat super vos ut sitis benedicti in ordine sacerdotali et offeratis placabiles hostias pro peccatis et offensionibus populi omnipotenti Deo : cui est honor et gloria in sæculi sæculorum. Amen.

29. *Exhortation.*

Quibus expletis proponat eis episcopus stando sine nota : Quia res quam tractaturi estis satis periculosa est, fratres carissimi, moneo ut diligenter et honeste totius missæ ordinem et consecrationem et fractionem atque communicationem ab aliis jam doctis sacerdotibus discatis, priusquam missam cantare præsumatis. . . .

30. *Postcommunion, &c.*

His expletis dicat episcopus Postcommunionem. . . .

[1] Here followed in the earlier tion of the head, *e.g.* in *Egbert*, p. Pontificals the consecration and unc- 24.

VI. *Consecratio electi in Episcopum.*

Consecration of Bishops.

1. *Incipit consecratio electi in episcopum, quæ est agenda die dominica, et non in alia festivitate, antequam missa celebretur. Ipse vero electus sacerdotalibus vestibus induatur, præter casulam . . . et duo comprovinciales episcopi deducant eum per manus coram metropolitano examinandum . . . . Tunc dicat metropolitanus :* Antiqua sanctorum patrum institutio docet et præcipit, ut is qui ad ordinem episcopatus eligitur, antea diligentissime examinetur cum omni caritate de fide Sanctæ Trinitatis, et interrogetur de diversis causis vel moribus, quæ huic regimini congruunt, et necessaria sunt retineri, secundum Apostoli dictum, Manus cito nemini imposueris ; et ut etiam is qui ordinandus est antea erudiatur, qualiter sub hoc regimine constitutum oporteat conversari in ecclesia Dei, et ut irreprehensibiles sint etiam, qui ei manus ordinationis imponunt. Eadem taque auctoritate et præcepto interrogamus te, dilectissime frater, caritate sincera, si omnem prudentiam tuam, quantum tua capax est natura, divinæ Scripturæ sensibus accommodare volueris? *Resp.* Ita volo, ex toto corde, in omnibus obedire et consentire.

1. Examination.

Vis ea quæ ex divinis Scripturis intelligis, plebem cui ordinandus es, et verbis docere et exemplis? *Resp.* Volo.

Vis traditiones orthodoxorum patrum, ac decretales sanctæ apostolicæ sedis constitutiones veneranter suscipere, docere atque servare? *Resp.* Volo.

Vis sanctæ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ et mihi meisque successoribus subjectionem et obedientiam per omnia exhibere, secundum canonicam auctoritatem, et decreta sanctorum pontificum? *Resp.* Volo.

Tunc dicat pontifex : Profitere.

The Oath of Canonical Obedience.

Hic legat professionem. . . . In dei nomine. Amen. Ego N. talis ecclesiæ electus, et a te, reverende pater, nomine N. Cantuariensis archiepiscope, totius Angliæ primas, consecrandus antistes, tibi et sanctæ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ metropoliticæ, tuisque successoribus in dicta ecclesia Cantuar. canonice substituendis, debitam et canonicam obedientiam, reverentiam, et subjectionem, me per omnia exhibiturum profiteor et promitto, secundum decreta Romanorum pontificum tuorumque jurium,[1] et prædictæ sanctæ

[1] This clause, 'secundum...jurium,' has been erased, and the following inserted in the margin : 'secundum jura et statuta hujus regni.' Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* III. p. 247. [II. 263].

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Cantuar. ecclesiæ adjutor ero ad defendendum, retinendum, et conservandum, salvo ordine meo : sic me Deus adjuvet, et sancta Dei evangelia. Et prædicta omnia subscribendo propria manu confirmo.[1]

Interrogatio. Vis mores tuos ab omni malo temperare, et quantum poteris, Domino adjuvante, ad omne bonum commutare? *Resp.* Volo.

Vis castitatem et sobrietatem, cum Dei auxilio, custodire et docere? *Resp.* Volo.

Vis semper esse divinis negotiis mancipatus, et a terrenis negotiis vel lucris turpibus esse alienus, quantum te humana fragilitas concesserit posse? *Resp.* Volo.

Vis humilitatem et patientiam in temetipso custodire, et alios similiter docere? *Resp.* Volo.

Pauperibus et peregrinis omnibusque indigentibus vis esse, propter nomen Domini, affabilis et misericors? ℟. Volo.

Tunc dicat ei pontifex : Hæc omnia et cætera bona tribuat tibi Dominus, et custodiat te, atque corroboret in omni bonitate. Amen.

Interrogatio. Credis . . . .[2]

Credis etiam novi et veteris Testamenti, legis, et prophetarum, et apostolorum, unum esse auctorem Deum ac Dominum omnipotentem? *Resp.* Credo.

Hæc tibi fides augeatur a Domino ad veram et æternam beatitudinem, dilectissime frater in Christo. *Resp.* Amen.

2. *Eucharist up to Collect.*

Deinde cantor incipiat officium missæ de die . . . . usque ad tractum. . . . . Interim archiepiscopus . . . . accipiens vestimenta induet eum (qui ordinandus est) cum sandaliis, alba, stola, manipulo, tunica, dalmatica, et casula . . . . Et ascendat ad altare . . . . et se tendo dicit : Episcopum oportet judicare, interpretari, consecrare, confirmare, ordinare, offerre, et baptizare.

3. *Instruction.*

4. *Bidding.*

Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, ut huic viro ad utilitatem ecclesiæ provehendo, benignitas omnipotentis Dei gratiæ suæ tribuat largitatem. Per Dominum.

5. *The Litany.*

Et statim a duobus episcopis incipiatur litania . . . .

[1] 'The promise of obedience to the Metropolitan was not customary in the earliest ages. It seems to have commenced in Spain, where the eleventh Council of Toledo (675) directed that every ecclesiastical person should promise obedience to his superior at ordination. In the ninth century the Bishops of Gaul made written promises to obey their Metropolitans.' Palmer, *Orig. Lit.* II. p. 291.

[2] Inquiries relating to the Holy Trinity and the Church and the latter part of the Nicene Creed, into which in some books there have been interpolated questions as to the Eucharist.

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Finita litania . . . . ***duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem super cervicem ejus*** {*et inter scapulas clausum,*} ***et ordinatore super eum fundente benedictionem, episcopi qui adsunt manibus suis caput ejus tangant,*** {*et dicat ordinator:* Veni Creator, *ut supra.*}[1] 6. *Imposition of hands and Gospel-book.* 7. Veni Creator.

Sequatur. Oremus. *Or.* Propitiare domine supplicationibus nostris et inclinato super hunc famulum tuum cornu gratiæ sacerdotalis benedictionis tuæ in eum infunde virtutem. Per. 8. *Collect.*

Dominus vobiscum. Et cum Spiritu tuo.

Sursum Corda, &c.

Vere dignum . . . . æterne Deus: Honor omnium dignitatum quæ gloriæ tuæ sacris famulantur ordinibus: Deus qui Moysen famulum tuum . . . . (*long consecratory prayer.*) 9. *First Consecratory Prayer.*

Tunc consecrator . . . . mittat chrisma cum oleo mixtum super caput eius cum pollice dextro, dicens: Unguatur et consecretur caput tuum cœlesti benedictione in ordine pontificali per sacri chrismatis et olei unctionem et nostram benedictionem: in nomine, &c. Pax tibi. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo. 10. *Unction of head.*

Postea abstersis manibus incipiat archiepiscopus et dicat in modum præfationis: Hoc domine copiose in eius caput influat, hoc in oris ejus subjecta decurrat, hoc in totius corporis extrema descendat, uti tui spiritus virtus et interiora eius repleat et exteriora circumtegat. Abundet in eo constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. Sint speciosi munere tuo pedes ejus ad evangelizandum pacem, ad evangelizandum bona tua. Da ei, Domine, ministerium reconciliationis, in verbis et in factis, in virtute signorum et prodigiorum. Sit sermo ejus et prædicatio non in persuabilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis, sed in ostensione spiritus et virtutis. Da ei, Domine, claves regni cœlorum, ut utatur, non glorietur, potestate quam tribuis in ædificationem, non in destructionem . . . . Sit fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituas tu, Domine, super familiam tuam ut det illis cibum in tempore opportuno . . . . Per Dominum. 11. *Second Consecratory Prayer.* *The Prayer,* 'Almighty God, and most merciful Father, &c.'

Tunc sequatur oratio, elevata aliquantulum voce et manu super eum dextera extensa. ***Pater sancte omnipotens deus qui*** 12. *Third Consecratory Prayer.*

[1] This rubric is drawn from the *Statuta Antiqua:* the bracketed words are later additions: according to many Pontificals the ceremony goes on in silence: elsewhere the words *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* are used, as above in the case of deacons, *e.g. Exeter Pont.* p. 95. The ceremony is Gallican not Roman (Amalarius *De. Eccl. Off.* ii. 14) in origin.

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per D.N.J.C. ab initio cuncta creasti et postmodum. . . . (*Long consecratory prayer.*)

13. *Blessing.* *Benedictio de septiformi spiritu sic :* Spiritus Sanctus septiformis veniat super te, &c.

14. *Unction of head and hands.* (a) *Ant.* Unguentum in capite. *Ps.* Ecce quam bonum. *Repetatur antiphona post unumquemque versum.*

(b) *Hic mittatur solum chrisma super caput eis.* Unguatur et consecretur, &c. (*as above, omitting mention of oil.*)

(c) Unguantur manus istæ et sanctificentur, &c.

(d) *His peractis, ipse qui consecratur extendat manus. . . . et consecrator fundens chrisma super manus . . . .* Deus et Pater D.N.J.C. qui te ad pontificatus sublimari voluit dignitatem, &c.

15. *Putting on of gloves.* Immensam clementiam tuam rogamus, omnipotens et piissime deus, ut manus istius famuli tui scilicet fratris nostri sicut exterius obducuntur chirothecis istis, sic interius aspergantur rore tuæ benedictionis : ut quæcunque per eas sint bene dicenda sanctificanda vel consecranda per te benedicentur, sanctificentur et consecrentur. Qui vivis. *Deinde imponantur chirothecæ.*

16. *Pastoral staff.* (a) *Deinde consecrator benedicat baculum pastoralem sic :* Sustentator humanæ imbecillitatis, &c.

(b) *Quum datur baculus, dicat ordinator :* Accipe baculum pastoralis officii : et sis in corrigendis vitiis pie sæviens, judicium sine ira tenens, in fovendis virtutibus auditorum animos demulcens, in tranquillitate severitatis censuram non deserens. . . .

17. *Ring.* (a) *Benedictio annuli.* Creator et conservator humani generis, &c.

(b) Accipe annulum fidei, &c.

18. *Mitre.* (a) *Benedictio mitræ.* Deus cuius providentia statuit, &c.

(b) Deus qui mitræ pontificalis, &c.

19. *Gospel Book* *Postea det eis codicem evangeliorum, dicens :* Accipe evangelium, et vade, prædica populo tibi commisso : potens est enim Deus augere tibi gratiam suam : Qui vivit.

The last Collect, 'Most merciful Father, &c.'

Missa episcopi pro se in die ordinationis suæ . . . .

Benedictio super populum. Deus, qui me indignum et peccatorem ad pontificale officium dignatus est promovere, sua vos illustret atque sanctificet benedictione. Amen.

Donet mihi per gratiam suam bene operandi facultatem : et vobis sui famulatus promptissimam obeditionem. Amen.

Sicque vos doctrinis spiritualibus et operibus bonis repleri in præsenti vita concedat : ut ad pascua vitæ æternæ cum cæteris ovibus suis vos pariter introducat. Amen.

A NEW HISTORY

OF

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

PART II.

THE SOURCES AND RATIONALE OF ITS OFFICES.

CHAPTER IX.

INTRODUCTORY MATTER, TITLE, PREFACES AND KALENDAR.

I.

Introductory Matter.

Title-page.

THE title-page of the Prayer Book of 1661 shows that in more ways than one it is a compilation. In the first place it incorporates the title of the Ordinal[1] as well as the title of the Prayer Book proper; and in the second place it emphasizes the fact that the book known as The Prayer Book consists itself of three distinct parts with an Appendix. They are these—(1) The Book of Common Prayer, *i.e.*, "The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer daily to be said and used throughout the year";[2] (2) The Administration of the Sacraments, *i.e.* the two Sacraments of the Gospel; (*a*) "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion," together with "the Collects, Epistles and Gospels to be used throughout the year"; and (*b*) the three services for the "Ministration of Baptism." This forms the central and largest section of the book. (3)

[1] The Ordinal, however, still retains its own Title page and Preface.

[2] "The Common Prayers of the Church" commonly called "The Divine Service" is in Cranmer's preface the equivalent of *preces horariæ sive canonicæ*. Gasquet and Bishop, p. 356. This is the proper use of the term 'Divine Service.' See *e.g.* Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, *passim*. It was, however, loosely applied to the Eucharist in the closing rubric appended to the Liturgy in 1661.

Introductory Matter.

"Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church"[1] including first the two sacramental services of Confirmation (to which the Catechism is prefixed) and Matrimony, then the Church's care for the sick and dead, the Orders of Visitation and Burial, and lastly the Thanksgiving Service of The Churching of Women and the Penitential Service of Commination.[2] (4) The Appendix contains the Psalter pointed for singing, to which are added some Forms of Prayer to be used at sea.[3]

By a similar process various Appendixes[4] have been added after the Ordinal containing (*a*) additional services such as the "State services," which at various times have been annexed to the Prayer Book by civil authority, or (*b*) documents such as the Articles of Religion, the Table of kindred and affinity, the Canons Ecclesiastical of 1603 or the Metrical Psalms; these are not parts of the book at all in any accurate sense.

II.

The Preface.

The prefatory matter consists of three parts. The Preface represents the attitude of the Bishops in the last revision (1661), and embodies their comments upon the Rebellion, by which recently Prayer-Book worship had been suppressed, and upon the negotiations and trans-

[1] For the loose use of this term ceremony as similar to *Rite* see above, p. 17.

[2] A careful distinction is here drawn. The Common Prayer, Sacraments and Rites are those of the Church Catholic: the particular forms of them contained in the book are those 'According to the Use of the Church of England.' The distinction was made in 1549, obscured in 1552 and restored in 1662. The question is touched upon in the first and third paragraphs of the Preface.

[3] In earlier Prayer Books this had its own Title: at one time in 1662 this custom was to have been continued, but eventually no separate title-page was prefixed to this section. Parker, *Introduction*, pp. xciv., ccciv.

[4] The development of the Title-page and Contents may easily be traced in the conspectus of the successive Title-pages and Tables of Contents given in Blunt, *Annotated B.C.P.*, p. 83, or in Keeling, *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*.

Introductory Matter.

actions since the Restoration, and especially in connexion with the Savoy Conference. It was drafted by Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, and revised by a committee of Bishops.[1] Still more it defines the principles on which they had conducted the revision, and describes the actual alterations made; their aim was "moderation," that is, while repudiating disloyal proposals, to accept others for the sake of greater peace and piety; their method was (*a*) to give better directions for services, (*b*) to clear up ambiguous expressions, (*c*) to improve the translation of the Scriptural passages, (*d*) to meet new needs by additional forms.

Concerning the Service of the Church.

The section 'Concerning the Service of the Church' was written by Cranmer as the Preface of the book of 1549, and it continued in that position, with the addition in 1552 of one final sentence, till 1661, when two short sentences were struck out and the rest was placed next after the new Preface.

A draft of this Preface made by Cranmer in Latin appeared in the second of his draft-schemes of service preparatory to the Prayer Book.[2] It was clearly written under the influence of Quignon's Breviary. It follows the same line as Quignon's Preface in tracing the decay and depravation of Divine Service, and in many passages exhibits verbal correspondence with it. Cranmer dealt freely with his model, and again in translating his own Latin draft into English he dealt freely with his original, and in the course of this development three points are especially noticeable.

Cranmer inserted in 1549 a new paragraph as to vernacular service, for which there had been no place in his Latin draft; he omitted a paragraph about the

[1] Walton's *Life of Sanderson* and Cardwell, *Synodalia*, II. 655.

[2] Above, p. 34.

Introductory Matter.

hymns, after having failed in his attempts to reproduce them in English dress, as he had planned to do; he also omitted a paragraph as to Saints' days, having by that time decided not merely to omit such festivals as were misleading, unjustifiable or superfluous, but to retain only the feasts of the great Saints mentioned in the New Testament.[1]

This preface explained the need and the method of reform in 1549, just as the new preface did in 1661, but it covers a narrower field; for primarily it deals only with Divine Service, and is simply concerned with the restoration of the system of canonical hours so as to recover the continuous recitation of the Psalter and reading of the Bible, under simplified and uniform rules, to be expounded in case of doubt by episcopal authority.

The rule of daily recitation.

Directions follow for the daily recitation of Divine Service, with a permission that it may be said privately in other languages than English. This permission has come from 1549 practically unaltered,[2] but the directions have been made more stringent. Originally none were bound to the recitation of the service except those who 'served congregations,' but in 1552 all Priests and Deacons were bound to the daily recitation 'either privately or openly,' and the Curate, *i.e.*, the Parish Priest, was bound normally to have his Church bell rung and to say his prayers publicly. This direction was repeated with verbal alterations in 1661, and the clergy were still more strongly bound to the daily recitation of the services.[3]

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 16, 37, 356–370.

[2] 'Mattins and Evensong' was altered in 1552 to 'Morning and Evening Prayer,' but the old names survive in the Kalendar.

[3] The Scottish Book of 1637 had made the Bishop or Archbishop the judge of what was a valid cause for omitting to say the service. This proviso was not adopted in 1661, but 'sickness' was substituted for 'preaching, studying of divinity' as the typical instance of what was to be held 'urgent cause' sufficient to justify non-compliance with the rule.

Introductory Matter.

Of ceremonies.

The third chief part of the prefatory matter is the section "Of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained." This was set in 1549 at the close of the book, followed by "Certain notes for the more plain explication and decent ministration of things contained in this book"; but in 1552 these "notes" were superseded by two rubrics dealing with the place of service and the ornaments of the church and of the minister, which were set before the beginning of Morning Prayer.[1] The section "Of ceremonies" was at the same time transferred to its present position as an introduction instead of an epilogue to the book.

This explanation of the method employed in dealing with old ceremonies is no doubt from Cranmer's pen. The abolition of some ceremonies is defended on two grounds, partly because of the burdensome quantity, and partly because of the alleged abuse of ceremonial. The retention of others is justified on the grounds that there must be some ceremonies, and that it is better to keep such as are old than to invent new ones. Further the actual selection of ceremonies embodied in the book is justified on the grounds that it need not be final, and that it excludes all ceremonies except such as are luminous and edifying.

II

Psalmody and Lectionary.

Orders and Tables.

It has already been explained that the chief guiding principle in the revision of the Hour Services in the sixteenth century was the wish to provide for the orderly and continuous recitation of the Psalter and reading of the Bible.[2] If for no other purpose than this, a kalendar

[1] See below, pp. 358 and ff.

[2] Above, p. 52.

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is necessary. Moreover the English Church had no intention of giving up, as other bodies did, the elaborate system of commemorating events in the life of our Lord and His Saints which she shared with the rest of the Catholic Church. For two reasons then a kalendar was needed.

The origin of Divine Service.

It is hardly too much to say that Divine Service traces its origin to the desire for the orderly recitation of the Psalter and reading of the Bible, and still exists for that purpose. Psalmody and Lessons from Scripture had already formed a natural part of the Synagogue worship, and they became equally naturally features of Christian use. It will be shown later how out of these two elements there was formed the introductory section of the Liturgy [1]; for the present it is only necessary to trace their part in the genesis of the Hours of Divine Service. The Psalms formed the hymn-book of the Early Church, and were so well known as to be sung by the people at home or over their work.[2] When others, both men and women, forsaking ordinary occupations, dedicated their lives to devotion and prayer, the singing of psalms together with the reading of the Bible formed the bulk of the religious exercises in which they spent the day. At first all was done privately: the hermits in their several cells in the desert, and the consecrated virgins within their own several homes, followed out each their own course as it seemed best. Presently the cœnobitic or community life developed out of the solitary life: monasteries were formed in the deserts of Egypt and Palestine, while in the towns men and women gathered together in the churches to unite in their devotions, or

[1] Below, p. 435.

[2] S. Jerome says: Quocunque te verteris, arator stivam tenens alleluia decantat, sudans messor psalmis se avocat, et curva attondens vitem falce vinitor aliquid Davidicum canit. *Ep.* XLVI. (XLIV.) Paulæ et Eust. ad Marcellam.

Psalmody and Lectionary.

formed urban communities which were often grouped round a particular church. Then the systematizing of the psalmody and lectionary began: with the Eastern monasticism of S. Basil or S. Pachomius the Eastern type of services also penetrated into Southern Gaul and other parts of the Western Empire, and was soon confronted with a Western type of service which had grown up (as far as can be surmised) chiefly in the religious establishments which had become attached to churches in Rome.[1]

In the West.

At first there was great variety of practice: the Eastern method which Cassian brought into Gaul in the first half of the Vth century was the progenitor of many Gallican systems,[2] while the old Western system had also its descendants. In course of time the recitation of the Psalter in Divine Service, which had begun outside clerical circles among the monks and virgins, became a clerical obligation as well; in Rome the secular clergy discarded their old services in favour of the more developed system of the Roman monks; but meanwhile the monks were everywhere conforming their practice to the rule and system of S. Benet; and thus from that time forward the old Roman monastic system came to be regarded as the 'secular' method of service, and this secular course of psalmody and lectionary became contrasted with the new monastic or Benedictine method and course.[3]

In England.

Both of these came to England from Rome in due

[1] See Batiffol, *Hist. Rom. Brev.* pp. 39 and ff. (E.T. 42 and ff.). It has been maintained that these are Alexandrian, not Roman, but most authorities assign them to Rome and the beginning of the third century.

[2] Some of these survived among the Celtic bodies in the British Isles until they were ousted by the Roman and Benedictine systems. See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* i. 138, and *Bangor Antiphoner*, ii. Introduction. (H. B. Soc. vol. x.). Cp. above, p. 10.

[3] The history is very obscure; see Bäumer, *Gesch. des Brev.*, Batiffol, *l.c.* Article on *The Early History of Divine Service* in *Ch. Q. Rev.*, xli. 395 (Jan. 1896).

Psalmody and Lectionary.

time,[1] and existed side by side till the latter disappeared at the suppression of the monasteries in Henry VIIIth's reign: thus the only system which actually confronted the Revisers was the Gregorian or secular course of psalmody, which was common to the Sarum and other diocesan breviaries as well, and the secular type of lectionary.

The Order for Psalmody.

In each of these respects important changes were made. It was a great innovation by which the recitation of the Psalter and the reading of the lessons in the Divine Service was regulated by the civil year instead of the ecclesiastical year. The Psalter had hitherto been apportioned to the days of the week as such, but the new order prefixed to the kalendar in 1549 not only spread the recitation of the Psalter over a longer period in arranging it for a month, but also destroyed the old association of particular psalms with particular days of the week. The secular and monastic breviaries which the Prayer Book displaced, though they differed in detail the one from the other, yet had both agreed in assigning the Psalter to a week, beginning with the Sunday, and ending with the Saturday.[2]

[1] The monks naturally brought with them their own service, but special zeal was shown in England for the secular service, and nowhere did the Roman chant, the pioneer of Roman customs, meet with such a welcome. It formed a prominent feature of S. Augustine's first entry in Kent: later it spread to the north to Ripon under S. Wilfrid, to Wearmouth and Jarrow under S. Benet Biscop, and these monasteries brought special teachers direct from Rome and became centres for the diffusion of the Roman service and music. It was in fact the beginning of the movement by which, gradually, all other forms of secular service, with a very few exceptions, were ousted by the Roman services. See Beda, *passim*, and especially *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 20, iv. 2, 18; *Hist. Abb.* 5. See also Bäumer, 223–227. The work was completed by the Council of Cloveshoo (747). Above, p. 9.

[2] The Ambrosian method covers a fortnight, though the fortnightly course is probably not original. The Orthodox (Eastern) arrangement is more complicated: it normally covers a week (so also the Armenian), but in Lent only half a week, as does the normal method of the East Syrians. For the East Syrian method see Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices*, pp. xvii. 259–263. For the rest see the art. 'Psalmody' in *Dict. Christian Antiq.* and compare the valuable tables in *P. B. interleaved.*

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The innovation was made in the interests of simplicity and curtailment; and at the same time, in deference especially to the first of these, another great change of method was made. The old schemes for the recitation of the Psalter worked upon two principles: in some cases fixed psalms were assigned to fixed occasions, in other cases the psalms of the Psalter were said *in course*, either excluding the fixed psalms or including them, as the case might be. Thus in the ordinary secular psalter (as used *e.g.* in the Sarum Breviary), fixed psalms were used at Lauds and at the Little Hours and Compline, but at Mattins and Evensong (Vespers) the rest of the psalms of the Psalter, excluding these, were said in course, the first half (i.—cix.) at Mattins and second half (cx.—cl.) at Evensong.

The system of the Prayer Book.

With the First English Book this distinction disappeared: the new system was rigidly consecutive and numerical: the employment of fixed psalms only survived in the case of the *Venite* at Mattins,[1] and here provision was carefully made that it should not interrupt the consecutive course by assigning it the first place among the psalms of the 19th morning, where it might figure, as it were, in two capacities at once.

A great deal of appropriateness has been lost by this arrangement: *e.g.* a psalm appropriate only at night, (Psalm iv.) is sung on the first morning, and a psalm specially appropriate to Sunday (Psalm cxviii.) is sung

[1] The provision of psalms as alternatives to the Gospel canticles was not made till 1552. This did not interfere with the recitation of the psalms in the ordinary course, and in 1661 rubrics were added to prevent the possibility of clashing. See below, pp. 385, 403.

The *Benedicite* had formed part of the fixed psalmody at Lauds and so may be said in a sense to be, in its present position as alternative to *Te Deum*, another example of the principle of fixed psalms.

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alike on all days of the week: but the gain from the point of view of simplicity is indubitable.[1]

The uniform simplicity of this system is only broken by the appointment of 'Proper Psalms' on six days in the year. This principle formed part of the older system and was retained, though restricted to a very few occasions. The actual selection of Proper Psalms which was adopted in the Prayer Book does not follow the old lines, though it has points of contact with them.[2]

In all the earlier Prayer Books down to 1661 an attempt was made to rectify the inequality of the days of the month at the beginning of the year, so that February, having only twenty-eight days, borrowed for the purposes of the Psalter the 31st day of January and the first day of March and thus the Psalter was said three times in the first three months, without repetition in January and March, and without omission in February. But in 1661 this refinement was given up,[3] and according to the plan already adopted for the Scottish Book of 1637, it was allowed that the Psalter should be left unfinished in February, and the 30th portion repeated in

[1] Quignon in his revised Breviary kept to the weekly system, but distributed the psalms afresh over all the Hour Services, assigning three uniformly to each: he also gave up the *numerical* course altogether, and made his selection such as to equalise the various portions of psalmody. 'Psalmi sunt ita distributi, retento quatenus licuit veterum patrum instituto, ut omnes perlegantur singulis hebdomadis totius anni, terni singulis horis, unius longitudine cum alterius brevitate sic compensata, ut labor legendi diurnus par propemodum sit tota ebdomada, et perinde toto anno." *Breviarium Romanum*. Præfatio (ed. Legg), p. xxi.

[2] Thus Pss. xix. xlv. lxxxv. and lxxxix. of Christmas Day were sung on that day under the old system, but not Pss. cx. cxxxii. Ash Wednesday had no special psalms. The selection in the P. B. with Ps. li. used at the Commination, reproduces the 'Seven Penitential Psalms' of the old system, which were used in various supplementary ways in the ancient services but did not form any part of the system proper of the Psalter. Similar points of contact exist in all the other cases.

[3] It had already proved unworkable. See Bp. Wren's strictures in *Fragm. Ill.*, p. 52.

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January and March as in the rest of the months which have thirty-one days.

The Gloria Patri.

The Doxology *Gloria patri* which is prescribed at the end of each psalm has been used in that position in one or other form from very early times: it was probably first used as one of the refrains sung in the earliest form of psalmody called 'responsorial'[1]: it consisted then only of the first clause and this was in use in several forms. The Arian controversy brought these variations into question: the baptismal formula given by our Lord[2] forms the basis of them all; but while one form followed this closely in simply coupling the names of the Blessed Trinity—"The Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost,"—another ran thus—"in the Son," or thus—"through (by) the Son and through (by) the Holy Ghost." The latter forms were favoured by the Arians as more agreeable to their views, and the maintainers of the biblical form were charged (probably unjustly) with innovation. As Arianism decayed, the doubtful forms lost ground and finally disappeared, while the surviving form annexed a second clause to itself, which again in turn took various forms: of these the most notable are the present Eastern form[3] "both now and always and for ever," and the Western form which appears in English dress in the Prayer Book.[4] This last seems to have won its way in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries throughout the West, except in Spain, as a protest against Arianism.[5]

[1] For an explanation of this term see Additional Note I. p. 345.

[2] S. Mat. xxviii. 19.

[3] Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.

[4] The Latin form is 'Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto, sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.' The English version here prescribed is not very close to the original: earlier translations were more literal and the approximation to the present form may be traced chronologically in the English Primers. See Dowden, *Workmanship*, 166.

[5] The fifth canon of the Council of Vaison in 529 ordered the adoption of the second clause with the

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The old doxology with a single clause survived however in the responsorial psalmody, from whence it sprung, in the Latin Services down to the Reformation, and disappeared with it in the process of transition to the English Book.[1] The use of this doxology signifies our belief that the same God was worshipped by the Jewish Church as by us, only the mystery of the Holy Trinity is more clearly revealed to us by the teaching of our Lord: this therefore we commemorate, and so we turn the psalms and canticles, which preceded that teaching, into fully Christian hymns.[2]

The Psalter.

A further departure was made from the Latin books in the enumeration of the psalms. The Vulgate, following the Septuagint, varied from the Hebrew and adopted a different subdivision of the psalms, which altered the whole enumeration from Psalm ix to Psalm cxlviii.[3] In the versions of the Bible in the XVIth century a return was made to the Hebrew numbers, and when

object of refuting heresy and on the ground of its general use elsewhere. 'Et quia non solum in sede apostolica, sed etiam per totum Orientem, et totam Africam, vel Italiam, propter hæreticorum astutiam, qui Dei Filium non semper cum Patre fuisse, sed a tempore cœpisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post *Gloria*, *Sicut erat in principio* dicitur, etiam et nos in universis ecclesiis nostris hoc ita dicendum esse decernimus.' Conc. Vasense, III. al. II. (529) can. v.; Mansi, VIII. 727; Bruns, *Canones*, II. 184.

On the other hand, a century later, the Doxology sung in Spain at the end of all psalms was 'Gloria et honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.' See XIIIth and XVth Canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 (Bruns, I. 227). This form survived in the Mozarabic Rite (*Missal*, Migne *P. L.* LXXXV. 109); *Breviary*, Migne *P. L.* LXXXVI. 47.)

S. Benet prescribed the *Gloria* at the opening of the service (*Regula*, cap. IX.), but it is not clear whether this included the second clause.

[1] For fuller information on the subject see *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, s.v. 'Doxology.' Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, p. 124.

[2] According to the American Prayer Book *Gloria Patri* may be repeated at the end of every Psalm; and either it or *Gloria in excelsis* is ordered to be sung or said at the end of the whole portion of Psalms at each service.

[3] Latin ix. = Hebrew ix. and x.; and Hebrew cxlvii. = Latin cxlvi. and cxlvii. Between these points the Latin enumeration is one less than the Hebrew, except that Hebrew cxiv. and cxv. = Latin cxiii.; and Latin cxiv. and cxv. = Hebrew cxvi.

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the translation of the Great Bible was adopted in 1549, this feature was retained. After the issue of the so-called 'Authorised Version' of 1611, it was natural that the scriptural passages in the Prayer Book should be taken from this new translation, and the other version discarded. This was done in 1661, but an exception was made in the case of the Psalter. Here familiarity with the old version and perhaps a preference for its rhythm stepped in and procured its continuance,-and accordingly the 'Note' at the end of this section was revised and enlarged.[1]

The lectionary

In the early days of Divine Service the reading of Scripture was a constant element: like the psalmody, it had been taken over from synagogue worship into the pre-Anaphoral part of the Liturgy, and like the psalmody, too, it was again utilised to form part of the core of Divine Service. The methods of lectionary were even more various than those of psalmody: in some two lessons were read at each of the Hours, in others the lessons were confined to the service of Nocturns: this was the case with both the secular Roman and the monastic Benedictine system, and therefore for the present purpose all other schemes may be set aside as having no bearing on the question of English ways. But it is important to note that, like the psalmody, the mediæval method of reading Scripture followed the liturgical year and not the civil year. It was a simple method, as it entailed no double system of providing

[1] This history was a repetition of what had already taken place in the case of the Latin Psalter. The later version of S. Jerome called the Gallican Psalter only with great difficulty superseded the earlier versions, including S. Jerome's Roman Psalter, especially within the city of Rome itself. The change was brought about in England in the IXth or Xth century (Bäumer, 247), but in Rome not till the XVIth. The earlier psalter now survives there only at S. Peter's.

The question of the revision of the Psalter came up again among the abortive proposals in 1689. Cardwell, *Conf.* pp. 416, 432.

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a series of lessons for Sundays side by side with another series for week-days. It had not however the numerical simplicity of the Prayer Book.

The old system.

It has been supposed that originally the lessons followed somewhat the same plan as that formerly found in the Liturgy, and that the three lessons or three groups of lessons were drawn from the Old Testament, the Prophets, the Epistles, &c., and the Gospels in a definite sequence. Certainly at a later date when evidence is clearer, a system is found in possession, which has many points of contact with the old system of the Liturgy. Homilies and commentaries from the Fathers were also read, as appears both from S. Benet's monastic provisions and from S. Gregory's modification of them for the secular service.

Its decay.

This in itself sounds an eminently reasonable system. But in the first place the reading of scripture and homily had fallen away from its original plan, and had been modified in plan,[1] curtailed by slackness, and mangled beyond recognition through the normal course being continually superseded by the lessons of Festivals, Commemorations, &c., drawn from legends of saints and other extraneous sources. Moreover, the old system was never intended for any others but those who could follow the course of Divine Service daily. In the English Prayer Book the attempt has been made to adapt Divine Service not only to the needs of that class—at best a small minority of the faithful—but also to the needs of those who could attend it only on

The method of reform.

[1] The connexion was often lost between the scriptural lessons and the comments on them. The homilies thus tended to become an independent collection, and 'Homiliaries' multiplied till that of Paul the Deacon superseded most of the rest in Charlemagne's time. See Batiffol, 108; Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen*. The Sarum lectionary follows this fairly closely except in Holy Week and for Sundays after Trinity.

Sunday. Consequently a dual system has been ultimately introduced combining (i) a system of daily lessons following the course of the civil year in the simplest numerical order, and (ii) a system of lessons for Sundays and other Holy days, following the course of the liturgical year. This new system has gone through several stages. The Kalendar.

At this point, therefore, it becomes necessary by way of introduction to the Kalendar and the Tables of Lessons to consider the nature and origin of the liturgical year.

IV

Foundations of the Kalendar.

The early Christians, following the natural instinct of man and the precedents of the Jewish system, began at once to commemorate the great events of the Gospel. The division of time into weeks was inherited from the Jewish Church; the first day of the week, hallowed by our Lord's resurrection and subsequent appearances,[1] became the Lord's Day,[2] and was from the first set apart for Christian worship.[3] The anniversary of the Crucifixion and Resurrection were similarly kept, and kept in close association with the Jewish Passover, with which originally they were so closely connected: and the rules regulating the passover became also the rules for the Christian Pasch or Easter. Thus was defined one of the fixed points, round which the orbit of the Christian year was to revolve. *Easter.*

Christmas.

The other chief fixed point was not determined so easily or so soon. No tradition was preserved of the date of our Lord's birth: even the year remained doubtful. But in the Roman Church as early as the end of

[1] S. John xx. [2] Apoc. i. 10. [3] Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

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the second century the 25th of December had been fixed upon; and this date has been generally adopted as the day upon which to keep an anniversary of the Nativity.[1]

Moveable feasts.

These two festivals have a very large voice in determining the fixed arrangement of the year, and they also determine the annual variations. The variation of dates dependent upon Christmas is confined within the limits of seven days, and according to the day of the week, on which Christmas falls, the date of the first Sunday in Advent is fixed.

The variation of the date of Easter is far greater, and the range of its influence far wider. It may vary from March 22 to April 24, and its variation affects the whole of the time from Septuagesima, which is nine weeks previous to it, up to Whitsunday or Trinity Sunday, and even in a sense up to Advent.

The moveable feasts are thus determined.

Immoveable feasts.

Of the immoveable feasts some depend upon Christmas, some are simply anniversaries, some are merely fixed days of commemoration. Thus The Annunciation of Mary is nine months before Christmas, S. John Baptist's Nativity six months before, The Circumcision eight days and The Purification forty days after. The Visitation seems to be placed on July 2, so as to be the first day after the Octave of S. John Baptist's Day: a date shortly after Lady Day was undesirable because it would so

[1] The earliest witness for this is Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel iv. 23 (ed. Bonwetsch and Achelis, I. p. 242). It is often supposed that this date was due not to tradition or calculation but to policy, which set a Christian festival at the winter solstice on purpose to counteract the influence of heathen customs and rites then, and especially the Mithrastic festival *Natalis Invicti*: if this is so, then the origin of the festival must be a good deal anterior to Hippolytus. But it seems possible that the date was derived from a very widespread (though erroneous) belief that March 25 (the vernal Equinox) was the date of our Lord's passion and that consequently this must have been also the day of his conception and Dec. 25 the day of his birth. See more fully in Duchesne, *Origines du Culte*, pp. 250 and ff. *L.P.* I. vii. W. *M.G.* 392.

often fall either in Holy Week or Easter week.[1] The three great festivals on the days following Christmas are not anniversaries but commemorations, which were placed there so as to be in close relation to Christmas.

Thus while Easter determines mainly the moveable dates, Christmas has had a large share in fixing the dates of the immoveable feasts.

The remaining immoveable feasts are for the most part anniversaries, and in the case of those which are only commemorations their date was determined independently without reference to Christmas.

In early days the kalendar of any church was in the main determined by local considerations. Apart from Easter and Christmas, and some dates that depend upon these two, there was little else of more than local observance except the festival of the Epiphany. The 6th of January was from very early times in the East the day adopted for commemorating primarily the manifestation of our Lord as incarnate God at His baptism, and secondarily His birth.[2] From the East it came with its Greek name and its Eastern signification to southern Gaul by the middle of the fourth century; when ultimately adopted at Rome, it was looked upon chiefly as a commemoration of our Lord's manifestation to the Gentiles in the persons of the Magi, and secondarily of His baptism and opening miracles.[3] The East and West thus, as it were, exchanged festivals and mutually enriched one another.[4] The feast of the

Epiphany.

[1] The festival began only in the fifteenth century at a time when there was great reluctance to multiply festivals at that period of the year. In the analogous cases of S. Benet and S. Cuthbert (March 20 and 21) the full observance of these festivals was commonly transferred to the day of the Saint's translation, viz., July 11 and September 4.

[2] The earliest witness to this feast is in a document of the Diocletian persecution at the beginning of the fourth century. W. *M. G.* 400.

[3] For the bearing of this on the question of Baptism, see below p. 574.

[4] The Armenians have never yet adopted Dec. 25, but keep Jan. 6 in the original way. See Duchesne,

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Circumcision.

Circumcision is of far later date. At first the day was kept at Rome as the Octave of Christmas and as the Festival of the Blessed Virgin. At a later date (probably when the importation of the Eastern festivals of the Blessed Virgin cast into the shade and then abolished the old Roman commemoration of January 1) the natural connexion of the day with the Circumcision asserted itself: this had already been the case in Gallican and in Oriental circles. But the festival has never had any liturgical prominence: even when recognised, its services had very little that was proper to the Circumcision, but remained still such as befitted the Octave of Christmas.[1]

Growth of the Roman Kalendar.

It has already been pointed out[2] that the English Church at the Council of Cloveshoo adopted the Roman kalendar. Apart from the great cardinal festivals above mentioned, this was of a very local character, and grew up chiefly from the lists of the anniversaries of popes or of martyrs (subsequently to the second century) who belonged to Rome itself. Such lists of Roman festivals exist from the beginning of the fourth century onward,[3] and definite liturgical kalendars are known from the

Origines, 247 and ff. for the whole of this subject.

[1] *Ibid*, 262. In some places it was kept as a fast day by way of reparation for the heathen festivities of the Saturnalia on January 1. Concil. Turon. II. (567), can. 17, *De ieiuniis*. 'Et quia inter natale Domini et Epiphaniam omni die festivitates sunt, itemque prandebunt: excipitur triduum illud, quo ad calcandam gentilium consuetudinem patres nostri statuerunt privatas in kalendis Januarii fieri litanias, ut in ecclesiis psallatur, et hora octava in ipsis kalendis circumcisionis missa Deo propicio celebretur.' Mansi, ix., 796; Bruns, ii. 229.

[2] Above, pp. 9, 12.

[3] The earliest Roman evidence is that of the Philocalian Kalendar dating from 336–354, including the Depositions of Popes and of Martyrs. Printed in Migne, *P. L.* XIII. 464: or better, *Monum. Germ. Script. Ant.* IX. p. 70 (ed. Mommsen); cp, Duchesne *Liber Pont.* I. pp. vi, 10, 11, 12. This is given again under the title of 'Bucherian Kalendar' together with the Kalendars of the three early Roman Sacramentaries in Probst, *Die ältesten Römischen Sacramentarien*, pp. 40–45. Cp. *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, edited by de Rossi and Duchesne in *Acta Sanctorum*, November, II. i. p. [xlviii].

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earliest Roman Service books; and it is clear that, with the exception of a few days of extraneous saints, such as SS. Perpetua and Felicitas or S. Cyprian of African origin, or S. Agatha from Sicily, or S. Vincent from Spain, the festivals belonged locally to the city of Rome, and commemorated either Roman saints or other saints to whom churches in Rome were dedicated.

Local Roman influences

Such must have been the kalendar which S. Augustine brought with him at the end of the sixth century, and which in a more developed form the Council of Cloveshoo adopted in 747. Some of the festivals of specially local Roman interest still survive in our Prayer Book kalendar, such as those of the Roman martyrs, S. Fabian, S. Agnes, S. Valentine, S. Lawrence, S. Cicely, S. Clement, S. Silvester, or of the patron saints of Roman churches, such as S. Prisca or S. George; and in this way they bear witness to the fact that there lies hidden in the kalendar an original Roman nucleus which can be traced out historically as it expands from the fourth to the eighth century.

But other festivals of more general interest also came to England in the Roman kalendar, having been incorporated into it at various dates. Some, like those already mentioned, are the anniversaries of martyrs.[1] The present S. Peter's day is the anniversary of the translation of the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul, and S. Andrew's day is probably the anniversary of his martyrdom. Others are the anniversaries of the dedication of Roman churches. Michaelmas commemorates a church on the Via Salaria, six miles from Rome; S. Philip and S. James's day, the dedication of a church to these apostles in Rome, which was rebuilt *circa* 561.[2] The festival of

[1] These were kept from the first. For S. Polycarp see Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 15.

[2] S. Philip's day, however, was already kept on May 1, and this determined the date of Dedication when the church was rebuilt.

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S. Peter's Chains (Aug. 1, Lammas) has reference to the dedication of the church [1] of the Apostles on the Esquiline Hill (432—440) where the relic of the chains was preserved. The All Saints' festival is of special interest. It originated in the solemn dedication to Christian worship of the old Roman Pantheon as the Church of S. Mary and All Martyrs by Boniface IV. (608—614).[2]

External influences.

In the seventh century various festivals of external origin had won a place in the Roman kalendar. The Nativity [3] and the Falling Asleep, Repose, or Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary had come from the East,[4] the Exaltation of the Cross (the dedication festival of Constantine's Basilica at Jerusalem in 335) from Palestine, the Invention of the Cross from Gaul. A few great names of Saints had also won recognition in the Roman kalendar, without being Roman or being martyrs, but purely on general grounds, such as S. Augustine of Hippo on the day of his death August 28, and S. Jerome or S. Benedict; these were ranked as 'Confessors.' A similar movement, operating from the seventh or eighth

[1] The like cause probably accounts for the festival of S. Lucy.

[2] The anniversary originally was kept on May 13, and it became the typical Dedication Festival. (*Grad. Sar.* xix.). The transference of the building by the Emperor Phocas and the hitherto unparalleled circumstance of the transformation of a heathen temple into a church, gave it a special importance (*Lib. Pont.* i. 317), and it soon became the custom to hold a festival there in honour of All Saints on November 1. (Beda, *Serm. Æstiv.* in Hampson *Kalendar*, ii. 147.) This spread gradually to other parts, especially when the festival was appointed for the Frankish Empire by Louis, with the assent of Pope Gregory IV., in 835. (Sigebert *Chron.*, A.D. 835; Migne, *P.L.* CLX. 159.) But it was probably earlier in England, as it is marked by Beda in his Martyrologies. *Opera*, ed. Giles, I. 53, IV. 145.

[3] The festival of the Conception depends upon this but is of much later date, and did not begin to be commonly current in England till the twelfth century.

[4] Probably also the two other great festivals of the Annunciation and Purification: for, though the connexion of these with Christmas makes it possible that these were of earlier date in Rome, it seems likely that only one festival of the B. V. M. was kept in Rome till the seventh century and that on Jan. 1: this was only later transformed through its relation to Christmas and through Byzantine influence into a festival of the Circumcision. For these festivals see W. *M.G.* 407 and ff.

century onwards, gradually brought in other festivals of Apostles and S. Mary Magdalene's Day. The Conversion of S. Paul was adopted from Gaul,[1] S. James' Day seems to have been put designedly a week before S. Peter's Chains, and other Apostles' days followed, mainly in the ninth century. The Kalendar.

It would be difficult to say exactly what point of development the Roman kalendar had reached when it was adopted at Cloveshoo; but it is clear that subsequently the development was continued here in England; three main impulses are observable at work in it, two of which have been already demonstrated, while the third is a novel one. *Its growth in England.*

Local interest in events in Rome still continued to operate even after the kalendar had been transplanted to England. Roman dedication festivals led to the adoption of S. Nicomede and S. John Port-Latin, and in other ways the Roman influence is still traceable. Again many additions were due to general interest, such as that of S. Ambrose from Italy, S. Denys, S. Martin, S. Crispin, S. Faith, S. Hilary, S. Brice from France, or at a later date S. Machutus, S. Lucian, S. Leonard, S. Remigius, S. Giles, S. Lambert from France, and S. Margaret, S. Katherine, S. Blaise from the East.

Influence of English Local interest.

But further a new influence soon showed itself in the shape of the local English interest. The Council of Cloveshoo, at the moment when it adopted the Roman kalendar, added to it, for local English reasons, the feasts of S. Gregory and S. Augustine of Canterbury.[2] On the same principle S. Boniface's day was ordered, on the receipt of the news of his death eight years later, in 755,[3]

[1] The Decollation of S. John Baptist is due to the same source.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, III. 368.

[3] *Ibid.* III. 390.

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and many other names were subsequently added, such as S. Alban, King Edmund and King Edward, Archbishop Dunstan and the martyred Archbishop Alphege.

From the time of the coming of the Normans the interest of the English Church in matters outside herself was wider, and this had its effect upon the growth of the kalendar. Meanwhile the theory of canonisation was also changing, and the power to order a festival was passing out of the hands of the local authorities into the centralised authority of Rome. The canonisation of Edward the Confessor in 1161 marks the change so far as English saints are concerned ; previously to that the power had been exercised by the English Church, but thenceforward up to the time of the Reformation such additions as were made to the list of saints were made with papal authority. This did not curtail the power of the local authority to choose out for commemoration such recognised saints as seemed desirable, nor was the change retrospective, for the festivals of S. Dunstan, S. Alphege, &c., continued in England, though they had not received formal papal sanction.

The Sarum Kalendar

It must now suffice to consider only the Sarum Kalendar and to enumerate such additions to it from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries as are of interest from the point of view of the present Prayer Book Kalendar.

S. Hugh of Lincoln was canonised in 1220, S. Edmund of Canterbury in 1246, and S. Richard of Chichester in 1260, in each case shortly after death. S. Anne's day became popular in 1383 under the influence, as it seems, of the Queen, Anne of Bohemia.

The festivals of S. David and S. Chad were raised to greater dignity in 1415, the two new general festivals of

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the Visitation and the Transfiguration[1] were adopted in England in 1480, shortly after their promulgation by Rome, and at the same time S. Etheldreda's festival in October was adopted for the Sarum use.[2] Finally it is interesting to note that the festival of the Most Sweet Name of Jesus, which was already in use in England, was specially sanctioned and endowed with privileges by Alexander VI. (1493—1503).[3]

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Side by side with the individual festival days[4] stood special seasons of the year. Christmas was preceded by Advent and Easter by Lent, while these days threw their lustre forward as well as backward, so that the Christmas season extended till the Octave of the Epiphany or to Candlemas (Feb. 2) and Eastertide till Trinity Sunday, or even, at a later date, twelve days longer, to the octave of Corpus Christi.

Lent.

The observance of Lent has had an intricate history: it probably grew out of two things, (i) a strict unbroken fast either on Good Friday only or for the time between our Lord's death and His Resurrection, a period which came to be estimated at forty hours: and (ii) a period of forty days of preparation for the festival of Easter and especially of training the catechumens for the Baptism on Easter Eve. The fast was enlarged so as to cover the whole of Holy Week, and then by different degrees and different methods to cover the whole forty days, which then were explained as being kept in memory of our Lord's fast in the wilderness. The forty days, as days of general preparation rather than of fasting, were

[1] This was in some places a much older festival, especially among the Benedictines.

[2] The earlier festival of S. Audrey is June 23.

[3] Thereupon there was added to the first and second lessons of Matins an account of this transaction. See *Sar. Brev.* of 1531 (Cambridge reprint, III. 621). This change was not yet made in the Breviary of 1510.

[4] For the fuller history of the Sarum Kalendar, see Frere, *Graduale Sarum*, Introduction, pp. xxii–xxx.

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recognized by the time of the Nicene Council (325); but as time went on they were observed in different ways and varying degrees. In the West as the fast was extended to cover the whole six weeks of preparation for Easter, the Sundays were excepted, and then it was realised that the forty days were, in fact, only thirty-six. Some justified this, and explained the number as being a tithe of the year. But the full number of the forty days was made up in the sixth and seventh century by the pushing back of the beginning of Lent to Ash Wednesday.[1]

Closely connected with Lent is the observance of the preceding Sundays as Quinquagesima, Sexagesima and Septuagesima. This clearly is a subsequent development, but not necessarily subsequent to the addition to Lent of Ash Wednesday and the three days following.[2]

Advent.

The history of the observance of Advent is still more obscure. It seems to have been modelled upon Lent as another period of forty days devoted to preparation for Christmas. Here again there was probably a gradual expansion: the full period of six weeks is still attested by the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites: in Gaul it took the form of a S. Martin's Lent (*Quadragesima S. Martini*) beginning after the festival of the Saint. In Rome it originally comprised five Sundays, and the signs of this arrangement are still clearly to be seen in the older Service-books: but a process of contraction

[1] The date is doubtful. S. Gregory speaks of both 'the forty' and 'the thirty-six' days and it is disputed whether this implies that he was familiar with the additional days or that he was not. The latter is the classic interpretation, but it is ably opposed in *Un mot sur L'Antiphonale Missarum*' (Solesmes, 1890), pp. 26 and ff. Contrast Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 234, n.

[2] It seems possible that Septuagesima was due to the custom prevalent in some parts, *e.g.* in Milan, of not fasting on Saturday. This would leave only five fast days in the week and demand a period of eight weeks to make up the forty days. If further the view were adopted, as it was by some, that the forty days' fast was to be exclusive of Holy Week this would throw back the preparation as far as Septuagesima.

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succeeded that of expansion, and reduced the number of Sundays to four.[1] The development of the fasting as a feature of the preparation was also arrested, and Advent never came, as did Lent, to be a formal fast.

Weekly fasts.

Side by side with these penitential seasons there were the single days of fasting and penitential exercise. In each week in very early times[2] Wednesday and Friday were set apart as days of fasting: the fast was an abstention from all food for a part of the day, and it was generally closed by a public service, either the whole Liturgy or a service corresponding to the opening part of the Liturgy called the Mass of the Catechumens.[3] These days were called by the military term "stations," as being days on which especially Christians "mounted guard."

The Saturday had from the first a peculiar position as being the Jewish Sabbath: when the Church drew away from Jewish customs, Saturday still for some time had a position of its own. The Jewish sabbatarianism was eliminated, but Saturday became in some places a festival day, in others a fast day.

In the Middle Ages these customs had been greatly reduced; the fast on Friday became more definite and complete, but Wednesday and Saturday lost in the main their special significance, though the Saturday abstinence survived till Elizabeth's reign, and a Wednesday abstinence was then ordered by Act of Parliament.

Vigils.

The same preparation which was felt to be necessary for Easter was desired on a smaller scale for Christmas and lesser festivals. This took the form of a Vigil, or night spent in a series of services leading up to the Liturgy; and here, as we have already noticed in other cases, a fast was annexed to the preparation. The

[1] Probst, *Sacramentarien*, 277–280. *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s.v. 'Advent.' The subject needs a fuller treatment.

[2] Διδάχη, VIII. I. W. *M.G.* 327.

[3] *Ch. Q. Rev.* Jan. 1896, XLI. pp. 399, 400. *Cp.* Socrates, *Hist.* v. 22.

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Easter Vigil was the model for the rest, and a similar vigil was soon attached, not only to Christmas but to other festivals also. The custom mentioned above of observing Saturday as a fast was probably due to its being considered the Vigil of Sunday.

The Festivals of martyrs had their Vigils from early times: it was noted as a coincidence that at the time when S. Cyprian was apprehended (258) a Vigil was being kept by the Church.[1] Hence came the system which prefaced all the principal festivals with a Vigil kept not merely as time of preparatory services, but also as a day of fasting.

Octaves.

Another similar custom, that of keeping "octaves," and prolonging the services of a festival for a week, also has its roots in the observance of Easter. Christians in this respect followed the customs of the Jews, and prolonged their Paschal services for eight days; and the custom was thence extended to other festivals.

Ember Days.

The same instinct, which led the Roman Church, as seems probable, to fix the feast of Christmas upon a pagan festival, led also to the establishment of the Four Seasons (*Quatuor tempora*) or Ember Days in place of the heathen agricultural festivals. At first they were three seasons, not four, and corresponded with the winter sowing (*Feriæ sementinæ*), the summer reaping (*Feriæ messis*), and the autumn vintage (*Feriæ vindemiales*). The establishment of them is ascribed to Calixtus I. (*circa* 220),[2] and it seems probable that from the first the days to be observed at these seasons were the three days of the week already prominent at Rome as half fasts—the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The actual date of the seasons was fixed by the month of the civil and not the

[1] *Vita*, § 15. Ed. Hartel, III. cvii. [2] *Liber Pont.* (Duchesne), I. 141.

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ecclesiastical year; a justification for this was found in the words of Zech. viii. 19, and at a later date a fourth season was added so that they were known as the fasts of the first, fourth, seventh and tenth months.[1] From Rome they spread to other places from the beginning of the fifth century, and by Roman custom became the recognized times for holding Ordinations. Meanwhile their dates also became more definitely fixed, they were divorced from their connexion with the civil year, and became identified with their present positions in the ecclesiastical year. In England this took place as early as the VIIIth century.[2] In the old Roman services they still retain archaic features which attest their high antiquity, and show their original connexion with agricultural and heathen festivals.[3]

Rogation Days.

The Rogation Days on the other hand are of later date. They arose from the action of Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne (c. 470) in ordering special Rogations or 'Litanies' to be celebrated on the three days preceding Ascension Day at a time of great distress and terror in his diocese through the last eruptions of the volcanoes of Auvergne.[4] Thence the Rogation Days spread through Gaul,[5] and came to England. The Council of Cloveshoo (747) adopted them,[6] as well as the older indigenous Roman day of supplication called *Litania major* (April 25), which had ousted the heathen Roman procession of the *Robigalia;* but the Gallican days were not admitted at Rome till half a century later.[7]

[1] It was in this form that they were adopted by the Council of Cloveshoo (747). Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III. 368: Canon 18.

[2] *Grad. Sar.* p. xiii. Haddan and Stubbs, III. 411.

[3] See Morin's article in *Revue Bénédictine*, Aug. 1897.

[4] Sidonius Ap. *Epist.* v. 14; vii. 1. Migne *P. L.* lviii. 544, 563. Cp. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. 34. Migne *P. L.* lxxi. 231.

[5] Council of Orleans (511), Canon 27. Harduin, *Conc.* II. 1011.

[6] H. & S. III. 368. Canon 16.

[7] *Liber Pontificalis*, s.v. Leo III. (ed. Duchesne), II. 35, n. 17: and 40, n. 58. See further below, p. 406

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Revision of the Kalendar.

This elaborate system of fast and festival, referring both to periods of the year and to single days, confronted the Revisers of the Prayer Book at the outset. No thought seems to have been entertained of abolishing the whole in the drastic manner of most continental Reformers, though doubtless there were some then, to whom such a course would have commended itself, just as there have been ever since Churchmen who disobey the Church's rules on these points. But it clearly was regarded as a matter in which some measure both of simplification and purification was desirable. The liturgical changes under Henry VIII. were scarcely of a serious nature since they merely involved the erasure of the festivals of S. Thomas of Canterbury and of the title 'pope' applied to various saints, but the observance of festivals as public holidays was considerably curtailed by Convocation in 1536.[1] In the preparation for the First Prayer Book a more serious and a liturgical purpose becomes evident. The general arrangement of the seasons of the year was left untouched: simplicity was attained by reducing all services to one type and by minimizing the amount of variation involved. Thus, for example, while Eastertide was still retained, its services were made the same in structure as those of the rest of the year, and Lent remained, though stripped of its own touching peculiarities of service. The simplicity was most dearly bought in the case of Holy Week: the characteristic services of that solemn and unique period all disappeared, though they were to a large extent ancient, biblical, and allied to the English devotional temper;[2] and the whole was brought into a

Under Henry VIII.

Edward VI.

[1] Dixon, I. 83, 424.

[2] The Veneration of the Cross, for example, goes back to the fourth century, the Reproaches are biblical, the Ceremony of the new Fire probably began in Britain, and like many of the picturesque rites and ceremonies was only later adopted into the Roman Service-books. See below, pp. 535 and ff. W. *M.G.* 370 and ff.

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rigid and prosaic uniformity with the rest of the year. The observance of Vigils was maintained, but the keeping of octaves disappeared,[1] no doubt because of the complications which it involved.

Cranmer's first draft.

The process of simplification and purification is still more evident in the case of the single days of fast or festival. The Ember days, Rogation days, and Vigils, were retained, but without any variation in their services. The treatment of the festival days has a more complicated history. There are two draft kalendars extant which belong to Cranmer's second scheme of services.[2] The first contains the names of biblical saints—the Apostles, S. John Baptist, S. Mary Magdalene, S. Timothy, S. Titus, S. Michael, S. Stephen, Holy Innocents, and the four great festivals of the Blessed Virgin—with twelve of the chief Doctors of the Church[3], about the same number of other saints who had a place in the Sarum Kalendar and most of the English Kalendars, and finally, a few entries which are surprising and puzzling since it is difficult to see from what source or on what ground they were selected.[4]

His second draft.

A later draft seems to exhibit the same project at a further state of development: three of the more surprising entries have been omitted, but on the other hand, large additions have been made. These are due, in the first place, to a zeal for Scripture which has run to excess.

[1] A trace may be said to survive in the Proper Prefaces and the use of the Christmas collect for the week following.

[2] Above, p. 34.

[3] The selection is curious and does not include S. Jerome though he was more commonly commemorated in Kalendars than many of the others. The days to which they are assigned are in some cases quite unusual: *e.g.* S. Polycarp is entered on a day unknown either to Quignon or Sarum.

[4] Babilas, The XL. Martyrs and Barbara are known, if unusual in English Kalendars. Benjamin on Feb. 21 seems to be the Old Testament patriarch; Phileas and Philoromus (Feb. 3) shows the influence of Quignon; and Petrus, Dorotheus (July 2) seems to have been taken from the same source (Sept. 9) but placed upon a different day.

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For example, many of the vacant days in January have been filled up with Old Testament names in chronological order[1]—Abel (Jan. 2), Noe (3), Abraham (7), Sara (9), Isaac (14), Jacob (15), Joseph (19). This is carried on into other months, and meanwhile a further series of New Testament names is begun with Ananias on the day after S. Paul's conversion, and continued in February with Vidua paupercula (10), Zacharias and Elizabeth (15), Symeon (17), Zaccheus (March 8), Fidelis latro (12), Joseph (19). The rest need not be described in detail, but two further points deserve notice. (1) Cranmer has still further added to this very long list, in his own hand, the names of other saints drawn in the main from the Sarum Kalendar or from Quignon's Kalendar.[2] The list of Christian writers is further enlarged by the names of Epiphanius and Cassian, while among the names taken from the Sarum Use are some which have a local English interest, viz., S. George (in red), S. Augustine of Canterbury, S. Alban, S. Edmund the King; and these make up a little for the total lack of local interest which characterizes the earlier draft. (2) In some cases Cranmer has followed Sarum in preference to Quignon, and *vice versa* in others.[3]

The draft kalendars then abound in faults and follies which were set aside on second thoughts. They are, however, of interest as showing a real stage in the development and as further evidence of the influence of

[1] The greater part of these Old Testament saints were commemorated in the old martyrologies, but not on these dates.

[2] Only two of the additions are not traceable to one or other of these sources, viz. SS. Vitalis and Agricola (Nov. 4), a common festival abroad, and S. Mamas on Sept. 1, which seems inexplicable.

[3] Thus S. Leo is put at April 11, as in Quignon, instead of June 28 as in Sarum, his translation day. On the other hand S. Ambrose stands as in Sarum on April 4, not as in Quignon on Dec. 7. It should be noted that the fuller Kalendar prefixed to Sarum Primers has been drawn upon and not simply the true liturgical Kalendar of the Missal or Breviary.

Quignon's Breviary on the course of Cranmer's mind. The Kalendar.

When the first Prayer Book appeared, a revulsion of feeling had evidently taken place. The Kalendar was far nearer to the earlier than to the later draft, and in it the policy of exclusiveness had been pushed a great deal further. Only five and twenty festivals were admitted, comprising the feasts of our Lord and of the Apostles and Evangelists with S. Stephen, Holy Innocents, All Saints, Michaelmas, S. John Baptist, S. Mary Magdalene, and the Purification and Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. All these were treated as greater festivals with variants provided for their services.[1] In 1552 the festival of S. Mary Magdalene as a red letter day disappeared; and the numbers of those remaining became four and twenty, at which figure it still remains. On the other hand, the black letter festivals began to come into existence on somewhat the same basis as Vigils, Rogation days or Ember days, not to be observed as Holy Days, but kept as a commemoration without any change of service. In 1552 only four such names were inserted, viz., S. George, Lammas, S. Lawrence, and S. Clement, but in the new Elizabethan Kalendar of 1561, this list was considerably lengthened; S. Mary Magdalene reappeared as a black letter day, and further fifty-six other festivals were added. In 1604 Enurchus was added on September 7. In 1661 these entries were continued, fuller descriptions[2] were given in the Kalendar and two new names were added, viz., those of S. Alban and the Venerable Bede.[3] *The Prayer Book Kalendar.*

[1] The eleventh of the abortive Royal Injunctions of 1549 (see above, p. 59) ordered 'That none keep the abrogate holydays other than those that have their proper and peculiar service.' *Doc. Ann.* xv.

[2] Taken from Cosin's *Devotions.*

[3] The list of 'Holy Days' to be observed and 'none other' as given in the Edwardian Act, 5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. iii., or in the Elizabethan Kalendar of 1561 excludes Black

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Choice of red letter Days,

It is difficult to see clearly the motive which determined the selection of the black letter Saints' Days. In the case of the red letter days it clearly was the desire to bring the festivals to the test of the Bible, so that, without introducing new or extravagant commemorations, such of the old should be retained as would stand the test. But even so the test was not very carefully applied: the Assumption was rejected, while the Purification and the Annunciation were retained: so far all is natural: but the Visitation was excluded, and, like the Transfiguration, in spite of having biblical authority, only received later recognition as a black letter festival.[1] Again, the exclusion of S. Mary Magdalene cannot be justified by this principle. It is probable that these last mentioned festivals were all rejected on the ground that they were recent importations into the Latin Kalendar; so that it would seem that a further test for admission was applied by the Revisers, viz. that of antiquity, and that ancient festivals, such as the Assumption, failed to make good their claim for want of biblical evidence to support them, while biblical festivals shared the same fate for want of ancient prescription. 'Antiquity,' however, for this purpose was very liberally interpreted; for, as has been shown, the festivals of the Apostles were many of them unknown till the eighth or ninth century. However, it seems most likely that the Reformers were not aware of this, and that, such being the case, they applied these two

Letter Days, Rogation Days, Ember Days, and Vigils; its object was to restrict the observance of public holidays just as had been done in Henry VIIIth's time. The Edwardian Act, which was repealed by Queen Mary, was never renewed under Elizabeth (D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 27), but the same object was brought about by the Kalendar of 1561 and the Advertisements of 1566 (*Doc. Ann.* LXV. p. 327).

[1] The American Church, in 1886, replaced *The Transfiguration of Christ* in the Kalendar as a Red-letter Day, with Proper Lessons, Collect, &c.

principles to the best of their power in selecting the red letter Saints. The Kalendar.

On the other hand, the principles which governed the selection of black letter Saints are not so clear. Thirteen of them are double feasts in the Sarum Kalendar, and by the addition of these to the red letter days the whole of the immoveable Sarum double feasts are represented in the present Prayer Book Kalendar except the Assumption and the two festivals of S. Thomas of Canterbury; the reason for the exclusion of those is not far to seek. *and of black letter Days.*

The next class of Sarum festivals is, however, not fully represented, and though perhaps a reason might be found to account for the exclusion of the four festivals which are passed over,[1] it is evident on reviewing the next class below that the choice has been arbitrarily made. Local considerations clearly indicated the additions of 1661, viz., S. Alban and the Venerable Bede—the latter the only festival which was not in the proper Sarum Kalendar; but in 1561, though these considerations were clearly operative, they did not suffice to bring in S. Cuthbert, S. Oswald, S. Wulstan, S. Osmund, S. Frideswide, or S. Winifred, who all had a place in the Sarum Kalendar, much less others who had not, such as S. Aidan or S. Wilfrid; on the other hand, a place was found for some who were of no special account in the Sarum Kalendar, such as S. Lucian or S. Hilary, or even of no great intrinsic interest, such as S. Brice or S. Blaise. No signs survived at that date of the laudable desire shown in the early drafts to commemorate great writers who had hitherto had little or no position in English Kalendars, such as S. Athanasius, S. Basil or S. Chrysostom. Moreover the work was evidently done unin- *Omissions.* *and inaccuracies.*

[1] Cathedra S. Petri. Translation of S. Paul, S. Michael in Monte of Abp. Edmund, Commemoration Tumba.

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telligently; S. Cyprian was placed in 1561 upon the day of an obscure namesake instead of the day of his martyrdom,[1] S. Alban in 1661 upon the xvijth of June by a misreading of the figure xxij; while the one effort of 1604, which added the name of Enurchus to the Kalendar of September, is distinguished both for inaccuracy and want of judgment, since the saint intended was really named Evurtius, and at best had no claim to be rescued from the oblivion of some Sarum Primer to be set in this position.[2]

Two motives seem to underlie the provision of the black letter days. At first they took their place in 1552 as little more than calendrical notes analogous to *Sol in aqua*, *Equinoctium*, Dog days, &c. In 1561, while this motive remained, another was added of keeping in mind the principal saints of the older Latin Kalendar[3] without observing them as public holy days. This double ground was definitely taken by the bishops in 1661; they replied to the Puritan attack upon Saints' days, that the black letter saints 'are left in the Kalendar, not that they should be so' (as the others) 'kept as holy days, but

[1] Possibly on purpose to avoid collision with Holy Cross Day.

[2] Both the entry Enurchus and the assignment of S. Alban to June xvij appear curiously enough in the Kalendar of the *Preces Privatæ* of 1564. See St. Paul's Eccles. Soc. *Transactions*, IV. 33, 46, and for S. Cyprian, pp. 47 and ff.

[3] In the Primers and in other Kalendars where the entries are purely for Kalendrical purposes they show a marked contrast to the Prayer Book Kalendar, for they contain the Assumption and the day of 'Becket traitor,' which were ousted from there; and also they are far larger in number, as indeed was necessary if they were to be of much use for the purpose of dates: in Edward's Primer of 1553 there are 183 entries of Saints' days, including the Assumption and Becket, besides a large number of purely Kalendrical entries and the marking of the P. B. Vigils by the entry 'Fish.' In the *Orarium* of 1560 and the *Preces Privatæ* of 1564 there is hardly a day vacant, and in the latter all liturgical authority was disclaimed, and the very necessary caution was given at the end, that it is not necessarily implied that all are to be regarded as saints, or that even so they are to be given divine worship and honour, but only as notes of time and convenient dates. See *Priv. Prayers of Q. Eliz.* (Parker Soc.).

they are useful for the preservation of their memories and for other reasons, as for leases, law days, &c.'[1] It is clear from their adding S. Alban and Ven. Bede—the latter not a commonly known date—which of their two reasons they considered the more important. The Kalendar.

We are now in a position to resume the question of the Lessons appointed for Divine Service throughout the year. The old system of lessons followed entirely the ecclesiastical year, as has been already pointed out; no lessons were read at any service except Mattins,[2] and that service in a secular Breviary contained much variety, sometimes one group and sometimes three groups of three lessons, each drawn from Scripture, Fathers or Legends of the Saints. The three in each group were generally continuous, but there was not necessarily any continuity between the groups. Already Quignon had simplified this system by reducing the lessons to a uniform three at Mattins, the first from the Old Testament, the second from the New Testament, and the third from the Acts or Epistles, except on a Saint's day, when a proper lesson from the life of the Saint was appointed. Three draft schemes of Cranmer exist, which show his transition from the old system to the new by way of Quignon's plan. The first adopted Quignon's scheme of the year but provided three lessons at Mattins, one at Lauds, and one at Evensong. In the second scheme he omitted the lesson at Lauds, and in the third, while maintaining the three lessons at Mattins, he fixed the number at Evensong at two. From this it was an easy step to the arrangement of the First Prayer Book, maintained ever since, of two lessons alike at Morning and Evening Prayer. The lectionary. *New system of lessons.* *Draft Schemes.*

With regard to the method of selection, the first of *Method of Selection.*

[1] Cardwell, *Conf.* 306, 314.

[2] See below, pp. 350, 352.

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these schemes followed the course of the ecclesiastical year beginning in Advent, and admitted special lessons for holy days outside the daily course. The ancient disposition of the books[1] was also partly retained: thus Genesis was begun at Septuagesima and the historical books were assigned to the summer months But in all these respects alterations were introduced into the second scheme: the reading followed the civil year, not the ecclesiastical year: the substitution of special lessons for holy days was given up: the connexion of special books with special seasons was broken, and, for example, Genesis was begun on January 3. In the third scheme the New Testament as well as the Old was made to follow mechanically the course of the civil year. The Gospels and Acts were read at the third lesson at Mattins, the Epistles at the second lesson of Evensong, the Apocalypse with the Old Testament prophets at the second lesson at Mattins, and the rest of the Old Testament in the first lessons. Connected with this third table of lessons (which belongs to Cranmer's second draft, and forms part of the second Kalendar described above) there was also a series of lessons for Saints' days, which were to be added then as fourth lessons, thus following to some extent again the precedent set by Quignon, and securing in one way what had been

[1] According to mediæval custom, representing the remains of the primitive system as codified under Carolingian influence, the general outline of the lectionary of Scripture was as follows: Isaiah in Advent followed by Jeremiah and Daniel up to Epiphany. Then the remainder of the prophets or the Pauline Epistles. From Septuagesima or Sexagesima to Passiontide the Heptateuch (Genesis —Ruth). In Eastertide the Acts, S. James, and the Apocalypse. Through the summer the historical and sapiential books. The Sarum breviaries retained some more and some less of this scheme. The Gospels were not read as books but the liturgical Gospels from the Mass were read instead with an expository homily. In Passiontide special select lessons from Jeremiah, &c., were chosen. See Bäumer 265 and ff, 285 and ff, and Wiegand *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen.*

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given up in another way, viz. the reading of some special lesson on Holy Days.[1]

The system of lessons of the First Prayer Book was only a small step beyond the last draft scheme. The blessing given to the reader before the lessons and the formula of closing, which had been retained by Cranmer in his draft schemes, disappeared. A very few special lessons were admitted for the greater Holy Days, but none for Sundays: the mechanical system already drafted was still farther simplified by the reduction of the Lessons at Mattins to two, so that one Old Testament lesson followed by the New Testament lesson could be appointed daily for each service, and go on in a series that was almost unbroken from week to week and month to month of the civil year.[2]

In 1559 the system of special lessons for Sundays was introduced, and additions were made to the proper lessons for Holy Days: the new Kalendar of 1561 contained a revised series of lessons as well as a revised list of days. Some variations have been introduced in 1604 and 1661. These were small compared with the changes introduced in the new lectionary of 1871: but the changes were only those of detail, the system remains what it was in the First Prayer Book.[3]

The 'Tables and Rules' owe a good deal to the *Collection of Private Devotions*, published by Bishop Cosin in 1627.[4] The rules for the moveable feasts are drawn from it,[5] and also the table of vigils, fasts, &c. These

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 22–24, 34, 35, 373–394.

[2] Some trace, however, is left of the old system of connecting books with seasons, in that the book of Isaiah was assigned out of its natural course to the end of November and all December, where it should coincide with Advent, as it did under the old system.

[3] See above, p. 222.

[4] *Works* (Angl. Cath. Libr.), II. 83 and ff.

[5] Some such direction appeared as early as the Latin Book of 1560 and the New Kalendar of 1561.

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had been observed up till 1661, only in deference to custom, reinforced by Statute Law,[1] except that the Eves to be observed with fasting as vigils were marked in the Kalendar from 1561 onwards.[2] The revisers at Cosin's suggestion[3] adopted and enacted the same list as he had put out; but they admitted only one exception to the Friday fast, while Cosin had excepted any Friday falling within the twelve days of Christmas, and they added the note as to the vigil of feast days falling upon a Monday.[4]

[1] 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 19, and 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 3.

[2] They were also so marked in the Kalendar of the Edwardine Primer of 1553, with the entry, 'Fish.'

[3] *Works*, v. 514.

[4] They did not enforce 'The Times wherein Marriages are not solemnized' which Cosin had given as 'From Advent Sunday until eight days after the Epiphany, From Septuagesima Sunday until eight days after Easter, From Rogation Sunday until Trinity Sunday.'

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I. Methods of Psalmody.

Four distinct methods of psalmody were anciently in use, two involving a refrain and two involving none. The two latter were: 1, *Cantus directaneus*, the simplest form of singing in chorus, with little more than monotone; 2, *Cantus tractus*, singing in an unbroken solo; here the chant, as was usual in the case of solo voices, was generally very elaborate, *e.g.* in the 'Tracts' sung after the Epistle on penitential occasions. The two other forms, involving more or less of a refrain, were 3, *Cantus responsorius*, and 4, *Cantus antiphonalis*. The first of these is the older of the two: psalms were sung to a monotone with slight inflection by a single voice, and at intervals a short refrain was sung by the congregation. This method, which was very simple in primitive times, was elaborated as time went on, and the Graduals or the Responds of the Roman chant, which date back to the VIth century, are extremely florid; though they preserve, in spite of the elaborate phrases with which they are ornamented, their own fundamental character as being really monotone with inflections. The Antiphonal method, however early it may have been in the East, was introduced into the West by S. Ambrose. It differed in two chief respects from the responsorial psalmody: (*a*) in method, since it was the alternation, not of solo and chorus, but of choir answering choir; and (*b*) in character, since the music was not a developed monotone, but a style of unfettered melody. Antiphonal psalmody has also gone through many and various modifications since its introduction into the West. For further information, see the *Elements of Plainsong*, pp. 55 and ff; Kienle, *Chant Grégorien*, pp. 122–186; *Paléogr. Musicale*, IV.; or, for a good summary, Bäumer, pp. 119 and ff.

II. Table of Occurrence.

The following table has been found necessary to settle some disputed points. It takes the place of the old *Pica* or Pie,[1] which regulated the occurence and concurrence of feasts; but it deals only with occurence, since under the Prayer Book system there is no clashing when feasts concur, *i.e.* fall on consecutive days.

[1] Above, pp. 17, 257.

A Table to Regulate the service when Two Feasts, or Holy-days, fall upon the same day.[1]

(Drawn up in 1879 by the Committee of Convocation appointed to revise the Rubrics).

When two Feasts or Holy Days happen to fall upon the same day, then shall be said the whole service proper to the day placed in the left-hand column of the following table; and wheresoever in the service the collect for the day is appointed to be said, then shall immediately follow the collect for the day placed in the right-hand column:—

1 Sunday in Advent.	S. Andrew.
4 Sunday in Advent.	S. Thomas.
S. Stephen, S. John, Innocents' Day, Circumcision.	1 Sunday after Christmas.
Epiphany.	2 Sunday after Christmas.
Conversion of S. Paul.	3 Sunday after the Epiphany.
Purification.	4 Sunday after the Epiphany. Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima Sundays.
Septuagesima and Sexagesima Sundays.	Conversion of S. Paul.
Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima Sundays, Ash-Wednesday, Sundays in Lent.	S. Matthias.
Annunciation.	3, 4, 5, Sundays in Lent.
Sunday next before Easter, Monday before Easter to Easter Even, inclusive.	Annunciation.
Easter Day, Monday and Tuesday in Easter week.	Annunciation. S. Mark.
1 Sunday after Easter.	S. Mark. S. Philip and S. James.
S. Mark. S. Philip and S. James.	2, 3, 4, 5, Sundays after Easter.
Ascension Day.	S. Philip and S. James.
Whitsun Day, Whitsun Monday and Tuesday. Trinity Sunday.	S. Barnabas.
S. Barnabas and all other holy-days till All Saints' Day, inclusive.	Sundays after Trinity.

The table is not altogether satisfactory: it lacks the precision and completeness of the old rules: *e.g.* it makes no provision for the transference of festivals on occasions, such as the occurrence of Lady Day and Good Friday, when combination is impossible. The principle of transference is not laid down in the Prayer Book, but it has received episcopal sanction in recent years.

[1] See *The Convocation Prayer Book* (London 1888).

CHAPTER X.

THE ORDER FOR DAILY MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER.

I. *The Origin of Divine Service.*

A LARGE part of the history of Divine Service has already been touched upon in dealing with the use of the Psalter and Lectionary: how important a part of the subject this is, can best be judged from the statement already made, that the Divine Service mainly exists for the purpose of the orderly recitation of the Psalter and reading of the Bible.

Two objects of Divine Service.

1. Use of Psalter and Bible.

In close connexion with this object another is also visible from the first, viz., to consecrate certain fixed hours of the day to prayer. This object was present to the Jewish mind, as is clear from Daniel's practice of praying three times a day, or from the Psalmist's mention of midnight thanksgiving and sevenfold daily prayer.[1] It was also the habit of the Apostles and others, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles[2] and soon became a recognized ideal of the devout Christian. The *Didache* prescribes the use of the Lord's Prayer three times daily, presumably at the Third, Sixth, and Ninth hours, which are referred to as Hours of Prayer in the Acts of the Apostles, and by a long string of Fathers beginning with

2. Consecration of fixed hours to prayer.

[1] Dan. vi. 10; Ps. cxix. 62, 148; [2] Acts ii. 1, 15; iii. 1; x. 3, 9, 30.

The Origin of Divine Service.

Clement of Alexandria (c. 195), and Tertullian (c. 200). From the same list of authorities similar testimony may be obtained to the use of a formal midnight prayer or Vigil. The custom of prayer on rising and retiring to bed hardly needs to be formally attested.[1]

Growth of this habit.

The consecration of such hours as these to prayer was at first a matter of private devotion; but before long the practice received public recognition, and public services began to be devised. It was probably the Vigil or midnight service which first acquired this recognition. The early Christians were deeply impressed with the expectation that our Lord's Second Coming, which they deemed imminent, would be at midnight and at the Paschal solemnities. The night preceding Easter was therefore kept as a Vigil with continuous services preparatory to Easter Communion. By a natural process the Vigil was repeated before other Sundays, and in some cases before Saturdays, that is to say, in places where Saturday was observed as a day of special solemnity. And so it came to be considered a natural preparation for any great day, and was prefixed also to Saints' days.

The Vigil.

Later, when monastic influences began to act powerfully upon the services,[2] the night service became

[1] See the collection of passages in Pleithner, *Aelteste Geschichte des Breviergebetes*, or in Bäumer, pp. 41 and ff. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, ch. 1.

[2] The growth of monasticism exercised a very large influence on the development, as has been already mentioned. (Above, p. 313.) At first the 'religious' of both sexes, other than hermits, lived at home and went to the churches for their devotions, and thus their private prayers became joint and public prayers. Then the clergy began to take an increasing part in the Hours. Meanwhile convent life was devised, and with it came a great enlargement of the system of Hour-Services: this again further affected the clergy, who were not willing to be left behind in the course of progress, but were obliged to adopt the new ideas. Thus the system became obligatory upon clergy as well as characteristic of monasticism, and 'secular' schemes took their place side by side with monastic schemes of service, and derived from them, while the old rudimentary services of the clergy, such as are traceable, *e.g.* in the Hippolytean Canons, disappeared.

The Origin of Divine Service.

a daily institution,[1] but by the same process it was reduced in its proportions till it became the mediæval service of Nocturns, *i.e.*, a midnight service of psalms and lessons of varying length according to circumstances.[2]

Morning and Evening Prayer.

The Hours of Prayer which next acquired public recognition and became public services were the Morning and Evening Prayer: this had probably come about by the end of the second century, and the services were started which became in the later system Lauds and Evensong (Vespers).

The Little Hours.

The little Hours of Terce, Sext and None did not become public services till the end of the fourth century, and then at first only in monastic communities; at a still later date two further offices were added, both of them under monastic influence, and probably in Italy, that of Compline, as a service at bedtime, and that of Prime as a similar service preceding the daily Chapter or business-meeting of the monks.[3]

This system of Hours of Prayer was already complete in the West, probably by the end of the fifth century, for the Roman *cursus* or 'course' of psalmody allotted the Psalms and Canticles to this system of services, and S. Benet's 'course' (530), which seems to be a revision of the Roman 'course,' did the like, though with important modifications.

[1] The exact line of connexion between the occasional vigil and the daily vigil cannot be very exactly traced, but it seems to have been due to these influences.

[2] The whole of this history is very obscure, and most of these questions, such as the mutual relationship of secular and monastic services, as they in turn influenced one another, afford plenty of scope for conjectures, but very little for statements of established fact.

[3] Cassian mentions the establishment at Bethlehem of a novelty in the shape of a service at the first hour (*Instit. Cœnob.* I. iv. Migne *P. L.* xlix. 126), but this does not seem to have really been the progenitor of the later service of Prime, though from the similarity of name and time it has often been so taken.

II. *The Structure of the Hours of Prayer.*

The Structure of the Hours of Prayer.

The structure of the Hours of Prayer bears out and confirms this sketch of their history. The midnight service of Nocturns stands alone; Lauds is like Vespers, the three Little Hours follow one uniform plan, while Compline and Prime are clearly formed on one model. Before describing in detail the normal[1] structure of these services as they existed in mediæval times according to the 'secular' type[2] it will be well to call attention to some general points, which (with some small exceptions) hold good throughout.[3]

Reading.

The course of Bible reading (as has been already shown) was confined to Nocturns, the night-service, and the only reading of Scripture, which took place at the Day Hours, consisted in the recitation of a short text called the *Capitulum*, or Chapter, generally drawn from the Epistle belonging to the corresponding Mass.[4] At Nocturns (later called Mattins), the lessons were read in groups of three lessons; either one or three such groups were prescribed according to the day. Each lesson was followed by a *Responsorium* or Respond, sung by soloist and choir.

Psalmody.

Psalms were sung at all the Hours, but fixed Psalms were appointed for all of them except Nocturns and Evensong: consequently it was only at these that the Psalter was sung through 'in course'; Ps. i–ex. (English numbering) were those appointed at Nocturns, and Ps.

[1] The structure is altered at special times by omission or addition: such alterations need not now be taken into account.

[2] See above, p. 314.

[3] See the specimen given above on pp. 257—268, containing the Hour Services for the first Sunday in Advent from the Sarum Breviary (ed. Seager, 1842).

[4] Prime and Compline do not vary the *Capitulum* from time to time, but have a fixed Chapter and a fixed Collect.

cx.–end at Evensong, and the fixed psalms appointed for the other services were excluded from the 'course.' The Structure of the Hours of Prayer.

The psalms in the secular services were all sung antiphonally: the responsorial method of singing was used in the *responsoria* or responds, which followed the lessons and the *capitula* or chapters.

The services began alike with introductory devotions,[1] but ended differently from one another. Nocturns ended abruptly, when the lessons and singing were over, with a versicle, said by the officiant, but without any collect; it preserved in this respect its primitive simplicity, because in practice the service of Lauds followed it immediately.[2] In all other cases, but that of Nocturns, a collect, followed by two versicles, closed the service; except at Prime and Compline, the collect was variable according to the day, and was borrowed from the corresponding mass. On many occasions the collect was preceded by the *Preces* or suffrages, *i.e.*, miscellaneous devotions largely made up of Versicles and their Responses. The suffrages were uniform at Lauds, Evensong, and the Little Hours, but Prime and Compline had suffrages of their own formed on another pattern, and embodying the recitation of the Creed as well as the Lord's Prayer, and also a form of mutual confession and absolution.[3] *Opening and Close of the Services.*

In process of time *addenda* and appendixes were incorporated into the framework of the services, and also many additional services were added, which resulted in a great complication of the system of the Breviary Hours: but the supplementary services must be passed over altogether here, and of the former it is only neces- *Additions*

[1] But Mattins and Compline had an additional opening versicle.

[2] This versicle was afterwards looked upon as introductory to Lauds, but this seems to have been due to a misunderstanding.

[3] See below, pp. 386, 392 and ff.

The Structure of the Hours of Service.

sary to notice that there were added on occasion at the end of Lauds and Evensong, *Memoriæ* or Memorials, that is, short devotions, each consisting of Antiphon, Versicle, and Collect, and commemorating some circumstance or some particular intention appropriate to the day.

Tables of the structure.

The structure of *Nocturns* is as follows :—

1.	Private prayers .	*Pater* (*Ave*), privately.
2.	Introduction . .	Opening Versicles aloud.
3.		*Venite* with its Invitatory.
4.		Hymn.
5.	The Nocturns .	One or three groups of (i) Psalms said in course with antiphons, each followed by (ii) a Versicle and Response, and by (iii) Three lessons, each preceded by a blessing and followed by (iv) a Respond.
6.	Conclusion . . .	On Festivals *Te Deum*.
7.		Varying Versicle and Response leading to Lauds.

Lauds

1. Introduction.
2. Five Psalms or canticles, fixed (with slight variations), but with varying antiphons.
3. *Capitulum* or Chapter, varying, and ℟. *Deo gratias*.
4. Hymn, varying, and its Versicle.
5. *Benedictus* with varying antiphon.
6. Collect, varying, preceded on occasion by Suffrages.
7. Memorials, varying on occasion.

Evensong or Vespers

1. Private prayers and Introduction.
2. Five Psalms, in course, with varying antiphons.
3. Chapter, varying.
4. Respond, varying, but used on great occasions only.
5. Hymn, varying, and its Versicle.
6. *Magnificat* with varying antiphon.
7. End as at Lauds, Nos. 6 and 7.

Terce Sext and None

1. Private prayers and Introduction.
2. Hymn, fixed.
3. Six portions of Ps. cxix. in three divisions with varying antiphon.
4. Chapter, varying.
5. Respond, varying, and Versicle, varying.
6. Collect, varying, preceded on occasion by Suffrages, as at Lauds.

Prime

1. Private prayers and Introduction.
2. Hymn, fixed.
3. Psalms, fixed, with varying antiphon.
4. *Quicunque vult*, with antiphon (five alternatives).
5. Chapter (three alternatives).
6. Respond, fixed, but subject to slight modifications.
7. Versicle, fixed.
8. Suffrages, and Collect (two alternatives).

Compline of the Sarum Use

1. Private prayers and Introduction.
2. Four psalms, fixed, with varying antiphon.
3. Chapter, fixed.
4. Respond (two alternatives, and only in Lent).
5. Hymn, varying, and Versicle, fixed.
6. *Nunc dimittis*, with varying antiphon.
7. Suffrages and fixed Collect.

III. *The Structural Modifications*

This system of the Hours of Prayer was in possession everywhere in the XVIth century with a thousand years of authority at its back. It had no doubt been introduced into England by S. Augustine, though little evidence is forthcoming as to its history here before the

Structural Modifications.

Alterations in mediæval times.

XIIIth century.[1] Alterations had been made, which while leaving the broad outline of the system intact, rendered it extremely complex. Two tendencies were at work, one of addition and the other of curtailment: in accordance with the former, various novel services, such as the secondary system of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, or the office of the Dead, were added to the obligations of the clergy and to the pages of the Breviary; and also new portions were inserted in or appended to the canonical or primary Hours. On the other hand curtailment was taking place, the lessons and psalmody were considerably shortened to compensate for the fresh obligations, and the long ferial offices were to a considerable extent avoided and replaced by festival offices or commemoration offices. Other innovations simply added to the intricacy of the system: the growth of the Kalendar, already explained above, the keeping of octaves and the saying of memorials all made fresh complications: and later still the system of 'Commemorations' was introduced, according to which the normal ferial office of the day was ousted on two or even three days in a week, and a special service commemorative of the Blessed Virgin, or the patron, or some other saint was substituted in its place.

Changes of structure

Early in the XVIth century, among the many objects which clamoured for reform, the Service-books were recognized to have a paramount claim. The breach between England and Rome gave the English Church her opportunity, and a reform of the Hour Services was inaugurated and carried on by slow steps.[2] The main objects of the revision were to simplify the complex system and to recover the orderly and continuous reading

[1] See above, pp. 12 and ff. [2] See above, Chapter II.

Structural Modifications.

of the Bible and recitation of the Psalter, while removing at the same time the corruptions which had crept in, chiefly into the series of lessons: at a later date it was further seen to be advisable to make the system applicable to the laity instead of being almost confined to the clergy, and with that object to reduce the number of Hours of Prayer, and to issue the services in the vernacular. The course of this development can be traced in Cranmer's Drafts for the revision of the Breviary. At first he followed the lines of Quignon, kept the seven Hours and the Latin tongue, rearranged the Psalter and provided lessons at Mattins, Lauds and Evensong: the Chapters and all Responds were abolished, and but one antiphon was retained for each Hour. The Hymn at Lauds was abolished, and the hymns which were retained were all placed in a uniform position immediately after the introduction: by this and other means as well the structure of the Hours was made more uniform.[1]

inaugurated by Cranmer.

His first Draft for Mattins.

The second Draft shews considerable advance: the Latin language was still to be retained except for the Lord's Prayer and the Lessons: the Hours were to be compressed into two,[2] of which Mattins represented the ancient Mattins, Lauds and Prime. The Little Hours and Compline were to be omitted; and even the latter half of the new Mattins, from *Te Deum* onwards, might be omitted to make room for preaching.

Second Draft.

[1] The Draft is printed in Gasquet and Bishop, Appendix II.

[2] The seven services of the Latin Breviary were habitually, at this time, said in two groups, so that the custom of praying actually seven times a day no longer was in general use among the secular clergy. Hence this action of Cranmer was an innovation in appearance more than in reality. The Lutherans had experimented in the same way, and had already adopted schemes of daily service derived from the Latin by a similar plan to that which Cranmer adopted. Jacobs, p. 245, and Pullan, p. 160; and cp. above, p. 90.

Structural Modifications.

The following table will shew the structure of the projected service.

1. The Lord's Prayer in English said aloud, with the rest of the Introduction.
2. Hymn.
3. Three psalms, each with *Gloria*, but no *Venite*.
4. The Lord's Prayer aloud.
5. Three Lessons, with introductory blessing and final close.
6. *Te Deum*.
7. A fourth lesson, on occasions.
8. *Benedictus*.
9. Collect.
10. [*Quicunque vult*, with Suffrages on Sundays only.]

Evensong is to follow the same course, but to have two lessons instead of three, then *Magnificat*, then the Collect, and so come to an end.

The First Book.

From this project it was a very easy transition to the First Prayer Book. The hymns were omitted for want of English versions; the lessons were reduced to two, shorn of their introductions and closes, but placed so that singing came as a break between them; the suffrages were retained in an unchanging form as an introduction to the Collect, and this was followed by two other prayers in the position of the old 'memorials.'

The Second Book.

A slight development in 1552 brought the main body of the service into its present form by the prefixing of the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession and Absolution, and the transposition of the Creed and the Salutation so as to follow the *Benedictus*. The rubrical direction for adding an anthem with the five prayers or Litany was made in 1661.[1]

The following comparative table exhibits the development so far as the general structure is concerned :—

[1] See below, p. 397.

Structural Modifications.

MATTINS		
BREVIARY	FIRST PRAYER BOOK	SECOND PRAYER BOOK
		Sentences. Exhortation. Confession and Absolution.
MATTINS—		
Introduction. *Venite* with Invitatory. Hymn.	Introduction (modified). *Venite* plain.	Introduction. *Venite.*
Psalms in course with antiphons and 1 or 3 Nocturns or Groups of Lessons with Responds.	Psalms in course, plain.	Psalms.
	First lesson, plain.	First lesson
Te Deum on festivals, and Versicle.	*Te Deum*,	*Te Deum.*
	or	or
LAUDS—		
Fixed psalms and canticle (on Sunday *Benedicite*), with antiphons.	*Benedicite*, plain.	*Benedicite.*
Chapter. Hymn and Versicle.	Second lesson.	Second lesson.
Benedictus with antiphon.	*Benedictus*, plain	*Benedictus* or *Jubilate.*
		Creed and Salutation.
Suffrages on occasion, and Collect. Memorials.	Suffrages (including Creed) and Collect. Collects for Peace and Grace.	Suffrages and Collect. Collects for Peace and Grace.
		Added in 1661. [Anthem. Litany or 5 Prayers]

Evensong.

By a similar process Evensong was formed of materials taken out of the old service of Evensong or Vespers, together with the *Nunc Dimittis* and the third Collect taken from Compline. It was made to follow the structure of the new Mattins, so that both the services should be of a uniform design.[1] It will be seen if the

[1] The introductory versicle *Domine labia* which had been peculiar to Mattins was prefixed to Evensong in 1552, and so the uniformity was made complete.

Structural Modifications.

tables of Evensong and Compline given above are compared with the structure of the Evening Prayer of the Prayer Book that more omission and alteration was necessary here than at Morning Prayer.[1]

It is time now after these preliminaries to turn to the actual services themselves as they stand in the present Prayer Book and consider them point by point.

IV. *Introductory Rubrics*

These two rubrics were placed as general directions for the service in 1552. They give rise to many questions about which there has been much difference of opinion and practice.

(1) In what part of the church should the Morning and Evening Prayer be said? To settle this question was the original intention of the first of these rubrics. In 1549 the simple direction was given, '*The priest being in the quire shall begin with a loud voice. . . .*' But great diversity arose in the manner of ministration; the more ardent reformers were anxious to change every custom of the mediæval service: hence, not only did some lay aside the vestments worn by the priest, but they left the accustomed place of reading the prayers. And this was not treated as an unimportant matter; for we find Bucer calling it antichristian to say service in the choir; and

Prayers to be said in the accustomed place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel.

[1] It is important to observe that though, historically speaking, the structure of the Prayer Book Service is derived from the Breviary Service, yet for all practical purposes the structure of the derived English service, as it stands, is entirely different from that of the Latin services from which it was derived. A single example will make this clear: the Latin Vespers and Compline each of them work up to a Gospel canticle as the definite climax of the service, and this *crescendo* is the structural secret of each: but when these are combined in the English Evensong the climax is gone, the *crescendo* ceases, and the clue to the structure of the service must be sought elsewhere. It is, in fact, more analogous to the old Vigil service, with its alternating lessons and chants, or to the mediæval Nocturns, than to its own immediate forbears.

Introductory Rubrics.

opinions of the same class were constantly gaining ground throughout the reign of Edward VI.[1] Accordingly, in the new Prayer Book of 1552, this was placed as a general introductory rubric, with the title prefixed, '*The Order where Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used and said:*' and the first rubric directed it to be '*used in such place of the church, chapel, or chancel, and the minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary. . .*' In 1559 this was altered to '*the accustomed place. . . except it shall be otherwise determined by the ordinary.* The effect of the altered rubric was a permission to retain the traditional customs, since on Elizabeth's accession the old usages were in force, and the *accustomed place* of service was the chancel: such therefore was to continue, unless the ordinary should appoint otherwise[2] for the better accommodation of the people. The direction that *the chancels shall remain, as they have done in time past* has no doubt saved them from destruction, but it did not save them from devastation either in Edward's reign or in Elizabeth's. Some attempt was made to moderate destructive zeal by the royal orders of October 10th, 1561[3]: but soon, and especially after the Advertisements of 1566,[4] the chancels were commonly deserted by the clerks and the priest alike. Some bishops used the authority which was given to them, and caused a seat to be made in the body of great churches, where the minister might sit or stand,

The accustomed place.

The chancels.

Reading pew.

[1] Above, p. 73. Cp. Hooper's sentiment expressed in his fourth sermon on Jonah in 1550. *Early Writings*, pp. 492, 493.

[2] Some seem to have made alterations without waiting for the direction of the ordinary: in 1564 Cecil complained of these irregularities; that some said service in the chancel, others in the body of the church, some in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit, with their faces to the people. Strype, *Parker*, p. 152.

[3] Printed in Perry, *Lawful Church Ornaments*, p. 276.

[4] *Doc. Ann.* LXV. p. 325.

Introductory Rubrics.

and say the whole of the Divine Service; or in smaller churches, a convenient seat outside the chancel door.[1] This in turn became the general custom: and the Canons (1603) direct a convenient seat to be made for the minister to read service in, 'in such place of every church as the bishop of the diocese, or ecclesiastical ordinary of the place, shall think meet for the largeness or straitness of the same, so as the people may be most edified.'[2] The Canon thus forms a commentary on the meaning of the rubric, which was retained at the last revision (1661), as a sufficient guide to the minister, all mention of Puritan innovations being avoided, and the final direction being left in the hands of the bishop of the diocese.

Vestments.

(2) What should be the dress of the minister? At the end of the Book of 1549 was placed the chapter, now forming a part of the Introduction, '*Of Ceremonies*,' with '*Certain notes for the more plain explication and decent ministration of things contained in this book*,' couched in the following terms. '*In the saying or singing of Mattins and Evensong, Baptizing and Burying, the minister in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same shall use a surplice. And in all cathedral churches and colleges, the archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries, and fellows, being graduates, may use in the quire, beside their surplices, such hood as pertaineth to their several degrees which they have taken in any university within this realm. But in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly that graduates, when they do preach, shall use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees. And whensoever the Bishop shall*

The Directions of the First Book of Edward VI. for Ministers,

or Bishops,

[1] Parkhurst's *Articles of Visitation for the Diocese of Norwich* (1569). This is the first mention that we find made of a reading pew. *Second Report of Ritual Commission*, p. 404.

[2] Canons (1603) 14 and 82.

Introductory Rubrics.

celebrate the Holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain.' Also the officiating priest at Holy Communion was instructed[1] to wear '*a white albe plain, with a vestment or cope*,' and the assistant priests or deacons, '*albes with tunicles*.' And on Litany days *though there be none to communicate, the Priest shall put upon him a plain albe or surplice with a cope and say* the ante-communion service.[2]

for the Priest at Communion.

In the Second Book of Edward VI. these ornaments were reduced to the smallest possible amount; it was then ordered,[3] '*that the minister at the time of the Com-*

Vestments ordered in the Second Book of Edward VI.

[1] Fourth rubric before the Communion Office (1549).

[2] Very few of these vestments except the alb and its girdle, the chasuble, stole and dalmatic go back to early times in the history of the Church. Surplices and hoods date only from the later middle ages: the rochet is a still later variant of the surplice. The chimere, which is now worn by Bishops with the rochet, was not worn in church till after the Reformation, but was the out-door walking dress of the bishop. The cope went through the same transformation at an earlier date and passed from being a protection against rain (*pluviale*) or cold to being an ecclesiastical vestment. The alb worn with a chasuble, a dalmatic or a tunicle comes direct from the ordinary dress of the Roman empire: the stole is a scarf of honour worn as an addition to it: the maniple represents an original handkerchief: the amice was probably introduced about the eighth century when vestments became much ornamented and a protection was needed round the neck; at a later period it was made also to serve as a head covering. The mitre began as a specially episcopal headdress in Rome in the Xth century. The black scarf or tippet was worn out of doors, by bishops with their rochet (and chimere), by priests with their gown and square cap. A false line of evolution has produced out of this a black or coloured 'stole' so-called, but worn not as a stole but as a scarf, with some spurious points of assimilation to the old use of the stole. If this garment is a stole, it is no more and no less legal than a chasuble, and it should not be worn at Mattins or Evensong. If it is a scarf, or tippet, it has a place of its own as the dress which is now prescribed for the minister by Canons 58 and 74, but it should not be worn deaconwise.

See for the question of vestments generally Duchesne, *Origines*, ch. xi.; Braun, *Die priesterlichen Gewänder* and *Die pontificalen Gewänder;* Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments;* Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, pp. 79 and ff.; St. Paul's Eccles. Soc. *Trans.* IV. 181 and ff., for the chimere; cp. IV. 128 and iii. 41.

[3] Second General Rubric before Morning Prayer (1552).

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munion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope: but being archbishop, or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochette: and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.'

The Elizabethan Book.

The rubric in Elizabeth's Prayer Book echoed the clause on this subject in her Act of Uniformity and referred to it: the present rubric is a modification of the Elizabethan rubric, retaining its provisions in spite of Puritan opposition, but following more exactly the terms of the Elizabethan Act.

Ornaments' Rubric.

Two difficult questions arising out of this have been of late years the subject of much discussion; the first concerns the general meaning of the rubric as governing the ornaments of the church as well as those of the minister: the second refers only to the latter—the vestments.

The date referred to.

First. It is doubtful whether the words *such ornaments. . . . as were in this Church of England by the authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth* refer to the state of things under the First Prayer Book or to that immediately anterior to the issue of that book.[1] The distinction is not one of

[1] The traditional view refers the words to the First Prayer Book; but this was not in fact in use by authority of parliament till the third year of the reign. But the Uniformity Act of 1552 spoke of the Act of 1549 as 'made in the second year,' and other instances of a similar laxity of expression can be found in acts of parliament (*Guardian* for 1899, p. 695). On the other hand the clause on the face of it points to a certain year—the year before the introduction of the Prayer Book; it was so understood at the time by Sandys (*Parker Corr.* p. 65); and Queen Mary's Act (1 Mary, Sess. 2, c. 2) in the same way referred to a year and not to any book. The objection to this view is the difficulty which besets it of finding an adequate interpretation for the words *by the authority of Parliament.* The traditional view seems the more probable; the Act of 1559 merely copied the mistake of 1552 and so the error went on. But the rubric, even if it refers to the Book and not the year, covers more ornaments than the few *expressly mentioned* in the First Prayer Book. Such an admission must be made, unless it is contended that not only minor things such as cushions, hassocks, &c., but also greater things, such as organs or even the usual episcopal dress, are illegal. Which is absurd. See further on this subject below, p. 367.

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very great importance,[1] but the second question is more vital.

Was the rubric superseded

The twenty-fifth clause in the Elizabethan Act provided for the retention of the ornaments 'until other order shall be taken therein by the authority of the Queen's majesty with the advice of' the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 'or of the Metropolitan of this realm.' The question arises whether further order was formally taken or no in this respect.

What is certain is that this clause and rubric were not fully enforced: the ornaments were retained, but a considerable number even of those specified expressly in the First Prayer Book were never put into use, and were ultimately defaced and made away with.[2] The well-known letter of Sandys[3] shows that in some influential quarters there was no intention that they should be used. The Bishops found that, in face of violent Puritan agitation, to exact the bare minimum of surplices with hoods in parish churches, and copes in cathedrals, was a task which would strain their power to the utmost: as early as 1560, by the time of the issue of the 'Interpretations'[4] they had determined with regard to vestments not to demand in practice more than these; and this policy found a more authoritative expression in the Advertisements of 1566.[5]

by the Advertisements?

These were issued by Parker and five of the southern bishops in accordance with a royal command contained

[1] Strype does not seem to have been justified in saying that Cranmer in 1550 wore his mitre at Ponet's consecration (*Cranmer*, 253), but it is clear that other ornaments than those specified were used with the First Prayer Book. Thus the distinction is of little legal value, and in either case, ornaments other than those mentioned in the First Book must be recognized as legal.

[2] Some were retained in use for a time, such as the grey almuces, which, though not mentioned in the First Prayer Book and actually given up in 1549, were retained for some time in Elizabeth's reign in face of Puritan complaints, and were in use until prohibited by Canon 4 of 1571.

[3] See above, p. 105.

[4] *Doc. Ann.* i. p. 238.

[5] *Doc. Ann.* LXV.

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in a letter of January 25, 1564–5. If 'other order' was taken in this matter it was through these Advertisements and the Canon of 1604 which quoted them.[1] In that case the Edwardine vestments must be held to have been abolished by an authority based upon and equivalent to the authority of parliament; and to have remained so at any rate till 1661. If, however, these Advertisements had not the full and formal authority provided in clause 25 of the Elizabethan Act, they were powerless to override it; and whatever the Bishops might do or not do as a matter of policy, could not affect the statutable legality of the Edwardine vestments.

The historical

This is a very intricate historical point: and there remains also the further question, whether the re-enactment of the rubric by the Caroline Act of Uniformity did or did not restore the vestments, if they had been in fact abolished by the Advertisements. This question is mainly a legal one.

and legal problem.

It is impossible here to discuss the whole problem, but it is evident that the Edwardine vestments remain legal, unless it can be proved that the Advertisements were such a formal taking of further order under the section 25 of the Elizabethan Act as to abrogate the use of all vestments except those expressly enforced by the Advertisements. It is open to grave doubt whether this can be proved. The method by which the Crown took action under the Act is most clearly known from the two undoubted instances of the use of the similar authority granted to the Crown in section 26, which took place in 1561 and 1604;[2] there is no trace of any procedure

The method of 'taking further order.'

[1] Canon XXIV. Previous Canons had also quoted them, but in those published with the authority of Queen Elizabeth (1575) the quotation was cut out before the publication was authorised. Cp. the case of the 4th Article of 1584. Selborne, *Liturgy of the Church of England*, p. 25.

[2] See above, pp. 109, 141.

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Elizabethan action.

at all analogous to this in the case of the Advertisements: moreover, in those two instances, as soon as the further action had been taken, the Prayer Book was altered in accordance with it: but the ornaments rubric has never been altered in accordance with the terms of the Advertisements.[1] Without going into further detail [2] these two luminous and undisputed facts seem to show that the Advertisements had only such force as belonged to episcopal action backed by the general authority of the crown:—that is to say, an overwhelmingly great force, *positively*, to enforce some vestments (which were already prescribed by the rubric and clause of 1559), but no force at all, *negatively*, to bring to an end the rubric and clause about ornaments, or to abrogate such other vestments as were there prescribed.

Action in 1661.

Again, with regard to the further question of the bearing upon this of the revision in 1661; even if the Advertisements be held to have abrogated the use of all other vestments but those which they enforced, for the whole period up till the changes at the Restoration, it is difficult to escape the argument that the Act of 1662, in authorizing the present rubric, did in fact revive the provisions of the Elizabethan Act and abrogate whatever changes the Advertisements may be supposed

[1] Nor was the practice of the Church altered: chasubles had not in fact been worn between 1560 and 1566, though prescribed. Only thenceforward the surplice and cope were more stringently enforced. But see *Zurich Letters*, II. ii. 77, where Beza in 1566 complains of chasubles.

[2] It must be added, however, against this argument that Elizabeth herself bears witness to another and earlier formal use of this authority, viz. in the Orders appended to her Injunctions of 1559 on the questions of the position of the Holy Table and of the use of wafer-bread. See Parker's Letter to Cecil, Jan. 8, 1578, in *Parker Corr.*, p. 375. This has an important bearing upon the case, and hitherto it does not seem to have been taken into account as it deserves to be from this point of view, though it is a familiar point in the arguments as to the legality of wafer-bread. See below, p. 500.

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to have introduced, thus restoring the legal position of the Edwardine vestments.

Modern judgments.

On the other hand it must be noted that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has twice[1] come to the conclusion that (i) the Advertisements were a further taking order within the meaning of the Act, so that the cope, surplice, scarf, and hood were the sole legal vestments from 1566 to 1662; and (ii) that at the latter date the intention and effect of the legislation was only to restore the *status quo* before the Rebellion. Such an opinion, of learned judges such as Lord Hatherley, Lord Cairns and Lord Selborne, must be taken into account in weighing the evidence, even by those who cannot in general recognize Privy Council Judgments as authoritative decisions of a proper Church Court, and although in this particular instance the final judgment, with the circumstances attending it, was very severely criticised at the time and has become generally discredited since.[2]

Ornaments of the church:

two views.

(3) What should be the ornaments of the church? The answer to this question depends partly upon the view which is taken on the first of the two difficult questions already discussed. If it is held that the rubric refers to the year preceding the Prayer Book of 1549, then a large number of ornaments are authorized, and these are to be ascertained by ecclesiological enquiry.[3]

If, on the other hand, it be held that the rubric refers to the First Edwardine Book, the number of ornaments

[1] Hebbert *v.* Purchas, 1871, and Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, 1877.

[2] See Lord Selborne's *Liturgy of the English Church*, pp. 12–28, in defence of the Judgment, and Parker's reply *Did Q. Elizabeth take 'other order' in the Advertisements of 1566?* And for a recent discussion of the whole question, Talbot, *Ritual*, ch. III. Valuable information is collected in Tomlinson, *Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies*, ch. IV.

[3] This view is that supported in Alcuin Club Tract, No. 1, Micklethwaite's *Ornaments of the Rubric*; the enquiry is there made and a detailed list given of the Ornaments which from that point of view are covered by the rubric.

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there ordered by name is exceedingly small and comprises only the following: Bible, Prayer-Book, Altar, Book of the Homilies, Poor Men's Box, Corporas, Paten, Chalice, Font, Bell, Quire Door, Pulpit. Besides these ornaments the use of others is implied, such as cruets for wine and water, and also for oil in anointing, a pix to carry the Blessed Sacrament to the sick, a lectern, pews or seats of some kind, &c.: and some are expressed by name in the present Prayer Book and must be added to the minimum list of ornaments contemplated; such as Alms bason, Flagon, and two fair linen cloths, the one to cover the altar, and the other to be placed over the Sacrament after the Communion: others are mentioned in the Canons. But even after all such additions have been made (which in themselves sufficiently refute any strict or narrow interpretation of the rubric), this list is so manifestly incomplete that it is clear that, if the rubric is interpreted as referring to the ornaments of the Book of 1549, it cannot be strictly interpreted, but must be held to sanction other things besides those specified by name.

Even the most restrictive must be liberally interpreted.

The further question then remains as to how far other things are held to be covered by the rubric. It is all a question of degree and of expediency: for the last half century the tendency has been to make the rubric (so interpreted) increasingly elastic, and to extend it to cover an increasingly large number of ornaments.[1] Finality in such matters is probably not desirable, but whether that be so or not, it certainly has not been attained.[2]

[1] Episcopal sanction is now given to many things to which formerly it was refused, and even the Church Courts and the Privy Council have come in time to declare legal some ornaments which previously they had declared illegal, such as a credence-table, altar-cross, and coloured altar-cloths.

[2] Some ornaments have been sanctioned which certainly are not covered by either view of the rubric, such as altar vases and hanging censers; and on the other hand chancel gates, which are expressly mentioned in the First Prayer Book, have been disallowed.

Morning Prayer.

V. *Morning Prayer.*

§1. *The Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution.*

Opening of the present service.

This commencement of our service was prefixed in 1552 to the older formularies. Reference has been made for its supposed original to the forms of worship used by the French and German congregations in England, and severally drawn up by Valerandus Pollanus and John à-Lasco.[1] But if the idea of placing a confession at the opening of the service was taken from the book of Pollanus, the peculiar doctrines of the French Reformers were carefully avoided.[2] This addition to the old service may be explained, however, without a distinct reference to these foreign forms. It was a time when sound exhortation was greatly needed, but when it was not wise to leave much to the uncertain care or discretion of individuals; and just as Homilies were provided to be read by those priests who were not allowed to preach, so addresses to the people were put into the Prayer Book, wherever an exhortation was felt to be required in the course of the services. This instruction, therefore, as to the necessity of a daily confession of sins to God, and of a comfortable trust in God's promises of pardon to the penitent through faith in Jesus Christ,—the great subject of the teaching of the Reformers,—was naturally placed at the beginning of the daily prayers, and expressed in words suited to bring home religion, as

Reason of this addition in 1552.

[1] See above, pp. 86 and ff.

[2] The followers of Calvin never lost an opportunity, especially in such a form as a confession, of tracing our *actual* sins to the *original* corruption of our nature; see the confession, above, p. 87. This notion is carefully avoided in our forms of prayer. Other expressions are introduced, which are contrary to the Calvinistic theory, such as the plea for mercy in our confession, by reason of the promises of God *declared unto mankind* by Jesus Christ, and the declaration of the Divine mercy in the Absolution,—*who desireth not the death of a sinner.* See Laurence, *Bampt. Lect.* Notes, pp. 268 and ff. and 374.

Morning Prayer.

a personal matter of continual obligation, to each man's conscience. Further, in preparing the English prayers in 1549, the mediæval forms of mutual confession and absolution, which occurred in the latter part of the services of Prime and Compline, were entirely omitted, and nothing was put in their place. Hence it became necessary, in revising the services in 1552, that this defect should be supplied; and the present forms were accordingly composed and brought into a much more suitable position for the present purpose at the opening of the service, thereby agreeing with the second edition of Quignon's Breviary and with similar arrangements in the services of foreign reformed congregations.[1]

The Sentences.

The texts from the Old and New Testaments fitly represent the necessity of repentance and confession of sin under the Old and the New Dispensation.

Rationale of the Sentences,

It has been well observed[2] that some of them contain support for the fearful, and are designed to prevent that excessive dread of God's wrath which hinders the exercise of devotion (3, 10, 7); some are designed to strengthen faith in God's mercy, and thus to comfort the despairing (4, 6, 9); some to inform the ignorant, who think either that they have no sin, or that a slight repentance will procure pardon (11, 1); some to rouse the negligent to the duty of immediate repentance (2, 8); and one to reprove the merely formal worshipper (5).[3]

the Exhortation,

The Exhortation connects the Sentences with the Confession: it derives the necessity for this duty from

[1] Cp. Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. cc. 'It is agreeable to religion that, as often as we appear before the Lord, before all things we should acknowledge and confess our sins, and pray for remission of the same.'

[2] Comber, *Companion to the Temple*, I. 1.

[3] In the American Prayer Book three additional Sentences (Hab. ii. 20; Mal. i. 11.; Ps. xix. 14, 15) were appointed in 1792: and in 1889 others were added, differing for Morning and Evening Prayer, and most of them adapted to special seasons of the Christian year.

Morning Prayer.

the Word of God, shows that the present time is most suitable, teaches the manner in which it should be performed, and invites to its performance. Its expressions are adapted to instruct the ignorant, to admonish the negligent, to support the fearful, to comfort the doubtful, to caution the formal, and to check the presumptuous,—tempers which are found in every mixed congregation, and which ought to be prepared for the solemn work of confession of sin.

the Confession,

The form provided for this purpose is called a 'General Confession.' It is general, because it is expressed in general terms, referring to the failings of human life, which are common to all men, and which may and ought to be confessed by all, without descending to particular sins, of which perhaps some of the congregation may not be guilty. It consists of three parts, besides the introduction, or address to God: the first, a confession of our sins of omission and commission; the second, a supplication of pardon for the past, and the third, a prayer for grace for the future.

The manner in which the Confession should be said is distinctly marked, because it differs from the manner customary in the older services of Prime and Compline: there the Confession was said by the principal person present, and the prayer of absolution following his confession was said by all present: then *vice versa* the congregation said the Confession and he the absolution, adding as well a further prayer of the same sort. By the rubric of the Prayer Book the Confession is *to be said of the whole congregation after the minister*; i.e. the minister is to say each clause, and then the people to repeat that clause after him.[1] The manner of saying

[1] This strict interpretation of the words here is justified by tradition: but elsewhere where the direction is equally explicit (*e.g.* at the Lord's

Morning Prayer,

the Lord's Prayer is different; that is to be said '*with* him,' the people repeating the clauses simultaneously with the minister.

and the Absolution

The Absolution also differs not only in form but also in scope from the form in the old offices: there it was in the form of a prayer suitable to be said by all alike in mutual interchange: but here it is declaratory and ministerial: the change is emphasized by the rubric. Until the Hampton Court Conference, it ran thus: *The Absolution, to be pronounced by the minister alone:* the explanatory words, *or Remission of sins*,[1] were added at the revision after that Conference, for the satisfaction of some who thought that the word 'absolution' was only popish. At the last revision, the word *priest* was substituted for *minister*, on which word the Puritans had sought to build an argument against the use of 'priest' at all: and a direction was adapted from the Scottish Book that he should stand while the people kneel.[2] This alteration shows the intention of the Church to be that deacons may read the prayers,[3] but that only one in priest's orders may pronounce the absolution. When a deacon therefore is saying the prayers, and a priest is also present, and in his place in the choir, the most

Not to be said by Deacons.

Prayer after Communion) it has not traditionally been so strictly interpreted; so it is doubtful how far such an interpretation is the true one, and how far the tradition in its favour is trustworthy.

[1] In some Prayer Books it is, *The Declaration of Absolution*, or *—as to the Forgiveness of Sins.*

[2] But not the direction, also given there, that he should turn to the people.

[3] The present practice arose in Elizabeth's time (1559), from the necessity of supplying some service to churches which had no parish priest, when not only deacons but even some laymen were licensed by the bishops to read the service. See the Articles, or promises subscribed by Readers, Strype, *Annals*, I. 151; Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I. p. 302, *note.* Lay-readers were gradually discontinued; but the public ministration of deacons became a general custom, and was recognised by the Act of Uniformity of Charles II., which ordered (§ 22) that, when any Sermon or Lecture is to be preached, the Common Prayers and Service appointed for that time of day shall be openly read by some priest or deacon.

Morning Prayer.

proper course appears to be, that the priest should stand, when the Confession is ended, and pronounce the Absolution, while the deacon continues kneeling, and ready to proceed in leading the people in the Lord's Prayer and the petitions which follow it. But when no priest is present, the deacon should continue kneeling after the Confession, and proceed to the Lord's Prayer.

The Absolution contains four particulars: (1) a general declaration of the mercy of God to returning sinners, and (2) of the authority committed to His ministers to pronounce pardon to the penitent; (3) the declaration of that pardon on condition of true faith and hearty repentance; and (4) an admonition to ask the help of His Holy Spirit to enable us to perform those conditions, that the pardon pronounced in His Church on earth may be effectual to our eternal salvation.

Amen.

It will be observed that the word *Amen* is printed at the end of the Confession; but that the first rubric directing it to be said by the people at the end of all prayers occurs after the Absolution. According to a later custom, which has no authority in *The Book Annexed*, the Amen is printed in a different type at the end of the prayers. In these, the minister says the Prayer, or the Collect, and then stops, while the people answer their *Amen*. In other parts, as the Confession, Lord's Prayer, Creeds, which are repeated by the minister and people, there is no such difference; and the minister goes on and says *Amen* himself, thus directing the people to do the same. In the alternating portions, as at the end of the *Gloria Patri*, the word is printed in the same character, thus directing it to be said by the same persons who have said the 'Answer' of the *Gloria*, as being a part of that 'Answer.'

§ 2. *The Old Introduction.*

The Old Introduction.

We come now to the point at which the old Latin Service began. This is indicated in the original MS. of 1661 by two lines drawn across the page to make a clear division, but they are constantly omitted by modern printers.[1] In 1549, as little alteration was made in the form of the service as was consistent with reformation of doctrine. Hence the Mattins and Evensong continued to begin with the Lord's Prayer: the *Ave Maria*, which had only been introduced into that position comparatively lately, was omitted, and the priest was directed to say the Lord's Prayer with a loud voice, instead of, as before, repeating it inaudibly as part of the private preparation which each one said to himself before the service began. The first allusion to its use at the beginning of the Hours comes from S. Benedict of Aniane (810), who ordered his monks thrice a day to go round the altars and say at the first the Lord's Prayer and Creed, *i.e.* before Mattins and Prime and after Compline.[2] In the Sarum Breviary it was preparatory to the service,[3] and after it the priest *began* the service with the versicles. The same method is now provided for by the rubric, which since 1661, has directed an

The Lord's Prayer.

[1] The division at this point is not the best structural division; the old service proper does not begin till the first versicle: there are now prefixed to it new English preparatory devotions as well as the older Latin private devotion of the Lord's Prayer. The real line to be drawn is after the Lord's Prayer, not before it, if it really is to help to define the structure. The Lord's Prayer is not an integral part of the Office here; the Lord's Prayer which really belongs to the service is the later one which follows the Lesser Litany. See below, p. 393. The old traditional musical use confirms this real structural division, but of late years a bad custom has arisen of beginning the singing and monotone before the versicle, 'O Lord, open Thou our lips': this not only obscures the structural division but is in itself ridiculously out of harmony with the general meaning of the words.

[2] Vita, cap. 8, in *Acta SS.* Feb. 12 (iv. 618).

[3] This use was introduced into Quignon's Breviary (1535), and into the Roman in 1568.

The Old Introduction.

'audible' voice instead of a 'loud' voice; the intention clearly is that all the introductory part of the service up to the ℣. *O Lord, open Thou our lips* should be said audibly and congregationally, but quietly without monotone or singing.

To be repeated by the people.

The direction that the people should join in repeating the Lord's Prayer in this place was added in 1661. Previously it had been said by the minister alone on its first occurrence in the Morning and Evening Prayer, and in the Communion Service; and (since 1552) by the minister, clerks, and people, when it occurred afterwards; unless indeed, as is very probable, the rubric of *The Book of Common Prayer Noted* (1550) shews a contrary custom to have prevailed: it has here '*The Quere wyth the Priest.*'

In 1661 a further change was made, following the Eastern, in opposition to the Western use, by the addition of the Doxology [1] at the conclusion of the prayer in this and in some other parts of the services. This forms no true part of the text of the Gospels, but is found as early as the *Didache*. It has great liturgical value, and there is special reason for its insertion in this place, where the Lord's Prayer immediately follows the Absolution, and the moment is one of praise.

The Versicles.

The Versicles have certainly been used since the sixth century. The first is taken from Ps. li. 15, and under the old system was peculiar to Mattins, as being the first Hour of the series. It was not prefixed to Evensong till

[1] Some ancient English versions, from the thirteenth century to 1538, are printed in Maskell's *Appendix to the Prymer*, *Mon. Rit.* II. 238 [III. 248]. All omit the Doxology, according to the constant use of the Latin Church. It was inserted in a quarto edition of the Prayer Book in 1630, and in the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637). The form used in the Greek Church is:—"Οτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. *Horologion*, p. 1.

The Old Introduction.

1552, when both it and the following were put into the plural number, instead of the singular.[1] It was originally prescribed for use on first waking. Similarly, the second versicle with its response is drawn from the opening verse of the 70th Psalm, which was originally repeated entire on waking or on the way from the dormitory to the church, and then concluded with *Gloria Patri*.[2] Hence arose the use of the opening versicles. In 1549 this section was taken from the Sarum Breviary,[3] but with two changes: (i) the *Gloria* was assigned to the Priest alone in the ordinary books, though not in the 'Noted' edition: in the Latin service it was sung by all together and it was not until 1661, when the traditional use was lost, that it became a ℣ and ℟: (ii) instead of *Alleluia*, to be said throughout the year except from Septuagesima to Easter, the following was ordered: 'Praise ye the Lord. *And from Easter to Trinity Sunday*, Alleluia.'[4] The Answer, 'The Lord's name be praised,' was first inserted in the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637), and was placed in the English Book at the last revision in 1661, when the words *Praise ye the Lord*, which before, in accordance with all precedent, were said by the people, were assigned to the Priest, through the same misunderstanding which altered the preceding *Gloria*.

[1] It is used so in the Mozarabic rite.

[2] Bäumer, pp. 259, 260. Cp. the *Regularis Concordia* of S. Ethelwold, cap. i. in Migne *P. L.* CXXXVII. 479 (attributed to S. Dunstan), or better in *Anglia*, XIII. 378. ed. Logeman.

[3] *Ad Matutinas dicat sacerdos* Pater noster, *et* Ave Maria.

Postea sacerdos incipiat servitium hoc modo, Domine, labia mea aperies,

Chorus respondeat, Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.

Sacerdos statim, Deus in adjutorium meum intende.

Resp. Domine ad adjuvandum me festina.

Gloria Patri. Sicut. Alleluia. *But from Septuagesima to Easter*, Laus tibi domine rex æternæ gloriæ.

[4] In the Western Church Alleluia is laid aside in penitential seasons. The Greek Church uses it not only on days of gladness, but more constantly on occasions of mourning and fasting, and burials.

The Invitatory and Psalmody.

Venite exultemus.

§ 3. *The Invitatory and Psalmody*

The 95th Psalm has been sung in the Western Church from a very remote period, before the Psalms of the first nocturn.[1] It has been generally termed the Invitatory Psalm. It was very possibly a new introduction by S. Benet into the services of the West, and passed from thence to the Roman office, except for the last three days of Holy Week and one or two other occasions where it still is wanting. *The Invitatory* was a refrain sung before it, and repeated in part, or entirely, after each verse.[2] Therefore the rubric (1549) directed *Venite* to be '*said or sung without any Invitatory*,'[3]

[1] Strictly, perhaps, the portion to the end of the invitatories was regarded as introductory to the service. It is probable that the custom of prefixing one or two psalms to the Nocturnal Office was also connected with the desire to allow some little time for the clergy and people to collect, before the office began. S. Benedict (*Regula*, ix. xliii) appointed two psalms, the second being the *Venite*. Bäumer 173. At Rome it was at first sung only on Sundays when the laity attended. Grancolas *Comment. in Rom. Brev.* I. 27.

[2] The *Venite* represents the old responsorial method of psalmody: the psalm was sung by solo voices, the choir only sang the Invitatory, repeating it in full after the odd verses but only the second part of it after the even verses. See *Sarum Brev.* I. 18: and for a specimen printed out in full, Dowden *Workmanship*, p. 61. And compare additional note on p. 345.

[3] In the rubric preceding *Venite* there is an instance of confusion between the ecclesiastical terms, *reading*, *saying*, and *singing*, which is found in other rubrics, which belong partly to the earlier Prayer Books, and partly to the last revision. At that time the phrase 'to *read* prayers' was coming into use — probably to distinguish the settled prayers of the Church from the extemporaneous effusions of Dissenters. See the rubric before the *Prayer for the King's Majesty* (Morning Prayer), which belongs to this period; 'Then these five Prayers following are to be *read* here, except when the Litany is *read*, &c.' See also the rubric before the Apostles' Creed; 'Then shall be sung or said... except only such days as the Creed of S. Athanasius is appointed to be *read*:' the latter part of this rubric was added in 1661. *To say*, however, does not necessarily mean *to intone*; a rubric of the Marriage Service, until the last revision, directed, 'Then shall be *said* a sermon.' The distinction intended by the rubrics is that which has been recognised since 1549, between 'choirs and places where they sing,'—churches where there are choral establishments, and where the service is chanted,—and ordinary churches, 'where there be no clerks,' and where the service is read. But in each case the XIVth Canon (1603) directs that the Com-

The Invitatory and Psalmody.

and the pointing of the psalm was assimilated to the rest of the Psalter, so that it could be sung to the ordinary Psalm tones instead of its own peculiar chants.[1]

Arrangement of the Psalter.

The Psalms follow according to the ancient custom; the changes from the mediæval services have already been explained, the chief one being that the whole Psalter is sung through 'in course' every month, instead of there being fixed Psalms appointed for certain services, and the remainder sung 'in course' every week. The Psalter thus becomes more generally known to the ordinary Sunday churchgoer, by the whole of it being used in turn in the Sunday services.

The Lessons and Canticles.

§ 4. *The Lessons and Canticles*

The Lessons.

The position which the Church gives to the reading of Scripture in the daily service commends itself to our reason. After confession and absolution, which may be called the preparation for worship, and psalmody, we are in a fit disposition to hear what God shall speak to us by His word. Two Lessons are read, one from the Old, and one from the New Testament; showing the harmony between the Law and the Gospel, and the unity of the Church under its two dispensations; the comparative darkness of the older prophetical and typical revelation being made clear by the history of the life of Jesus Christ, and preaching of His Apostles.

The ancient method of reading the Lessons has been already dealt with above, and it has been shown that

mon Prayer be 'said *or* sung distinctly and reverently.' See Robertson, *How to Conform*, pp. 139 and ff. '*Cantare missam* priscorum phrasi illi dicebantur, qui sine cantu et privatim celebrabant:' Card. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, I. xiii. 5.

[1] For these see the Tonal in Frere, *Use of Sarum*, vol. II. Appendix. In the American Book the *Venite* consists of the first seven verses of Ps. xcv, with Ps. xcvi, 9 and 13.

The Lessons and Canticles.

the recovery of continuous Bible reading, which had been lost in the course of time from the Breviary services, was one of the main objects of the revision of the Prayer Book: while the appointment of two chapters at Morning and Evening Prayer, one from the Old, and one from the New Testament, was itself a return to primitive custom.[1]

First Lessons on ordinary days.

For the First Lessons on ordinary days the course begins at the beginning of the year with Genesis, and takes the books of the Old Testament in their order, omitting, however, chapters and books, which for this purpose are less useful. Isaiah is not read in its order, but is reserved for the season of Advent, on the ground that he is 'the Gospel Prophet,' and that his book contains the clearest prophecies of Christ.

The Apocrypha.

In the Kalendars of 1561 and 1661, and down to 1872, there were above fifty days for which Lessons were appointed from the Apocryphal books. These are read, as they have been read in the Western Church since the fourth century, 'for example of life and instruction of manners, but not applied to establish any doctrine.'[2] The new Lectionary has Lessons from the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch, for twenty-one days.[3]

The first Lessons appointed for Sundays form a

[1] S. Justin Martyr shows that at the Eucharist in the second century 'the writings of the Prophets and Apostles' were read. *Apol.* § 67; see p. 507. And for the Early Hour Services cp. Cassian, *Inst. Cœnob.* II. 6: 'quibus [psalmis] lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est unam veteris et aliam novi Testamenti. . . .'

[2] Hieron. *Prologus in Libros Salomonis*, Opp. vol. I. p. 692, ed. Paris, 1624. See the Sixth Article, and Gibson's commentary on it in *The Thirty-nine Articles.*

[3] In all editions of the Prayer Book up to 1661, directions had been given as to the singing of the Lessons at the Morning and Evening Prayer and of the Epistle and Gospel at the Eucharist. These were then omitted partly perhaps because of Puritan objections (see p. 65) but more probably because the traditional method had been forgotten. No directions are given in either Clifford's 'Brief directions' prefixed to his book *The Divine Services*, or in Edward Lowe's *Short Directions*, which are the two books which carried over the Cathedral traditions to the Restoration period;

The Lessons and Canticles.

distinct yearly course of selected chapters from the Old Testament. These are taken from Isaiah during Advent and Epiphany, and from the Books of Job and Proverbs for the last three Sundays after Epiphany. Genesis is begun on Septuagesima Sunday, which is the first step in the preparation for Lent, and the point at which the Sundays begin to be reckoned with reference to the coming Easter. This book, relating the original of our misery by the sin of Adam, and the judgment of God upon the world, has been read during Lent, as part of the instruction of Catechumens, from very early times in the Christian Church.[1] The selections then proceed through the Historical and Prophetical Books.

First Lessons for Sundays.

Another course is provided for Holy Days: proper chapters are appointed, usually for the First and the Second Lesson, which are suited to the Commemoration, either prophetical of it, or, if possible, relating the history of it.[2]

Lessons for Holy Days

The Second Lessons are always taken from the New Testament, so that, with the exception of the Revelation, it is read through twice in the year. The order is interrupted only on certain Holy Days which have their own proper history, appointed to be read.

The Second Lessons.

It is probable that, from very ancient times, Psalms or Canticles have been intermingled with the reading of

The Canticles.

and Bishop Wren records that the Lessons, Epistle and Gospel were in his day nowhere sung. *Fragm. Illust.* 58.

[1] Chrysost. *Hom.* VII. *ad Pop. Antioch.* Opp. II. p. 100, ed. Par. 1838. Migne *P. G.* XLIX. 92. It is still so read in the Byzantine, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic rites.

[2] There can be no difficulty in determining what should be read on Holy Days when they fall in the week. For the fixed festivals (e.g. *Circumcision*, *Epiphany*, &c.) no Lessons are appointed in the Kalendar; and therefore on those days, and likewise on the moveable festivals and fasts (such as *Holy Week*, *Ascension Day*, &c.), reference must be made to the Table of *Lessons proper for Holy Days*. But when a saint's day falls on a Sunday, the case technically known as 'occurrence,' the precedence may be regulated by the table given above, p. 346.

The Lessons and Canticles.

Scripture in the public service, at the Hour Services, as well as at the Eucharist, but as a rule these were variable from day to day. In the Latin Mattins each of the Lessons was followed by a Respond: these elaborate compositions for solo and chorus, set to words appropriate to the Lessons themselves or to the occasion, formed the bulk of the Roman chant (*cantilena Romana*) which was welcomed with such enthusiasm and sung with such skill when introduced by the Roman mission to England. Unfortunately it was too elaborate and magnificent for a popular and congregational service, and consequently the whole of this rich treasure had to be sacrificed and excluded from the Prayer Book. The principle, however, was maintained of singing alternately with reading, and fixed canticles or hymns were appointed after each lesson. The first of these is the hymn *Te Deum laudamus.* In the Breviary it is called the 'Psalm *Te Deum*,' or the 'Canticle of Ambrose and Augustine,' from the old legend, that, at the baptism of S. Augustine by S. Ambrose, it was improvised and sung alternately by the two saints by inspiration. Recent researches have discovered the real author in Niceta, missionary Bishop of Remesiana in Dacia at the end of the fourth century. There is no extant testimony to its use earlier than the Rule of S. Benet: by that time it was commonly known throughout Western Christendom, and sung at the end of the night-office. The rubric of the Sarum Breviary appointed it at Mattins on Sundays and Festivals, except in Advent, from Septuagesima to Easter, and on some other days. In 1549 it was ordered to be used '*daily throughout the year except in Lent*,' when its place was to be taken by *Benedicite*.[1] The exception

Te Deum laudamus.

Its Author.

[1] The *Benedictus es domine*, the sung daily in Lent according to that Mozarabic form of *Benedicite*, is use.

was omitted in the rubric of Edward's Second Prayer Book, but the *Benedicite* was retained as an alternative.

The following is the Latin original, taken from the printed Sarum Breviary, which gives the text in a form which modern research seems to show to be very generally correct, except in the case of the one word *numerari* in v. 21. This has no MS. authority at all, and only appeared by mistake for *munerari* for the first time in the Breviary of 1491; it was, however, unfortunately accepted by the Revisers of the Prayer Book, and has left its mark there.[1]

1 Te Deum laudamus,
te Dominum confitemur :
2 Te æternum Patrem
omnis terra veneratur.
3 Tibi omnes Angeli,
tibi cœli et universæ potestates,
4 Tibi Cherubin et Seraphin
incessabili voce proclamant :
5 Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus ; Dominus Deus Sabaoth :
6 Pleni sunt cœli et terra majestatis gloriæ tuæ.
7 Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus,[2]
8 Te Prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
9 Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.
10 Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia ;
11 Patrem immensæ majestatis ;
12 Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium ;
13 Sanctum quoque Paraclytum Spiritum.

14 Tu Rex gloriæ Christe,[3]
15 Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius.
16 Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,
non horruisti virginis uterum.

[1] There is also an important variation in verse 16, *Tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem* : but this is now recognised to be probably an Irish emendation.

[2] Cp. S. Cyprian. *De Mortalitate*, c. 26 (ed. Hartel, I. 313): 'Illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus : illic prophetarum exultantium numerus : illic martyrum innumerabilis populus...'

[3] See Wordsworth, *Te Deum* (S.P.C.K.)

The Lessons and Canticles.

17 Tu, devicto mortis aculeo,
aperuisti credentibus regna cœlorum.
18 Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes in gloria Patris.
19 Judex crederis esse venturus.
20 Te ergo quæsumus, famulis tuis subveni,
quos pretioso sanguine redemisti.
21 Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis
in gloria numerari.

22 Salvum fac populum tuum Domine : et benedic hæreditati tuæ.[1]
23 Et rege eos : et extolle illos usque in æternum.
24 Per singulos dies benedicimus te :
25 Et laudamus nomen tuum in sæculum et in sæculum sæculi.[2]
26 Dignare Domine die isto: sine peccato nos custodire.[3]
27 Miserere nostri Domine : miserere nostri.[4]
28 Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos : quemadmodum speravimus in te.[5]
29 In te Domine speravi : non confundar in æternum.

The hymn contains many phrases which are familiar from their occurrence elsewhere : a specially large part of the language is akin to the *contestationes*, or prefaces in Gallican liturgies.[6] The verses from 22 onward do not properly form part of the hymn,[7] but were originally suffrages[8] in the form of versicle and response appended to it : many of these still appear in the like relation to the *Gloria in excelsis* in the Eastern office[9] in a position

[1] From Ps. xxvii. 9 (Vulgate).

[2] (24, 25) Ps. cxliv. 2. The first of the versicles after the Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις — Καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εὐλογήσω σε, καὶ αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος. *Horologion*, p. 70.

[3] (26) The second Greek versicle : —Καταξίωσον, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἀναμαρτήτους φυλαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

[4] (27) Ps. cxxii. 3.

[5] (28) Ps. xxxii. 22. The fourth Greek versicle :—Γένοιτο ,Κύριε, τὸ ἔλεός σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἠλπίσαμεν ἐπὶ σέ.

[6] See Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 265—272.

[7] Some MSS. indeed do not contain them, and the fact is confirmed by the evidence of literary style (see Burn, pp. 248 and ff.), and of the music, which ended at the same point. (See *Dict. Hymn.* 1131.)

[8] For the history of suffrages, see below, pp. 386 and 392.

[9] This has been a morning hymn since the fourth century. See *Apost. Const.* vii. 47, and Pseudo-Athanasius *De virginitate*, 20 : Migne, *P.G.* XXXVIII. 275.

The Lessons and Canticles.

analogous to that now held by the *Te Deum* in the West.[1] This suggests the possibility that originally in the West the same was the case, but that when the *Gloria in excelsis* was transferred to the Mass, the *Te Deum* was put in to fill the vacant place at Mattins.[2]

The hymn thus falls into two parts with an appendix: the first part is twofold, comprising (*a*) a section, analogous to the Preface and *Sanctus* in the liturgy, setting forth the praise of God the Father, and (*b*) a section which expresses the Church's chorus of homage to the blessed Trinity; the second part commemorates, like the liturgy, the work of redemption through Christ, and bases thereon a prayer to Him for help; while the appendix contains the versicles.[3]

Benedicite.

The 'hymn,' or 'Psalm *Benedicite*,' or the 'Song of the Three Children,' is a part of the Greek addition to the third chapter of Daniel. It was commonly sung among the morning psalms in the fourth century,[4] and some writers of that age speak of it as Scripture.[5] S. Benet prescribed it in his Rule under the name *Benedictiones*, and it reappears in the later Gallican Rules. Thus it found a place both in the Roman and the monastic office among the Psalms of Lauds, being specially allotted to Sunday.

[1] These verses from the Psalms are taken from S. Jerome's revision, which came into use in Gaul about the end of the fourth century. This makes the beginning of the fifth century the earliest date for these additions. In the body of the hymn it is the pre-Hieronymian version which is quoted, *e.g.* verse 17 *aculeo* not *stimulo* in I. Cor xv. 55.

[2] Cesarius prescribes both *Te Deum* and *Gloria in excelsis* with its capitellum or versiele. *Regula ad mon.* xxi. in Migne *P.L.* LXVII. 1162, and fuller provision in the *Regula* xi. printed in *Acta SS.* Jan. 12.

[3] For the whole subject see Burn, *l. c.* chapter xi. Dowden, *Workmanship*, ch. vii.

[4] Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Virginitate.* l.c. Ruffin. *Adv. Hieron.* Lib. II. inter Opp. Hieron. (IX. p. 155, B. ed. Paris, 1623) IV. 448, ed. Bened. Paris, 1706; Chrysost. *Quod nemo læditur*, xvi. Migne, *P.G.* LI. 477.

[5] Cyprian. *De Orat. Dom.* § 34. (ed. Hartel, i. 292); Chrysost. Hom. IV. *ad. Pop. Ant.* § 3; *τὰς ἱερὰς ἐκείνας ἀνέπεμπον εὐχάς.* Migne, *P.G.* XLIX. 63. Jerome and Theodoret expound it: Ruffinus (*sup. l. c.*) is very severe upon Jerome for denying its canonicity.

[6] Cap. XII. Migne, *P.L.* LXVI. 444.

The Lessons and Canticles.

It is easy thus to account for its selection as an alternative to *Te Deum*; Mattins, being ended with *Te Deum*, were immediately followed by Lauds, beginning with Psalms, among which this Canticle was sung.[1] In 1549 it was ordered to be used instead of *Te Deum* during Lent. In 1552 when a Psalm was added as an alternative to each Canticle, the rubrics concerning *Te Deum* and *Benedicite* were altered, as it appears, for uniformity, and these Canticles were to be used at discretion, without being limited to particular seasons.

They are the only portions of the kind, appointed in the English Prayer Book, which are not taken out of canonical Scripture. *Benedicite* is especially suitable to the first Lessons of some particular days (*e.g.* Septuagesima Sunday and the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity), or as a substitute for *Te Deum* on Sundays during Lent; but its use on week-days in Lent is no longer required by the rubric, and it is not in itself as suitable for such a position as *Te Deum*, which contains humble prayer as well as joyful worship.

The Second Lesson.

In the old office, there had been a short portion of Scripture called the *Capitulum* or Chapter, read after the psalms of Lauds. It was rarely more than a single verse, generally a text from the Epistle of the day. It was rejected from the Breviary by Quignon, as part of his scheme of real continuous Bible reading, and in the

[1] The pointing was altered in transferring it to the Prayer Book, and a return was made to old custom as represented, *e.g.*, by the *Bangor Antiphoner*: in the later mediæval method the refrain was sung only after the first verse, the last verse and the two intermediate verses concerning the 'the earth' and 'Israel.' In other cases each verse was composed simply of a pair of invocations. No *Gloria Patri* was sung, but in place of it the verse *Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum spiritu sancto : laudamus*, &c., with verse 56 of Dan. iii. (modified) as a closing verse. The *Benedicite* appeared in this form in English Primers and in services preparatory to the Prayer Book. *Journ. Theol. St.* i. 238.

The Lessons and Canticles.

reformed English service, a chapter from the New Testament was appointed instead of it to be read as a Second Lesson: thus, in the present arrangement of the Lectionary, the New Testament is read through (except *The Revelation*), once in the Morning, and once in the Evening Service.

The Chapter at Lauds, in the old offices, was followed by the Gospel Canticle which is still used after the Second Lesson. The three Gospel Canticles had been appended to the Psalter as the Hymn-book of the Church, together with the Old Testament Canticles, at least as early as the middle of the IVth century, and they figure in this position in the Codex Alexandrinus belonging to the Vth century. The assignment of *Benedictus* to this position as the climax of Lauds is ascribed, but not very confidently, to S. Benet.[1] At any rate when once so placed it has not moved. It was called in the Sarum Breviary the 'Psalm *Benedictus*,' or the 'Song of the prophet Zacharias.' In one edition of Edward's First Prayer Book, the rubric directing its use '*throughout the whole year*' describes it as a '*Thanksgiving for the performance of God's promises.*' And as by singing *Te Deum* after the Lesson from the Old Testament we declare that the ancient promises were fulfilled in the incarnation and atonement of the Saviour, and acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity; so, after the Lesson from the histories of the New Testament, we praise God for the fulfilment of His promises, in the inspired words of the father of John the Baptist, which may almost be called one of the earliest Christian hymns.

Benedictus.

At the revision in 1552 the 100th Psalm was added in this place, to be used instead of *Benedictus*. It is clear

Jubilate Deo.

[1] Bäumer, 177. Grancolas, *Comment in Brev. Rom.* i. 33.

The Lessons and Canticles.

however both from the history of its appointment, and the words of the rubric, that *Benedictus* should always be used, '*except when that shall happen to be read in the Chapter for the day, or for the Gospel on* S. John Baptist's *day*.'

§ 5. *The Suffrages and Collects.*

In the early forms of the Hour Services appropriate Collects were said at the close of each Psalm or Canticle and the service ended when the Psalmody and Lessons ended. This custom however disappeared, and perhaps by way of compensation short prayers, called *Capitella*, were added at the end for various purposes in the form of versicle and response. Some such prayers have already come under notice in dealing with *Te Deum*. Those at the end of the Gallican services formed in their old shape a developed litany of intercession and prayer, and at a later date they were combined with the *Kyrie*, Lord's Prayer and Creed, and ultimately adopted by the Roman rite.

This scheme of 'suffrages' was taken over from the Sarum service into the First Prayer Book, but in 1552 the Creed was taken out of this place and prefixed to the suffrages to be said aloud by all. It will be best therefore first to deal with the Creed and then to return to the question of the suffrages.

The Creed.

The Creed,[1] belongs properly to the Baptism Service:

[1] Called from the first word, *Credo*, in the Latin Church, as the Lord's Prayer was called *Paternoster*, and the Psalms were known by the opening words. The legend that the Apostles, before they separated from Jerusalem, compiled the Creed called by their name, each one contributing a clause, may be dismissed from serious history. It first appears in Pirminius, a Frankish Bishop of the middle of the eighth century: but the general statement, that the Creed is a body of doctrine collected by the Apostles, is as old as the fourth century. *The Creed* is also called σύμβολον, *symbolum*—a proof of authenticity, or a mark of recognition, as a seal-ring, a watchword—the proof of orthodoxy: —some have derived this name from

it was taught beforehand to the catechumens as the symbol of the Church's faith and rehearsed by them in the hearing of the faithful at their baptism. This appears to have been the earliest use of the forms which are still extant of the confessions of faith of various churches or dioceses.

The confession of faith in order to baptism was at first of the simplest kind: 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.'[1] But early heresies made it necessary to introduce more exact definitions, and to formulate creeds dealing with the Three persons of the Blessed Trinity in accordance with the Baptismal formula. Hence we have clear signs of a creed as early as Aristides the Apologist,[2] (*circa* 140), and again, towards the end of the second century, a declaration by Irenæus[3] of the faith received from the Apostles and their disciples, and also by Tertullian,[4] in the shape of an enlargement of some articles of the Creed. What is called the Apostles' Creed is the old Roman baptismal creed; it is first definitely cited by Marcellus of Ancyra in 341 in an early form, and is found again fifty years later in the exposition of Ruffinus[5] of Aquileia: but it took shape as early as the middle of the second century. Enlarged subsequently under Gallican influence, it did not reach its present form till the VIIth or VIIIth century.[6] What is called the

Apostles' Creed.

the legend above-mentioned (quasi συμβόλη, *collatio*), as the joint contribution of the Apostles, or as the sum of the Scriptural narrative (Cassian, *De Incarn.* Lib. VI. c. 3). See for this and for the whole subject Burn's *Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 282 and ff. and *passim*, and Sanday in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* I. 3.

[1] Acts viii. 37. The passage is an interpolation, but it shows that a baptismal confession of faith was the practice of the early Church.

[2] *Apology* (Camb. Texts and Studies), p. 25.

[3] Iren. *Adv. Hær.* I. c. 10.

[4] Tertull. *De Præscript. adv. Hæreticos*, 13. Burn, pp. 35 and ff.

[5] This Commentary of Ruffinus is printed in Heurtley *De Fide et Symbolo*, pp. 121 and ff., with many others of the ancient forms of Creed.

[6] See Gibson, *Articles* No. VIII. for a good account of the Creeds.

The Suffrages and Collects

Nicene Creed

Nicene Creed is not the creed accepted at the Council of Nicæa, but the baptismal creed of the Church of Jerusalem modified through the insertion by S. Cyril of the dogmatic terms sanctioned at Nicæa (325); it was probably accepted as proof of S. Cyril's orthodoxy by the Council assembled at Constantinople (381), which also reaffirmed the original creed of the Nicene Council. Both of these forms, the original Nicene and the Cyrillian Nicene, were received by the Fourth General Council at Chalcedon (451); and from that date the latter ousted the former, and the present creed, accepted by councils and called Nicene, appears to have become general. This is still *the* Creed of the Eastern Church.

Athanasian Creed.

The *Quicunque vult*, or 'Confession of our Christian Faith, commonly called The Creed of St. Athanasius,' has been the subject of much discussion, as to the date of its composition, the value of its dogmatic definitions, and the position given to it in the Prayer Book. It is not a creed in the sense in which those hitherto mentioned are creeds; it is rather a confession of faith which was written in Southern Gaul early in the Vth century, and it has been used by the Western Church as a Canticle since the VIIIth century.[1]

Public Repetition of the Nicene Creed

The transference of the Creed from the Baptismal office for use in other services as well began in the East. The constant repetition of the Creed in the Eucharistic Office was first ordered as a safeguard against the Arian heresy, by Peter, called the Fuller, bishop of Antioch (*circa* 471)[2]; Alexandria followed suit soon after, and the example was also followed by Timothy, bishop of Constantinople (511),[3] where till that date the

began in the East,

[1] Bäumer, 254.

[2] Theodor. Lector. *Hist.* Lib. II. p. 582: Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν κναφέα...ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 578: Τιμόθεος τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ πατέρων τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον καθ' ἑκάστην σύναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν.

The Suffrages and Collects.

Creed had been recited at the Liturgy only on Maundy Thursday. At first the original Nicene Creed was in use in the East, but it gave way before the present Creed, as did also all local forms of creed. Of the Latin Churches, that of Spain first adopted this Creed and the public use of it, for the same reason that had caused its use in the East, viz. to bring the people back to the true faith after the Arian Gothic invasion: the third Council of Toledo (589)[1] ordered that it should be sung aloud by the people before the Lord's Prayer was said.[2] The custom slowly spread through the Gallican Church for the same reason, especially in the time of Charlemagne.[3] Rome enjoyed the reputation of being free from Arianism, and hence had not hitherto introduced the Creed into the Liturgy. But at last, under external pressure, the singing of the Nicene Creed was adopted into the Roman Liturgy (1014), in order to assimilate the use of Rome with that of France and Spain.[4] In this country at an earlier date the Nicene Creed was sung at Mass, being probably received from the Gallican Church.

and spread through the West.

The Apostles' Creed, how used in the Service of the Hours.

The Apostles' Creed was said several times over in the Sarum daily service. In this country we find it as early

[1] Concil. Tolet. III. cap. 2 (Mansi, IX. 993): 'Constituit synodus, ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniæ, vel Gallæciæ, secundum formam Orientalium Ecclesiarum, concilii Constantinopolitani, hoc est centum quinquaginta episcoporum symbolum fidei recitetur: ut priusquam dominica dicatur oratio, voce clara a populo decantetur; quo et fides vera manifestum testimonium habeat, et ad Christi corpus et sanguinem prælibandum pectora populorum fide purificata accedant.' It will be noted that it is the Cyrillian formula, now called Nicene, but then called Constantinopolitan, which was adopted, not the Creed of the 318 Fathers of Nicæa, which seems never to have been used liturgically in the West, though well-known and actually recited as Nicene at Toledo. Gibson, *Articles*, I. 251. Cp. Bruns, i. 213.

[2] This position was also ordered by the Emperor Justinian in 568, and is probably the original position in East as well as West. Burn, 114.

[3] Walafrid Strabo, *De Exordiis*, xxiii. (ed. Knöpfler, p. 62), but xxii. in Hittorp (Paris, 1624), col. 682.

[4] Berno, *De quibusdam rebus*, II. in Hittorp, col. 701. Migne *P.L.* cxlii. 1060.

The Suffrages and Collects.

as the Anglo-Saxon times in the suffrages of Prime and Compline ;[1] and it is from this use of it that it has come into its present position in the Prayer Book ; like the Lord's Prayer, it was said privately through, and then the last two clauses were repeated aloud in the form of a versicle and response.

In 1549 the Creed was retained in English[2] among the suffrages, the rubric ordered that the priest[3] should say it with a loud voice, but the old treatment of the last clauses was retained in the case of the Lord's Prayer with the usual musical inflection. In 1552 this order and method was given up in favour of that now in use. The object clearly was to gain for the Hours a public recitation of the Creed by all, similar to that prevailing in the Liturgy.[4]

The Athanasian Creed sung publicly.

Till then the only profession of faith that was sung publicly in the Hour Services was the *Quicunque*. In the Sarum Breviary it was appointed to be sung daily at Prime after the Psalms, and before the Prayers, and, as has been stated already, this use goes back to the VIIIth century. The later tendency has been to restrict its use. Quignon, in his reformed Breviary, appointed the Athanasian Creed on Sundays, and the Apostles' Creed on weekdays.[5] In the Tridentine Breviary it is ordered to be used on Sundays only. In the American book it is omitted altogether.[6]

[1] Thomson, *Select Monuments*, 142, 202 ; *Durham Rituale* (Surtees Soc.), 166, 181.

[2] See English versions of the Creed, belonging to the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* II. pp. 240 and ff. [III. pp. 251 and ff.]. And Dowden, *Workmanship*, pp. 95 and ff.

[3] The rubric in Merbecke is *The quere with the priest*, followed by the Creed in full :—I believe in God . . . everlasting. Then, Our Father . . . against us. *Priest:* And lead us not into temptation. *Answer:* But deliver us from evil. Amen.

[4] In the American book permission is given to use the words, 'He went into the place of departed spirits,' instead of 'He descended into hell.'

[5] *Brev. Quignon.*, pp. 3, 24.

[6] And the Nicene Creed may be said in place of the Apostles' Creed at Morning or Evening Prayer.

The Suffrages and Collects.

In 1549 the Athanasian Creed was appointed to be sung or said after *Benedictus* upon the six festivals of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity. In 1552 seven Saints' days were added to these six festivals; so that this *Confession of our Christian faith*[1] should be used at intervals of about a month throughout the year.

Ceremonies observed in repeating Creeds: standing, turning to the East,

Both minister and people are directed to sing or say the Creeds, because they are the profession of every person present. They are to be repeated *standing*, to express our resolution to hold fast the true faith. The custom, prevalent in many churches, of turning to the East while repeating the Creed, has no rubrical authority nor any pre-Reformation precedent.[2] It was begun in Caroline times, partly in imitation of the practice of the Jews, who always turned their faces in the direction of Jerusalem, towards the mercy seat of the holy temple, when they prayed, and partly in imitation of the early Christian ceremonies of Baptism, in which it was usual for the catechumens to renounce the devil with their faces to the West, and then turn to the East to make their covenant with Christ: the East, or region of the rising sun, being the source of light. Hence the turning towards the East became associated with Christian worship generally from early times, but not till quite recently in any special sense with the daily recitation of the Creed.[3]

and bowing at the name of Jesus.

Bowing at the name of Jesus has been retained in

[1] The addition, *commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius*, was made in 1661, and also the explicit directions that it was to be said *instead of the Apostles' Creed*, and *by the Minister and people standing*.

[2] For the Sarum rules for turning to the East, see Frere, *Use of Sarum*, I. xvii. (13). The true survivals of the old ways are the turning for the *Gloria patri* and the *Gloria in excelsis*. *Hierurg. Angl.* 59, 366. There is less reason for turning at the Nicene Creed than at the Apostles' Creed, and none at all for turning at the *Quicunque*.

[3] Cp. Bingham, *Antiq.* XIII. 8, § 15.

The Suffrages and Collects.

repeating the Creed, even where it has been given up on other occasions, as a symbol of adoration of the Divine Saviour.[1] The 18th Canon (1603) gives the meaning of this custom, and prescribes the bowing generally, and not only in the Creed.[2]

The Suffrages.

It has already been pointed out that the suffrages were in their origin a long and developed litany of intercession. The *capitella* were either triple, each consisting of a bidding, followed by a versicle and response, or else duple, each consisting of a bidding and a single response. In their fullest extant Western form they contain sixteen petitions of the first type. The first is

> Let us pray for every condition in the Church.
> Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness,
> And thy saints sing with joyfulness.

Others follow in the same form 'for our pastors, the King, his children, our Abbat, the whole Catholic people, our brothers and sisters, for peace, for travellers by land, by sea, persecutors and slanderers, quarrelsome, penitents, almsgivers, the sick, the faithful departed,' (with a second versicle and response), followed by four clauses 'for our sins and negligences,' and three 'for our absent brethren.'[3] Shorter collections of the same sort existed side by side with this, besides those for Prime and Compline which contained also the Apostles' Creed. The

[1] See Ellicott and Lightfoot's notes on Phil. ii. 10.

[2] 'When in time of Divine Service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed, testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgment that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true and eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the mercies, graces, and promises of God to mankind, for this life and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised.' The same order was given in Queen Elizabeth's Injunction LII. (1559): Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* XLIII. § 52.

[3] From a Rheims Psalter (882—885) at Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. MS. 272, printed with additions from other sources in Bäumer, p. 611.

The Suffrages and Collects.

Roman service at this period ended as it seems with *Kyrie*[1] and Lord's Prayer,[2] and when there were appended to it such Gallican collections of the two kinds of the *capitella* fused together, there developed a regular type of suffrages, consisting of (i) *Kyrie eleison* (ii) *Pater noster*, (iii) more or fewer versicles and responses (the biddings of the triple *capitella* for uniformity's sake being usually dropped), and finally, as the climax, (iv) a collect. This scheme reappears constantly throughout the later mediæval services. In the Sarum Breviary two such forms were in use: (i) the schemes at Prime and Compline, which though differing in detail were alike in outline and use; (ii) the ferial suffrages used before the collect on ferias at all the other Day-Hours.[3]

The Salutation.

In our present form, the mutual salutation of minister and people, which is of primitive if not Apostolic origin,[4] together with the invitation to prayer, instead of introducing the collect as in the old suffrages, introduces the suffrages themselves. In its present position it marks the transition to a new section of the service, and is

[1] This expression was in its origin heathen. Arrian in the second century (*Comment. Epicteti* ii. 7) says, '*τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ, Κύριε ἐλέησον, ἐπίστρεψόν μοι ἐξελθεῖν.*' Evidence for its Christian use does not appear till the IVth century and then at the Liturgy and in the East: *Apost. Const.* VIII. 6, *i.e.* the Ektene (see below, p. 407) and *Peregr. Silv.* xxiv. 5. It was spreading from Rome through the West in connexion with the Hours also early in the VIth century. See Council of Vaison, Canon III. (529), Bruns. ii. 184. The Gallican Rule of Aurelian (*c.* 550) (Migne, *P.L.*, LXVIII. 93) agreed with the Italian Rule of S. Benet in prescribing it, and made an advance upon previous regulations since it prescribed *Kyrie*, not only at Evensong, Mass, and Lauds, but at all the Hours. All this suggests that the *Kyrie* was somewhat of a novelty, and that its introduction to the West was probably not anterior to the middle of the Vth century. See *Kyrie eleison*, by Edm. Bishop (reprinted from the *Downside Review*, Dec., 1899, and March, 1900); also Bäumer, 128, 154.

[2] Joh. Diaconus, *De Ecclesia Lateranensi*, vii. Migne *P.L.* CXCIV. The addition of the collect from the Mass was of later date. See below, p. 396.

[3] Bishop, *l.c.*, p. 15.

[4] Cp. Ruth, ii. 4; John, xx. 19, 26. The Greek form is, *Εἰρήνη πᾶσι. Καὶ μετὰ πνεύματός σου.* See Chrysost. *Hom.* III. *in Coloss.* Migne, *P.G.* LXXII. 322.

The Suffrages and Collects.

a prayer that God will hear the joint petitions of minister and people in the Versicles, and of the minister as the voice of the people in the Collects that follow.

The Lesser Litany.

The Lesser Litany is the prelude to the *Prayer*, as the Doxology in its present connexion in our service may be said to be the prelude to the *Praise* of the service.[1] Being addressed to each person of the Holy Trinity, by its three clauses, it fixes the object of Christian worship. In the old Latin Offices the Greek words *Kyrie eleison* were retained here, as at Mass, and each clause was usually thrice repeated. The direction that the priest shall stand to say the Versicles and Collect is continued from the mediæval rubric.[2] The Versicles seem to have been taken not directly from the suffrages of the Breviary, either those said daily at Prime and Compline, or those said at Lauds, the Lesser Hours, and Evensong on ferias, but rather from the following similar selection which was used in the form of 'Bidding the Bedes,' and was probably better known to the people at large than either of the forms in the Breviary :[3]—

The Versicles.

Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam :
Et salutare tuum da nobis.
Sacerdotes tui induantur justitiam :
Et sancti tui exultent.
Domine, salvum fac regem :
Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te.

[1] Historically speaking, its rationale is something quite different. See above, p. 393.

[2] The officiant stood up only for the latter part of the ferial suffrages and for the Collect : at other times, when the ferial suffrages were not used, every one remained standing till the end of the service and there was no kneeling. The words introduced into the rubric of 1661, *all kneeling*, refer not to the officiant but to the people : they are not inserted in the similar position at Evening Prayer. Such directions for the people were necessitated by the breach of tradition caused through the Great Rebellion and the suppression of the Prayer Book. Cp. p. 583.

[3] *Sarum Processions* (Ed. Wordsworth), p. 23. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* III. 342 [402].

Salvos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas :
Domine, Deus meus, sperantes in te.
Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine.
Et benedic hæreditati tuæ.
Domine, fiat pax in virtute tua :
Et abundantia in turribus tuis.
Domine, exaudi orationem meam :
Et clamor meus ad te veniat.
Dominus vobiscum
Et cum spiritu tuo.
Oremus.

These Versicles except the fourth and the last of the series, form our present suffrages : some alterations have been introduced from the text of the Psalms, from which they were originally taken,[1] the second and third pair have been transposed, the fifth versicle is used in the shorter of the two forms in which it appears. The idea of the sixth is kept, but in view of the collect for peace which is to follow the old antiphon which was used with it in the 'memorial for peace' is substituted for the regular versicle.[2] Similarly, in view of the collect for grace which is to follow, a new versicle and response is made and put in place of the *Domine exaudi* which in the old series paved the way for the collect, and is still retained in that position in the suffrages of Confirmation,

[1] Ps. lxxxv. 7, xx. 9; cxxxii. 9; xxviii. 9; li. 10, 11.

[2] Maskell's Prymer (*circ.* 1400), *Mon. Rit.* II. p. 35 [III. 38]. King's Primer (1545), p. 469, ed. Burton. The connexion between this petition and its response is not very obvious at first sight: the former evidently supposes a state of war (and war seldom ceased in the rude times in which this antiphon was framed); while the latter implies that God alone can give the victory which will secure peace as its result. The American Prayer Book formerly omitted all but the first and the last pairs, but the recent revision has replaced all these Versicles in the Evening Prayer, giving a new response to the petition for peace,—'For it is Thou, Lord, only that makest us dwell in safety.' The Commissioners of 1689 proposed to substitute for this response 'an answer promissory of somewhat on the people's part of keeping God's laws or the like, the old response being grounded on the predestinating doctrine taken in too strict an acceptation.' See above, p. 209, and Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 431.

The Suffrages and Collects.

Marriage, the Visitation of the Sick, and the Churching of Women.

A further change has been made in the method of saying the Lord's Prayer. In pre-Reformation times the Lesser Litany was said alternately by the choir, the Lord's Prayer was said silently and the officiant only began at the penultimate clause, which he said as the first versicle, while the choir responded with the last clause. Some part of this method was retained in 1549: the recitation of the creed as well as the Lord's Prayer was ordered, but in a loud voice: the repetition of the final clauses in the form of a versicle and response was prescribed in the case of the Lord's Prayer though not (as formerly) in the case of the Creed as well. The whole plan was altered in 1552.

The Collects.

The Collects are not an ancient feature of the Hour Services: in early days each psalm was followed by private prayer, prostration, and a Collect summing up the private petitions: at a later date these disappeared and the element of prayer was represented only by the suffrages appended to the services other than Nocturns: then the Lord's prayer was added to these and then the Collect was borrowed from the Mass to form their close.

The Collect for the day occupies in one sense the same position in which it occurred in the unreformed offices at the end of Lauds; but in another sense its position is different, for it there formed the close of the service proper, whether preceded or not by suffrages: the Salutation and another Versicle followed and so the service ended. But, as has been stated already, on many occasions 'memorials' were added varying from time to time. In place of these, two fixed Collects were adopted in 1549. The Collect for peace comes from the old Memorial for peace, said at the Lauds of

the Blessed Virgin.[1] The third Collect is the ancient ferial Collect for Prime.[2] The relation of these to the preceding Versicles has already been explained: both of them are drawn from old Roman sources.

The Suffrages and Collects.

Collect for Peace.

§ 6. *The Closing Prayers*

Here the Order of Morning Prayer ended until the last revision in 1661. All the 'five prayers' except the second had been since 1559 appended to the Litany, and in the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637) a rubric was added after the third Collect of Morning and Evening Prayer, directing what is almost identical with our present usage.[3] And in 1661 the present rubric and the five prayers were inserted.

The anthem though not mentioned before had long been customary: it was common to sing an anthem or Antiphon after some of the services in pre-Reformation times, especially to sing one of the anthems of the Blessed Virgin after the Prayer 'Lighten our darkness,' which ended Compline.[4] It was natural therefore to do the like in the corresponding positions in the Prayer Book Services, and it was specially authorised by the Elizabethan Injunctions.[5]

The earliest form of the *Prayer for the King's Majesty* that has yet been discovered occurs in two little books which issued from the press of Berthelet, who was King's

Prayer for the King's Majesty.

[1] 'Deus auctor pacis et amator, quem nosse vivere, cui servire regnare est: protege ab omnibus impugnationibus supplices tuos: ut qui in defensione tua confidimus, nullius hostilitatis arma timeamus. Per.' *Brev. Sar.* i. 11.

[2] See the original of this, with the rest of the service above, p. 265.

[3] '*After this Collect ended, followeth the Litany: and if the Litany be not appointed to be said or sung that morning, then shall next be said the Prayer for the King's Majesty, with the rest of the prayers following at the end of the Litany, and the Benediction.*'

[4] See *Use of Sarum*, ii. 234, 235.

[5] Injunction XLIX. See above p. 106.

The Closing Prayers.

printer at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. and the beginning of that of Edward VI.[1]

A prayer for the kinge.

O Lorde Jesu Christe, moste high, moste mightie, kyng of kynges, lorde of lordes, the onely rular of princis, the very sonne of god, on whose ryghte hande syttyng, doest from thy throne beholde all the dwellers upon earth : with mooste lowly hertes we beseche the, vouchesafe with fauourable regard to behold our most gracious soueraigne lorde kyng Henry the Eyght, and so replenysshe hym with the grace of thy holy spiritie, that he alway incline to thy wil, and walke in thy way. Kepe hym farre of frome ignoraunce, but through thy gifte, leat prudence and knowlage alwaie abound in his royall hert. So instructe hym, (O LORD IESV) reygnyng upon us in erth, that his humaine majestie alway obey thy divyne majestie in feare and drede. Indue him plentifully with heauenly giftes. Graunt him in health and welth long to liue. Heape glorie and honoure upon hym. Glad hym with the joye of thy countenance. So strengthe hym, that he maie vanquishe and ouercome all his and our foes, and be drede and feared of al the ennemies of his realme. AMEN.

In the Prayer Books of Edward VI. this prayer was not put into the Morning and Evening Service; it was,

[1] One of these books is entitled '*Psalmes or Prayers taken out of holye Scripture;*' the date on the title-page being 1545 (though the border contains the date 1534), and that in the colophon being July 2, 1545. The book consists of xv. 'psalms,' made up of selected passages from the Psalms and other parts of Scripture; at the end these are called '*Finis xv. Psalmorum,*' thus in appearance being intended as a devotional substitute for the '*xv. Psalms*' of the Primer. After this come the xxii[nd] and the cth Psalms; and then follow '*A prayer for the Kynge,*' and '*A prayer for men to saie entrying into battaile.*'

The other book containing this prayer is entitled, *Prayers or Medytacions, wherein the mynd is stirred paciently to suffre all afflictions here, to set at nought the vayne prosperitee of this worlde, and alwaie to longe for the everlastynge felicitee: Collected out of holy woorks by the most vertuous and gracioune Princesse Katherine, quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande. Anno dni.* 1545. The colophon states that this volume was printed by Berthelet, Nov. 6, 1545. The first portion, containing Queen Katherine's prayers, is a series of devotional sentences: after which comes this prayer for the King: then the prayer for men to say entering into battle: then '*A devoute praier to be daiely saied,*' '*An other prayer,*' and '*A devoute praier.*'

These two books are bound up together with the Henrician Litany of May 27, 1544 (above, p. 32), in Bodleian Libr. Douce B. 231. Later on the Edwardine editions kept the old title page but altered the colophon and its date.

The Closing Prayers.

however, placed in his reformed Primer (1553),[1] as '*the fourth Collect for the King*' at Morning Prayer; another and shorter '*Prayer for the King*' being added to the Collects '*for Peace*,' and '*for Aid against all Perils*,' at Evening Prayer. At the revision of the Prayer Book in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth (1559), this prayer was altered and shortened, and together with the Prayer for the Clergy and People was placed before the '*Prayer of Chrysostom*' at the end of the Litany.

Prayer for the Royal Family.

The *Prayer for the Royal Family* was added among the Collects at the end of the Litany, in 1604; approved, if not composed, by Archbishop Whitgift,[2] and placed in the Prayer Book among the changes made by way of explanation, after the Hampton Court Conference, on the authority of James I. It was then entitled, '*A Prayer for the Queen and Prince, and other the King and Queen's children*,' and began with the words,—

> Almighty God, which hast promised to be a Father of thine elect and of their seed, We humbly beseech thee to bless our gracious Queen Anne, Prince Henry, and all the King and Queen's royal progeny: endue them, &c.

In the first Form of Prayers published by authority in the reign of Charles I., being a service provided for a fast-day (1625), the words 'the fountain of all goodness' were introduced into this prayer, and were continued in the Prayer Book published in 1627; for the plain reason that the original clause was not thought appropriate in the case of a sovereign who was at that time without issue. Afterwards (1632) the

[1] At the end of the Primer (1553) were also placed '*Sundry Godly Prayers for divers purposes*;' the first and second being the Collects for the King from the Communion Service, and the third being also a Prayer for the King, taken from Becon's *Flower of Godly Prayers*, p. 19 (ed. Parker Soc.).

[2] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 235.

The Closing Prayers.

clause was replaced, and Prince Charles and the Lady Mary were mentioned in the prayer. In the following year, however,—the first year of the primacy of Laud,—the clause was again and finally removed. The inconvenience was thus avoided of continually altering the language of the prayer.[1]

Prayer for the Clergy and People.

The *Prayer for the Clergy and People* followed the Litany in pre-Reformation days, and so came naturally into the like position in the English Litany of 1544; it is found as early as the old Roman Sacramentary called Gelasian.[2]

A Prayer of S. Chrysostom.

The *Prayer of St. Chrysostom* is found in the Liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom; the composition of it cannot be ascribed to either of those fathers, but the prayer forms part of the Byzantine Liturgy from at least the ninth century onward, and Cranmer no doubt put the heading because he took it from the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.[3]

[1] Laud's enemies tried to hatch up out of this a charge against him of meaning to strike a sly blow at Calvinism. It was also urged against the archbishop, that political motives had caused him to omit the names of 'the Prince Elector Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth his wife,' after 1632, when in fact other names were introduced of princes more nearly connected with the throne, and the general expression, 'The Royal Family,' was added to include all the remoter branches. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 234.

[2] 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui facis mirabilia magna solus, prætende super famulos tuos pontifices et super cunctas congregationes illis commissas spiritum gratiæ salutaris, et ut in veritate tibi complaceant perpetuum eis rorem tuæ benedictionis infunde. Per.' There has thus been an English version of it in the Primer since the fourteenth century: Maskell, II. p. 107 [III. 111]. It was somewhat altered in the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637); being entitled, '*A Prayer for the holy clergy*,' and commencing, 'Almighty and everlasting God, who only workest great and marvellous things: Send down upon our Bishops, Presbyters and Curates, &c.' In the American Prayer Book the language was again altered, 'Almighty and everlasting God, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift; Send down upon our Bishops and other Clergy, and upon the Congregations, &c.'

[3] It is the Prayer of the third Antiphon (Εὐχὴ Ἀντιφώνου γ'), after the Deacon's Litany in the *Missa Catechumenorum*, and before *The Little Entrance: Euchologion*, pp. 49, 77 (Venice, 1862); Neale's *Liturgies*, p. 118. See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I. 317, 367.

The Closing Prayer.

This prayer was placed at the end of the Litany, when that service was revised by Cranmer in 1544; it seems likely that he had recourse to S. Chrysostom's Liturgy primarily for help in drawing up the Litany, and that, finding this prayer in close connexion with the Deacon's Litany there, he translated it and used it as the closing prayer of the English Litany.[1]

The close.

The Latin Hour-Services ended with the Salutation and a versicle and response:—

'Benedicamus domino.' 'Let us bless the Lord.'
'Deo gratias.' 'Thanks be to God.'

To which was added in some uses a prayer for the repose of the faithful departed. These were not taken over in 1549, and the services ended abruptly: the 'Grace' was first added as a conclusion to service in 'The Litany used in the Queen's chapel' of 1559:[2] thence it found its way as the fifth of the five prayers into the Elizabethan Prayer Book. It is found in Greek Liturgies in a very different connexion, viz., before the *Sursum Corda* from the fourth century onwards,[3] but there seems no reason to suppose that this had any connexion with its introduction into the Prayer Book here.

VI. *Evening Prayer.*

Structure as at Mattins.

The order for Evening Prayer or Evensong was formed, as we have seen, upon the ancient offices of Evensong (Vespers), and Compline, but assimilated to the scheme of the Morning Prayer of the Prayer Book. No invitatory was needed, but otherwise the structure has been identical in both cases since 1552, when the opening

[1] Dowden, *Workmanship*, pp. 147, 227—229.

[2] *Liturg. Services of Elizabeth*, p. 17 (Parker Soc.). It is not printed in all the editions of the Prayer Book of that year. *Ibid.* pp. 75 and ff.

[3] Liturgy of Apost. Const., Brightman, *L. E. W.*, p. 14.

Evening Prayer.

versicle, formerly peculiar to Mattins, was prescribed for Evensong also. The Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution were appointed, as at Mattins, in 1552 to be said before the commencement of the older service; but this part was not printed at the beginning of Evening Prayer until the revision of 1661. The first lesson occupies the place of the Chapter at Vespers, followed by *Magnificat*, which has been sung at Vespers since the time of S. Benet, who probably gave it that position.[1] Our second Lesson occupies the place of the Chapter at Compline, which, after a hymn that is omitted, was followed by '*The Song of Simeon*'; this has been treated as a canticle from very early times,[2] it has never formed part of the Benedictine Compline, and therefore its position in the secular Compline is probably subsequent to the time of S. Benet, and the tradition which ascribes its insertion to S. Gregory may be a true one.[3] The Canticles thus inserted occupy a most significant place in our service. After reading the Old Testament, we have the Song of Mary, testifying to the fulfilment of God's promises of mercy to the fathers; and after reading the chapter from the New Testament, and there beholding how the promises were fulfilled in the propagation of the Gospel among the Gentiles, we express our readiness to receive that Gospel for ourselves, in the Song of the aged Simeon, and our faith that by so doing we shall have peace in our death, of which every night brings a type in sleep. These two

The Canticles.

[1] In the Eastern Church *Magnificat* is among the Morning Canticles; and one of the earliest traces we have of it in the West is in the *Lauds* Office of Aurelian (*circa* 540). *Regula*, Migne, *P. L.* lxviii. 393.

[2] *Const. Apost.* vii. 49. See also the practice of Nilus as described in Pitra, *Juris eccl. Græc.* I. 220, § 17.

[3] The *Regularis Concordia* shows that the Winchester monks used it on the days in the year when they said the secular office, cap. v. (ed. Logeman, in *Anglia*, XIII. p. 430.)

Evening Prayer.

canticles only were appointed in 1549. In 1552, probably for uniformity with the corresponding part of the Morning Prayer, and still retaining the ancient rule that Psalms and reading of Scripture should be alternated, the 98th and the 67th psalms were appointed to follow the first and second Lessons, at the discretion of the Minister, unless either of them had been read in the ordinary course of the psalms. They had not been sung among the psalms of Vespers or Compline.[1]

The rest of the service has the same history as Mattins, except the two fixed Collects. In the old system the services began with the Evensong on the preceding night. A survival of this is found in the rubric placed before 'The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels,' which orders that the Collect for the following day (according to our modern reckoning) is to be said on the evening before every Sunday and any Holy Day that has a Vigil or Eve.[2]

The Second Collect, for Peace, is from the old Roman storehouse, and occurs in the Gelasian Sacramentary. In the Sarum Breviary it was the fourth Collect after the Litany, as well as the Evening Memorial for peace.[3]

The Collects.

The Third Collect, for Aid against all Perils, which is also in the Gelasian Sacramentary, is the invariable Collect of Compline in the Sarum Breviary.[4]

[1] In the American book another alternative is added, made up of Ps. CIII. 1—4, 20—22.

[2] A *Vigil* is a fast-day preceding a feast: an *Eve* is not necessarily a fast.

[3] 'Deus a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia et justa sunt opera: da servis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest pacem: ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita, et, hostium sublata formidine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla: Per.' *Brev. Sar.* i. 11; ii. 254.

[4] See the original Latin, p. 268. In the American Prayer Book this Collect was altered thus: 'O Lord, our heavenly Father, by whose Almighty power we have been preserved this day; By thy great mercy defend us from all perils, &c.' The English form is restored in the late revision in 1886. A rubric follows:—*The Minister may here end the Evening Prayer with such Prayer, or Prayers, taken out of this Book, as he shall think fit.*

Evening Prayer.

The fixed Collects.

There is a close resemblance between these ancient daily Collects of Morning and Evening Prayer. In the first of each pair, the subject of petition is the same, but the words are different, and suited to the respective seasons. We ask outward peace in the morning, to secure us against the troubles of the world; and inward peace in the evening, to comfort and quiet our minds when we are to take our rest. In the second of each pair of Collects, we ask in the morning grace and guidance to direct us in our duty; and in the evening, light and aid, when we are passive or unconscious. The metaphor of light, according to Scriptural usage, will include the two ideas of knowledge and of comfort. We therefore pray that our understanding may be enlightened to perceive the sleepless providence of God, and our hearts cheered with the assurance of His love.

Psalms and Hymns.

The direction for an anthem properly belongs more to Evensong than to Mattins.[1] In the latter part of the XVIIth Century and the beginning of the XVIIIth the custom was growing up of singing a metrical psalm or hymn in parish churches at this point: the earlier custom prescribed this immediately after the Second Lesson; and the like again at Morning Prayer between the 'First' and 'Second Service,' *i.e.* the equivalent of the anthem or *Sanctus*, which was sung there 'in quires' in place of the old Introit.[2] The modern hymn has followed these precedents, adopting the later custom in Morning and Evening Prayer: to follow this analogy is natural enough, but on liturgical and practical grounds alike the hymn would be more suitably placed at the end of the introductory part of the service.

[1] See above, p. 397.

[2] Bisse, *Beauty of Holiness*, 95, 125.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LITANY AND OCCASIONAL PRAYERS AND THANKSGIVINGS.

The Litany.

THE term Litany (λιτανεία) belongs properly to any solemn form of entreaty, but in Christian usage it has gained a specialized meaning as the result of a somewhat complex history.

Origin of the term, in the East,

In the East, as early as the IVth century, the word was used to describe penitential services. S. Basil speaks of these as being in use in his day at Cæsarea (c. 375), but admits that they were innovations, and not as old as the days of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus (254).[1] The term, thus employed, denoted days or acts or services of penitence or of supplication; and when it made its way into the West it was the equivalent of 'Rogation.' This is the first point in the history of the term.

A second point was reached a little later when, during the stress of the Arian conflict, and as a counter-blow to Arian propaganda, S. Chrysostom introduced processions at Constantinople (398), accompanied by responsorial singing.[2] This move proved so successful and popular

[1] The objection was raised as to the innovations made by him: Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν, φησὶ, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου. He replies: Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ λιτανεῖαι ἃς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιτηδεύετε. Καὶ οὐ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν λέγω· ηὐχόμην γὰρ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν δάκρυσι ζῆν, καὶ μετανοίᾳ διηνεκεῖ. S. Basil, Ep. CCVII. (al. 63), ad Clericos Neocæsar. *Opp.* iii. 311. D. (iii. 450).

[2] The Arians, not being allowed to use the churches within the city,

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that the custom was retained permanently; and processions were thenceforward used as a method of solemn supplication, joined often with fasting and special prayer in time of emergency.[1] This, too, penetrated into the West, and the best known instances have been already quoted in describing [2] how both at Rome and at Vienne under special emergencies solemn days of intercession were appointed and observed by a supplicatory procession, and were not merely observed for the occasion, as had hitherto been the case, but retained a permanent place in the Kalendar; in Rome the Greek name was the one in use, and the procession of S. Mark's Day was called the *Litania Maior*, in contradistinction to other lesser *Litaniæ* or penitential observances. In Gaul the Latin term Rogation was more commonly used, and it has survived still as the name for the most important of the *Rogationes*, viz., the three days preceding Ascension Day which Mamertus appointed.[3]

and in the West.

Nature of the service.

So far the only evidence as to the character of the service used on such occasions is that which comes from Constantinople as to responsorial singing. It is clear that such a form of singing would naturally lend itself well to use in procession, where the various petitions could be

assembled about the public squares, and after singing heretical chants through a great part of the night, at dawn of Saturday and Sunday went through the city and out of the gates to their places of worship, singing responsorially all the way. S. Chrysostom fearing that his people might be induced by these processions to join the Arians, established similar nocturnal services of singing and orthodox processions on a more splendid scale; and by the help of the Empress Eudoxia silver crosses were provided bearing wax-lights, which were carried in the processions of the orthodox, until, after the rival processions had come to blows, the Arian processions were suppressed by the Emperor. Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* VI. 8; Sozom. *H. E.*, VIII. 8.

[1] *E.g.* an earthquake at Constantinople (430). Niceph. Callist. *Hist.* XIV. 46. Migne *P.G.* cxlvi. 1217.

[2] Above, p. 333.

[3] Both terms were in use in Gaul: *e.g.* Canon 27 of the first Council of Orleans (511); 'Rogationes id est litanias ante ascensionem Domini ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari, &c.' Bruns, ii. 163. Cp. above, p. 324.

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simply and effectively responded to by the moving crowd: accordingly it is natural to find that in the West too at the *Litaniæ* or Rogations psalms were sung, probably responsorially, and formed the main part of the service.[1]

The Litany form of prayer in dialogue.

It was not, however, processional psalmody that was to be associated ultimately with the name of Litany, but a different, though kindred, liturgical form. There had grown up in the East, probably in the IVth century, a type of responsorial prayer very similar to responsorial psalmody.

Prayer in this form was already a prominent feature of the Eucharist, and it has remained so in the East. In the West, on the contrary, the use of it in the Liturgy has become very restricted; but on the other hand, it has developed greatly outside the Liturgy, and has become the independent and self-contained form of service, now known as Litany.

In the Eucharist.

As regards the use in the Eucharist of this form of responsorial prayer the form in the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions is typical.[2] The deacon bids the prayer or names the subjects of petition, and the people answer to each 'Kyrie eleison,' 'Lord have mercy.'[3] A series of petitions is said thus for each of the classes of worshippers—catechumens, energumens, &c.—as they are dismissed before the Service of the Faithful begins, together with other petitions for peace, protection, forgiveness and a happy death, appended to

Eastern Liturgies.

[1] See the passages collected by Bishop, *Kyrie eleison*, pp. 16, 17: even as late as 572 the second Council of Braga ordered: 'in cuius (*sc.* quadragesimæ) initio convenientes in unum vicinæ ecclesiæ per triduum cum psalmis per sanctorum basilicas ambulantes celebrent litanias.' *Ibid.* ii. 42.

[2] *Apost. Const.* viii. 6, in *L. E. W.* p. 4. Cp. the opening part of that now in use in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom printed above, p. 269.

[3] For the history of this phrase, see above, p. 393.

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those for the catechumens. The Mass of the Faithful then begins with a continuation of the same litany in a more general and developed form.[1] This Deacon's litany, or Ektene,[2] appears in a similar shape but generally on a reduced scale in a similar position in most of the Eastern Liturgies, and accompanied by the same response.

Roman.

In the Roman Liturgy there seems never to have been a very extended use of this responsorial form of prayer with the *Kyrie* as refrain: but it was in use there, being probably imported in the Vth century, and formed the introduction to the service. Already in S. Gregory's time[3] the method of performance had altered, and 'Christe eleison' had been introduced as a response side by side with 'Kyrie eleison'; but also the process had already begun by which the long string of varying petitions fell away, till nothing was left but the responses; and ultimately these were restricted in number till the nine-fold Kyrie of the mediæval mass was all that survived.[4]

[1] The same use is attested by S. Chrysostom; see *L.E.W.*, pp. 471 and ff.; cp. p. 521 for S. Basil. These three witnesses of the IVth century seem to be the earliest extant.

[2] Ἐκτενὴ or Συναπτὴ is the Eastern term, not *litania*.

[3] Epist. IX. 12. Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVII. 956. The Pope, being charged (amongst other innovations borrowed from Constantinople) with having ordered the saying of *Kyrie eleison* at Mass, replied: '*Kyrie eleison* autem nos neque diximus neque dicimus sicut a Græcis dicitur: quia in Græcis simul omnes dicunt, apud nos autem a clericis dicitur et a populo respondetur: et totidem vicibus etiam *Christe eleison* dicitur, quod apud Græcos nullo modo dicitur. In quotidianis autem missis aliqua quæ dici solent tacemus; tantummodo *Kyrie eleison* et *Christe eleison* dicimus, ut in his deprecationis vocibus paulo diutius occupemur.'

The interpretation of the passage is in several ways doubtful: it is not clear whether S. Gregory denies having introduced the *Kyrie* at Mass, or whether he only denies that in doing so he slavishly copied the customs of Constantinople. That the *Kyrie* was in use seventy or eighty years earlier in some form in Italy and Rome is clear from the third Canon of the Council of Vaison (529).

[4] Duchesne, *Origines*, 156. The number is still undetermined in the first Roman Ordo, § 9; cp. Ordo III. 9, and for the transition the Ordo of S. Amand, Duchesne, p. 442.

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Gallican.

The Gallican Rite was more conservative and kept more closely to the Eastern customs, and litanies with varying petitions like the Greek Ektene are found surviving in part of the Ambrosian[1] and Mozarabic liturgies.[2]

The Litany-form and the Litany days coalesce.

So far there is no sign of this responsorial form of prayer being anything but stationary, though mention has been made of processions connected with the observance of *Litaniæ* and with responsorial psalmody. But the next step is a very obvious one. The word Litany was in use in the West for two kindred things, a penitential procession, and a form of responsorial prayer of which the refrain was *Kyrie eleison*:[3] nothing was more natural than that they should coalesce, *i.e.* that the Litany, as a peculiar type of prayer, should become identified with the Litany as a penitential procession. And thus was reached the compound mediæval use of the term 'Litany,' as meaning a form of prayer in dialogue, either stationary or processional, and for either regular or occasional use.

Survival at Mass.

Both the stationary and processional uses were exemplified in the early Liturgy: the *Kyrie*, as has been already shown, is the remains of the former: but further it is to be noted that on the days when a solemn procession preceded the stational Mass at Rome, the Litany was sung as the Pope came near to the Church where the Mass was to be said: this use of a Litany in procession before Mass spread elsewhere, and continued in a shrunken form down to the Reformation in the shape of

[1] The Ambrosian Liturgy has *Kyrie eleison* regularly in three places, after the *Gloria in Excelsis*, after the Gospel, *i.e.* at the end of the Catechumen's Mass and at the end of all. Ceriani, *Notitia*, 43, 44.

[2] *Dict. Antiq.* i. 1001.

[3] S. Benet (c. 530) uses *litania* for the *Kyrie eleison* (*Regula*, 'Supplicatio litaniæ id est Kyrie eleison'; cp. xii. xiii. xvii.) in prescribing its use at the close of the Hours: cp. the lesser Litany above explained, pp. 386, 393, 394. Elsewhere, *e.g.* in S. Gregory or in the *Liber pontificalis*, it means simply a procession. The Ordines use it for the *Kyrie* at Mass.

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the Procession about the Church introductory to High Mass on Sundays and Festivals. These two uses of the Litany were too much alike to exist side by side simultaneously. In early days the *Kyrie* was dropped and the processional Litany retained ;[1] but later the *Kyrie* became a fixed feature of the Liturgy and the procession preceding it was altered so as to be unlike the *Kyrie*.

Occasional use of the Litany.

Besides this regular use of the Litany in connexion with the Liturgy it is to be observed that in other special services, both Roman and Gallican, the Litany-form won and kept a place, as for example in the Ordination service and kindred services, the Consecration of the Font on Easter Even, or the Dedication of a Church.

Besides these uses there was also the occasional use on such days as those already described ; in Lent, and at times of special emergency : and such were of continual recurrence, so that a Rogation or Processional Litany became the normal form of supplication for special needs.

Transformation.

As regards the form of the Litany, it is clear that the Roman type went through much transformation. When the varying petitions were dropped, only the *Kyrie eleison* remained : and there is an instance of the use of nothing else but the repetition a hundred times of the three formulas *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison* for a processional Litany.[2] But in other cases the varying petitions were not dropped, only new forms of re-

[1] See the provisions in the Ordines Romani : for the ordinary procession, superseding the *Kyrie*, see Ordo I. §§ 24, 25 ; and for the similar omission of the *Kyrie* on Sundays, when there was an ordination, because of the stationary litany that was to follow in the ordination service, see Ordo VIII. § 3, and IX. § 2. In the latter Ordo at § 1 the processional litany is said only in the Church as the Pope advances to the altar : but even so it still supersedes the *Kyrie*.

[2] Mabillon, Comm. in Ordinem Romanum, *Mus. Ital.* II. xxxiv. Migne *P.L.* LXXVIII. 868. Cp. Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* X. 1.

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sponse to them came into use: to one class, *Ora pro nobis*, Pray for us; to another, *Libera nos domine*, Good Lord deliver us; to another, *Te rogamus audi nos*, We beseech Thee to hear us. Petitions of the first of these classes multiplied especially rapidly, until the Litany threatened to become little else but an invocation of saints.

In other cases the Litany form was dropped altogether, and there were occasions when the service during the Procession, as early even as the time of S. Gregory, consisted of chanting a number of anthems.[1] And it was thus, as Beda relates,[2] that S. Augustine and his company of missionaries entered Canterbury, chanting what was called a Litany, but which was really nothing else but one of these processional anthems.

Litany of the Anglo-Saxon-Church.

The Roman form of the Litany came early to England and can be traced from early times. The following form, belonging to the eleventh century, is an example of the use of the Anglo-Saxon Church: [3] —

Kyrie eleïson. Christe eleïson. Christe audi nos.
Pater de cœlis Deus, Miserere nobis.
Fili Redemptor mundi Deus, Miserere nobis.
Spiritus Sancte Deus, Miserere nobis.
Sancta Trinitas unus Deus, Miserere nobis.[4]

[Then follow a long series of invocations, beginning "Sancta Maria ora," and ending "Omnes sancti, orate pro nobis."]

[1] These are given to the number of forty-seven for the 'Litania Maior,' March 25, in the Gregorian *Liber Antiphonarius*: *P.L.* LXXVIII, 682–6.

[2] Bed. *Hist. Eccl.* I. 25. 'Fertur autem quia adpropinquantes civitati, more suo, cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, hanc lætaniam consona voce modularentur. *Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista, et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus. Alleluia.*'

[3] From a Canterbury Psalter with interlinear English translation, Camb. Univ. Libr. MS. Ff. i. 23.

[4] The four preceding clauses are not in the earliest forms of the Litany: see *Egbert Pontifical*, pp. 27, 32. Nor yet in the Litany of Easter Even. *Proc. Sarum*, 83–86.

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Propitius esto, *Parce nobis Domine.*
Ab omni malo, *Libera nos Domine.*
Ab insidiis diaboli, *Libera nos Domine.*
A peste superbiæ, *Libera nos Domine.*
A carnalibus desideriis, *Libera nos Domine.*
Ab omnibus immunditiis mentis et corporis, *Libera nos Domine.*
A persecutione paganorum et omnium inimicorum nostrorum, *Libera nos Domine.*
A ventura ira, *Libera nos Domine.*
A subita et æterna morte, *Libera nos Domine.*
Per mysterium sanctæ Incarnationis Tuæ, *Libera nos Domine.*
Per crucem et passionem Tuam, *Libera nos Domine.*
Per sanctam resurrectionem Tuam, *Libera nos Domine.*
Per admirabilem ascensionem Tuam, *Libera nos Domine.*
Per gratiam Sancti Spiritus Paracliti, *Libera nos Domine.*
A pœnis inferni, *Libera nos Domine.*
In die judicii, *Libera nos Domine.*
Peccatores, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut pacem et concordiam nobis dones, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut sanctam Ecclesiam Tuam regere et defensare digneris, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut domnum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesiæ in sancta religione conservare digneris, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut archiepiscopum nostrum et omnem congregationem illi commissam in sancta religione conservare digneris, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut locum istum et omnes habitantes in eo visitare et consolari digneris, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut omnibus benefactoribus nostris æterna bona tribuas, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum nobis donares, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut animas nostras et animas parentum nostrorum ab æterna damnatione eripias, *Te rogamus audi nos.*
Ut nobis miseris misericors misereri digneris, *Te rogamus.*
Ut inimicis nostris pacem caritatemque largiri digneris, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut fructus terræ dare et conservare digneris, *Te rogamus.*
Ut fratribus nostris et omnibus fidelibus infirmis sanitatem mentis et corporis donare digneris, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Ut cunctis fidelibus defunctis requiem æternam donare digneris, *Te rogamus, audi nos.*

Ut nos exaudire digneris,	*Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Fili Dei,	*Te rogamus, audi nos.*
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,	*Parce nobis Domine.*
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,	*Miserere nobis.*

Christe, audi nos.
Kyrie eleïson.
Christe eleïson.
Kyrie eleïson.

The Litany.

Mediæval Use.

Some similar form was in universal use in England up to the Reformation. It formed an integral part of certain services, for example the Blessing of the Font on Easter Eve or the Ordination of Deacons and Priests: it was also said kneeling daily throughout Lent after Terce was ended. Further, the Litany was also used as an independent processional service, not only on the Rogation Days and the *Litania Maior* (S. Mark's Day) but also on the Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent and on special occasions when there was a call to public prayer. The old features thus survived: the Litany was sometimes processional and sometimes not, and its use was in part regular and in part occasional.[1]

The English Litany.

It was a special occasion calling for public prayer, which first produced an authoritative English translation:[2] but in preparing the Litany for the Processions in 1544 Cranmer was not content to produce a hasty or ill-considered piece of work. It is clear that he had before him not merely the current Latin Litany as used through Lent or on the Rogation Days with the different form prescribed for the dying, but also the form of

[1] For a procession consisting of the Litany sung by the monks of Canterbury standing in the body of the church, while my Lord Cardinal knelt at the choir door, see Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey* (ed. Morley), p. 69.

[2] See above, pp. 31–33, for the history. There were English versions of the Litany in the fourteenth century; see Maskell, II. 217 [III. 227]; and the early English Prymer, *ib.* p. 95 [III. 99]. Littlehales, *Prymer*, and the forms in Marshall's and Hilsey's Primer, in Burton's *Three Primers*, and above, p. 43.

The Litany. *The Invocations.*

Litany put out by Luther in 1529,[1] which had already been utilised in Marshall's Primer. There are also signs that he turned to Eastern sources and used the Deacon's Litany in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.[2] Thus he did not merely translate the old Latin form but enriched it from foreign sources.[3]

The old Western Litanies generally commenced with the form *Kyrie eleison*, each part of it being once or thrice repeated.[4] This was omitted in preparing the Litany of 1544, and thus an important point of connexion with the early history of Litany-prayers was lost.[5] At the same time the words *miserable sinners* were added in the invocations of the Trinity, and also the words, *proceeding from the Father and the Son* were inserted as a descriptive clause in the third invocation, to balance those in the first two invocations. These changes, and the mode of repeating the clauses whole, instead of saying each as an invocation and response, are special features of the English Litany.[6]

Next in the old Litanies came the invocation of Saints, beginning with S. Mary, and ending, after a great number of clauses, with *Omnes sancti*: *Orate pro nobis* In Luther's Litany these were entirely omitted. Cranmer was at first not quite so drastic, but the number of invocations was greatly curtailed and only

[1] Jacobs, *Lutheran Movement*, 234 and ff.

[2] Dowden, *Workmanship*, 147 and ff.

[3] The form of Litany in Hermann's *Consultation* (1543) is derived from the form of Luther, but it is hardly likely that Cranmer was influenced by the *Consultation* so early as 1544.

[4] In some cases these Kyries were repeated also in the body of the Litany between different sections (see *Egbert Pont.*, p. 33), as well as said at the beginning and end.

[5] Cranmer also greatly simplified the music, and it is in this form that the Litany is best known now. For the older form of the music see the adaptation published by the Plainsong Society (Vincent and Co., 1900); this also makes plain the structure of the service, which the usual adaptation obscures.

[6] For a discussion of the opening invocations see Dowden, *Workmanship*, pp. 152 and ff.

three such clauses were retained. They stood as follows:— The Litany.

Saint Mary, mother of God, our Saviour Jesu Christ, pray for us.

All holy angels and archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirits, pray for us.

All holy patriarchs, and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven, pray for us.

Each clause was repeated by the choir, in the same way as the preceding invocations of the Trinity. In the revision of this Litany for the King's Primer (1545) these three clauses still appeared, but only the words *pray for us* were given to the choir. The clauses were entirely omitted in the Litany of Edward VI.

The long petition which comes between the Invocations and the Deprecations which follow them, was newly inserted in 1544, in the place of the old and short clause, *Propitius esto*: while the response *Parce nobis Domine* was retained. It is a translation of the greater part of the anthem assigned to the Penitential Psalms, which stood in the Breviary immediately before the Litany.[1]

The Deprecations.

Then follow, in all the Litanies, the Deprecations, varying both in phrase and number, but preserving a general uniformity of subject; in the Latin form they were given commonly in single clauses, each of which was followed by *Libera nos Domine.* Cranmer not only selected his Deprecations from his various sources and added to them, but with more doubtful wisdom he combined a number of petitions together under

[1] 'Ne reminiscaris, Domine, delicta nostra, vel parentum nostrorum, neque vindictam sumas de peccatis nostris. *Non dicitur ulterius quando dicitur in choro.* Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo quem redemisti pretioso sanguine tuo, ne in æternum irascaris nobis: et ne des hæreditatem tuam in perditionem, ne in æternum obliviscaris nobis.' *Brev. Sar.* ii. 249. See Tobit iii. 3, and Joel ii. 17. Cp. its use below, p. 623.

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one response: this change made a gain in brevity and rapidity, but sacrificed the simplicity and directness of the old Litany-form. Two points call for special notice.[1] In 1544 the last of the series contained the clause, 'from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities,' after 'privy conspiracy:' this held its ground through the reign of Edward, but disappeared in Queen Mary's Litany. Secondly, it is to be observed with regard to the same deprecation that the words 'rebellion' and 'schism' were inserted at the last revision of the Prayer Book in 1661.

The Obsecrations.

The next portion, comprising the Obsecrations as a plea for mercy by or through the redemptive work of Christ, is formed from the same sources by a similar process of compression.

The next clause, 'In all time of our tribulation, &c.,' stands alone: it was formed by combining four separate clauses of Luther's Litany of which the first two were novel.

The Intercessions.

The form of the Intercessions which now follow is common to all the Litanies, but the subjects vary considerably, and the signs of the influence of the Lutheran Litany become far more prominent in the English service. After the suffrage for the Church, those for the ecclesiastical orders usually came first, and were followed by those for the prince and for Christian people.[2] Yet the intercessions for rulers of the Church and of the State were occasionally transposed, and in 1544 the series of petitions for the King was set next after that for the Church: and this order remains.

[1] For a tracing of the petitions in detail see Blunt, *Annotated B. C. P.*, who gives the Latin sources fully, but not the Litany of Luther: for which see Jacobs.

[2] The Sarum Processional and Antiphonal differ here from the Breviary.

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The clergy were described by Cranmer, following Luther, under the names of 'bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church;' this was altered at the last revision to 'bishops, priests, and deacons,'—an expression more distinctly opposed to Presbyterian notions of the Christian ministry.

The Prayer for the peace of all nations is characteristic of our Litany and of the circumstances which gave rise to it. The Sarum Litany prays, 'to give peace and concord to all kings and princes,' and the phraseology seems to have been adopted by Cranmer though modified. The ancient Anglo-Saxon Litany is remarkable in this respect, that it contains a suffrage 'for our enemies.'

The remaining suffrages are almost entirely drawn from Luther's Litany, but the phrase 'in danger, necessity and tribulation' seems to come from the Liturgy of Constantinople, and possibly the succeeding petition as well: and the petition for the fruits of the earth is alike both in Luther and in the Sarum Litany.

The last suffrage has nothing corresponding to it in any other Litany:[1] it is a beautiful summary, expressing what we ought to feel at the conclusion of such petitions as have preceded: it is intended to supply any omission of a request, or of a confession, which ought to have been made: a prayer for repentance, forgiveness, and the grace of amendment of life.[2]

The Invocations which follow are according to the

[1] One expression has been traced in a prayer at the Elevation in an edition of the *Horæ B. V. M.* (Paris, 1530): 'Sanguis tuus, Domine Jesu Christe, pro nobis effusus sit mihi in remissionem omnium peccatorum, negligentiarum et ignorantiarum mearum.' Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 587 [cp. p. 232, ed. 1884].

[2] A Suffrage has been inserted in the American Litany from Luther:— 'That it may please thee to send forth labourers into thy harvest.' Also the Litany has some verbal differences:—'from all inordinate and sinful affections'—'in all time of our prosperity'—'all Christian Rulers and Magistrates,' which is the only petition for the civil authority—'all women in the perils of child-birth.' The Minister may, at his discretion, omit from the Lesser

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old form.[1] The Litany proper then ends with the triple *Kyrie eleison* and the Lord's Prayer: the former primitive feature of the Litany survives only here in the English form. In the old form a number of suffrages were appended, introducing a Collect; but Cranmer here deserts Sarum in favour of Luther's Litany, where the present versicle, response, and prayer, 'O God, merciful Father, &c.,' occur in this position without preliminary suffrages, but with additional prayers added after the Collect. Cranmer took these three[2] and left the rest, thus reducing this section to very small dimensions.

Versicles and Prayer.

The intercession in time of war.

The following words, 'O Lord arise,' begin a new section, but owing to the accidental omission of *Amen* at the end of the preceding Collect[3] the fact is obscured. This new section is one which was a special intercession in time of war.

Anthem.

It opens with the processional anthem and psalm verse with which it was customary to begin the Procession,[4] and then passes at once to the special versicles.

Litany to the beginning of the Collect: thus destroying the only remains left of the *Kyrie* and throwing the whole structure into confusion. The Litany may be used at Evening Prayer, after the Collect *For Aid against Perils*.

[1] 'Dona nobis pacem' was not in the public Sarum litanies, but was in other English forms. (*e.g. Egbert*, 30) and in the Visitation of the sick.

[2] The prayer was in Sarum Use the Collect in the Mass *pro tribulatione cordis*:—'Deus qui contritorum non despicis gemitum, et mœrentium non spernis affectum; adesto precibus nostris, quas pietati tuæ pro tribulatione nostra offerimus: implorantes ut nos clementer respicias, et solito pictatis tuæ intuitu tribuas ut quicquid contra nos diabolicæ fraudes atque humanæ moliuntur adversitates ad nihilum redigas, et consilio misericordiæ tuæ allidas; quatenus nullis adversitatibus læsi, sed ab omni tribulatione et angustia liberati, gratias tibi in ecclesia tua referamus consolati. Per.' *Miss. Sar.* col. 797*.

[3] The Amen was in the early Elizabethan Litanies, but was not filled in with the rest in 1661.

[4] '*Ordo processionis in secunda feria in rogationibus. Hæc antiphona dicatur a toto choro in stallis antequam exeat' processio, cantore incipiente antiphonam. An.* Exsurge, Domine, adjuva nos, et libera nos propter nomen tuum. Alleluia. *Ps.* Deus, auribus nostris audivimus: patres nostri annuntiaverunt nobis. *Non dicatur nisi primus versus, sed statim sequatur* Gloria Patri. *Deinde repetatur* Exsurge Domine.' *Processionale Sarum*, p. 105, ed. Henderson, 1882.

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Two changes were made in the process of adaptation of the anthem. First in translating the verse of the Psalm, Cranmer completed the sense by adding the remainder of the sentence, which in the Latin forms the second verse; the whole passage is Ps. xliv. 1 in our translation. Also the order was changed, and the anthem with a slight variation in translation was made to precede instead of following the *Gloria patri*. It is difficult to explain the latter change, as it makes no improvement in the sense, while it entirely destroys the form.[1]

Versicles,

The Versicles were taken from the occasional portion added to the Litany in time of war:[2] unlike the suffrages above, they were sung by the choir not the officiant, but they led up to a final sacerdotal versicle and Collect, said by him. The distinction is still retained here; from 1549 to 1661 this couplet was marked '*The Versicle*,' and '*The Answer*,' but it is now in each case marked as '*Priest*' and '*Answer*.' This particular versicle is unprecedented in this position,[3] but the Collect (with a different sacerdotal versicle) was appointed to be said at the close of the Litany on the last of the Rogation

and collect.

[1] The change which made the *Gloria* a versicle and response was not made till 1661, and was a well-intentioned suggestion of Wren. *Fragm. Ill.* 62.

[2] '*Si necesse fuerit, versus sequentes dicuntur a predictis clericis in tempore belli.*

Ab inimicis nostris defende nos, Christe.
Afflictionem nostram benignus vide.
Dolorem cordis nostri respice clemens.
Peccata populi tui pius indulge.
Orationes nostras pius exaudi.
Fili Dei vivi, miserere nobis.
Hic et in perpetuum nos custodire digneris, Christe.
Exaudi nos Christe, exaudi, exaudi, nos, Christe.'

Proc. Sarum, 'Letania in rogationibus,' p. 120.

The phrase 'Fili Dei vivi' is, probably by mistake, rendered 'O Son of David; cp. Luke xviii. 38: but this was a not uncommon expression in mediæval devotion; see examples in Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, 'Additional note on the Litany,' p. 586 [p. 234, *note*, ed. 1884].

[3] It was one of the Suffrages of Prime and Compline.

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Days.[1] It was freely adapted for the present position, and the intercession of the saints was no longer mentioned in it.

Additions.

The closing section of the Litany of 1544 consisted of an appendix of Collects, just as the old Litanies of the English Church ended, for the most part, with a group of seven Collects.[2] Three of these were retained here by Cranmer, viz. the first, second and fifth, and two additions were made: the first of these ran thus:

> Grant, we beseech thee, O Almighty God, that we in our trouble put our whole confidence upon thy mercy, that we may against all adversity be defended under thy protection. Grant this, &c.

The second addition was the Prayer of S. Chrysostom, which no doubt Cranmer noticed when he turned to the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom for help in the preparation of the Litany:[3] and with this the Litany of 1544 ended.

Textual changes:

A close study of the text of the various subsequent editions of the English Litany reveals many inconsistencies and small changes which are merely bewildering because they do not show any relationship between the successive issues. All that can be said is that none of these editions was copied exactly from any other. The Litany in the Primer of 1545 differs in small points from

[1] *Proc. Sarum*, p. 121. 'Infirmitatem nostram quæsumus, Domine, propitius respice: et mala omnia quæ juste meremur omnium sanctorum tuorum intercessione averte. Per.'

[2] 1. 'Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere, suscipe deprecationem nostram; et quos delictorum catena constringit, miseratio tuæ pietatis absolvat. Per.' O God, whose nature and property, &c.

2. 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui facis mirabilia,' &c. (*The Prayer for the Clergy and People*), p. 400.

3. 'Deus qui caritatis dona,' &c.

4. 'Deus a quo sancta desideria,' &c. *The Second Collect at Evening Prayer.* See above p. 403.

5. 'Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam nobis quæsumus, Domine, clementer ostende; ut simul nos et a peccatis omnibus exuas, et a pœnis quas pro his meremur benignus eripias.'

6. 'Fidelium Deus omnium conditor et redemptor,' &c.

7. 'Pietate tua quæsumus, Domine, nostrorum solve vincula,' &c.

[3] See above, pp. 400, 401.

that of 1544:[1] some points of resemblance to these Henrician editions appear in the first Edwardine Ordinal which are not in the First Prayer Book.[2] The First and Second Prayer Books each brought innovations: those due to the latter were mainly reproduced in the Primer of 1553.[3] The Marian Litany, in some respects innovated, and in others reverted to the Henrician forms.[4] The three early forms of Elizabethan Litany were similarly eclectic[5]: so that no solid ground is reached till the Elizabethan Prayer Book.

three of importance.

But among all these minutiæ several more important changes stand out clear. First, the clause against 'the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable ('abominable' in 1545) enormities,' which was introduced in the Henrician Litany of 1544, was excised in the Marian Litany, and after reappearing in one of the tentative Elizabethan editions, disappeared finally at the Elizabethan Prayer Book. Secondly, the three invocations of Saints, also characteristic of the Henrician Litanies, though retained down to 1548,[6] disappeared in 1549.

Thirdly, while the appendix of Collects varied so much

[1] *E.g.* the form of the three invocations following the invocation of the Trinity vary.

[2] *E.g.* 'From fornication and all deadly sin.' So also the Marian Litany, 'Pitifully behold the dolour of our heart.' So also the Elizabethan Litany of 1558.

[3] In the First Prayer Book the petition for the fruits of the earth first took its present shape, and, except for the change of 'as' to 'that' in the tentative Elizabethan Litanies, it has retained it ever since. Again, at the same time the Collect 'We humbly beseech Thee, O Father,' was enlarged into its present form. The Second Book, besides other small changes, altered 'Thy Holy Church universal' into 'Thy Holy Church universally.'

[4] It had also peculiarities of its own, *e.g.*, 'From battayle and from sudden death,' 'Let us not to be ledde into temptation.'

[5] They agreed, however, in being the only copies in which the 'Amen' is appended to the first Collect. The Litany of 1559 reverted to the Henrician form of the *Gloria patri*, but anticipated the Prayer Book, *e.g.*, by enlarging the suffrage for the Queen, see p. 102.

[6] See *The Psalter . . .the Letanye*, &c., printed by Roger Car for Anthoni Smyth, 1548. (Brit. Mus., C. 35, b, 2.)

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in successive editions, both in its own contents and in its relation to other parts of the Book, that it is not worth while to attempt to describe the variations, it is worth while to notice that the new Collect added in 1544 was used in 1549 to enlarge the Collect, 'We humbly beseech Thee, O Father, &c.,' and so ceased to have a separate existence.[1] The prayer of S. Chrysostom is the only one of the collection which has uniformly retained its place: of the rest some have disappeared, some have been placed elsewhere. 'The Grace' was first appended to it as the closing Benediction in 1559.[2]

The use of the Litany:

The English Litany was put out originally as a separate service; both in 1544 and 1545[3] it was used as a procession on the accustomed days, *i.e.*, Wednesdays and Fridays, similarly to the Lenten use of the Litany; it was first brought into permanent relation with other services when the Edwardine Injunctions[4] ordered that it should be sung immediately before High Mass by the priests with other of the quire kneeling in the midst of the church, and should supersede for the time all other processions or Litanies in church or churchyard.

occasional,

regular before High Mass.

This was in itself a considerable change, for the Litany had long ceased to be a normal preliminary of Mass, and was so only upon the Rogation days,[5] or such special occasions as the Processions in time of war, when a Votive Mass naturally followed. Moreover, the new Injunction abolished the ordinary Sunday Procession before High Mass, which was a popular form of service,

[1] Except in the Elizabethan Litany of 1558 where it occurs in both capacities; *Lit. Services of Q. Eliz.*, pp. 7, 8.

[2] For the relation of this Appendix to the 'Five Prayers' see above, pp. 397 and ff.

[3] Cranmer *Remains*, pp. 494, 495.

[4] *Doc. Ann.* II. § 23. See above p. 36.

[5] It has been suggested that the custom may have survived in England though not prescribed in the service books, but no evidence has been cited to support the suggestion.

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including in some places prayers in English, especially the solemn Bidding prayer.[1] It was now intended, (perhaps not without some reminiscence on Cranmer's part of primitive and Eastern custom) to prefix to Mass a more complete form of vernacular intercession. The Litany was ready to hand and had been proved successful in this position by constant use on Wednesdays and Fridays at intervals during the preceding three years.[2] The only inconvenience that had been found was that some disorder attended its recital in procession,[3] and therefore in this respect a change was made, and the Litany was to be sung kneeling.[4]

In the First Prayer Book.

When the First Prayer Book was issued it did not originally include the Litany, but only a rubric that upon Wednesdays and Fridays it should be sung according to the Injunction and should be followed by at least the Ante-communion Service.[5] This implies that the people were still to use it as 'a Procession on their knees.' The earliest editions had the Litany appended as a supplement, while in later editions it was regularly incorporated in the book and stood next after the Communion. It was clearly not intended that the Litany should wholly sweep away

[1] See above, p. 255.

[2] Besides the use ordered by the Mandates of June 1544, and August, 1545, other instances occurred, probably before the end of the reign (*Greyfriars Chron.* 49, 50), and certainly after the issue of the Injunctions, *e.g.*, after the Battle of Pinkie; see Wriothesley *Chron.* i. 136. They 'kept a solemn Procession on their knees in English.'

[3] The Injunction spoke of 'contention and strife which hath risen . . . . by reason of fond courtesy and challenging of places in procession.'

[4] This Injunction was evidently not meant to be of permanent and universal authority: since even in the early years of Elizabeth the English Litany was commonly sung in Procession at S. George's, Windsor, on S. George's Day, by the knights of the Garter and priests and clerks in copes and some of them in almuces. *Machyn's Diary*, 232, 257, 258, 280, 306, and in 1661 a direction to kneel was at one period of the revision inserted into the opening rubric, but was afterwards struck out.

[5] This provision links on not only to the old use of the Litany on these days in Lent, but still more naturally to the old 'Stations' of the Early Church, see p. 331.

The Litany.

the old Processions, for a rubric at the end of the book provided thus: *Also upon Christmas Day, Easter Day, the Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, and the feast of the Trinity may be used, any part of the Holy Scripture hereafter to be certainly limited and appointed in the stead of the Litany.* This shows that Cranmer had not yet given up his hopes of a Processional in English.[1] But in fact the work was never accomplished. In the Second Book the Litany was moved to its present place, and it remains as a solitary and stationary 'Procession' preparatory to the Eucharist. The rubric of 1552 merely ordered it for *Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary.* The 18th Elizabethan Injunction repeated the Edwardine Injunction with slight verbal changes, again expressly connecting the Litany with 'the time of communion of the sacrament,' while the 48th ordered the saying of the Litany and prayers in Church on Wednesdays and Fridays with no mention of the Ante-communion service.

The Second

The connexion with the Liturgy obscured,

In time the connexion with the Liturgy was lost sight of: this was mainly the result of the massing together of three services into one, as when Grindal, archbishop of York, in his visitation (1571), directed 'the minister not to pause or stay between the Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion, but to continue and say the Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion, or the Service appointed to be said when there was no Communion, together, without any intermission: to the intent the people might continue together in prayer, and hearing the Word of God; and not depart out of the church during all the time of the whole Divine Service.'[2]

[1] See above, p. 34.

[2] *Doc. Ann.* LXXVI.

The Litany, *and almost forgotten.*

The revisers of 1661 went a step further by ordering the Litany to be sung *after Morning Prayer*:[1] this made little difference[2] so long as the services were still massed together; but the recent custom of subdividing the services has seriously broken the connexion, and now in many places the Sunday Eucharist is deprived of its proper introductory Procession.[3]

The use in the Ordinal.

The only occasional use of the Litany prescribed in the Prayer book is that in the Ordinal, where it has been a feature of the service from very early times. Uniformity has brought it about that the Litany there shall have the same appendix of prayers for a time of war as is included in the regular Litany. It may be doubted how far this feature is a desirable part of the regular normal course, and whether the Litany would not be better suited for general use without it: but certainly it is an especially inappropriate appendix to the service on the special occasion of an ordination.[4]

The one form of Litany is really used in three different ways, (1) as the Procession before the Eucharist on Sundays, (2) as a votive service on the old Station days of Wednesday and Friday,[5] and (3) as a special act of pleading in Ordinations: and it is all the more necessary to keep the distinction of use clearly in

[1] This was done at Cosin's suggestion (*Works*, v. 509) to prevent a 'contentious man' from taking advantage of the absence of direction to say it in the morning.

[2] The connexion of the Litany with the Eucharist was not forgotten, *e.g.*, in Elborow's *Exposition of the B.C.P.* (1663) the Elizabethan Injunction is expressly quoted on this point, p. 53.

[3] The revolutionary and disastrous Shortened Services Act of 1872 actually sanctioned the use of the Litany in the afternoon or evening. It is subversive of all liturgical order that Mattins should follow instead of preceding the Eucharist, but the divorce of this use of the Litany from the Eucharist is both practically and theoretically more unjustifiable still.

[4] It is true that such a use is not without precedent, for the appendix forms part of the Second Litany in the Consecration of a Church in the *Egbert Pontifical*, (Surtees Soc., vol. 27, p. 33).

[5] Elborow, *l.c.* p. 69.

Occasional Prayers.

Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions.

mind, because there is only the one form available for the three different purposes.[1]

The Occasional Prayers are entirely English compositions; they were collected in this place for the first time in 1661, but some of them had already appeared elsewhere in previous editions. The prayers for Rain and Fair Weather were appended to the Communion Service of 1549. The Prayers *In the time of Dearth and Famine* were added in 1552; the second form was left out in 1559, and only restored, with alterations, in 1661. The Prayer *In the time of War and Tumults* belongs to 1552, and also that *In the time of any common Plague or Sickness.* It is probable that all these forms had their origin in the necessities of the time.[2] The Prayers *to be said every day in the Ember weeks* were added at the last revision. They are peculiar to the English ritual.[3] The *Prayer that may be said after any of the former* is as old as the Gregorian Sacramentary,[4] and in an English form has had a place in the Primer as long as that book can be traced, standing with the Collects at the end of the Litany.[5] It was, however, omitted during the reign of Edward VI.,

[1] See Lacey, *Liturgical Use of the Litany* for this subject.

[2] We find an account of the Sweating Sickness, and a Dearth, in 1551: Strype, *Mem. Eccl. Ed. VI.* bk. II. ch. iv. Also there was a general European war, besides the more pressing troubles in Ireland: *ib.* ch. iii.

[3] Palmer, *Orig. Lit.* I. p. 305. The first of these Prayers is in Cosin's *Collection of Private Devotions* (1627); the second in the Scottish Prayer Book (1637).

[4] In the American Book this Prayer is added to the Prayers from the Commination Service in *A penitential Office, to be read on the First Day of Lent, and at other times, at the discretion of the Minister.*

[5] Maskell, II. p. 107 [III. p. 110]. Being a short Collect, it is given here as an example of mediæval English:—'Preie we. *Orisoun. Deus cui proprium.* God, to whom it is propre to be merciful and to spare euermore, undirfonge oure preieris: and the mercifulness of thi pitie asoile hem that the chayne of trespas bindith. Bi criste our lord. So be it.' See the original Latin above, p. 420. It is a *Prayer for Mercy and Pardon* in the American Prayer Book.

Occasional Prayers.

but restored in the Litanies at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth (1558 and 1559).

The *Prayer for the High Court of Parliament* was composed most probably by Laud, when Bishop of S. David's. It first appeared in an 'Order of Fasting,' in 1625, and again in 1628 in a special form of prayer 'necessary to be used in these dangerous times of war.' In these early forms it is almost verbally like the present prayer, only somewhat longer; it also contains the words 'most religious and gracious king,'[1] which have been commonly supposed to have been introduced as a compliment to Charles II. In 1661 the Prayer was inserted in a special form for a Fast-day on the 12th of June, and again in the following January; and at the same time it was placed by the Convocation in the Book of Common Prayer.[2]

The *Prayer for all Conditions of Men* was probably composed by Dr. Peter Gunning, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and successively Bishop of Chichester and Ely.[3] In its original shape it is supposed to have been longer and was designed as a substitute for the Litany, no doubt to meet the objections of the Puritans.[4] The Convocation, however, retained the Litany, reduced this prayer to its present proportions and adopted it as an alternative to the Litany, without, however, altering the word *finally*, which seems to be needlessly introduced in so short a form. Before this, no general intercessory prayer occurred in the

[1] Sovereigns are mentioned as εὐσεβέστατοι καὶ πιστότατοι in the Anaphora of St. Basil's Liturgy: *L. E. W.* 333.

[2] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 233, *note*; Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 301, 302. The word *Dominion* was substituted for *Kingdoms* by an Order of Council of January 1, 1801.

[3] Bisse, *Beauty of Holiness* (5th edition, 1717), p. 97.

[4] See above, p. 173.

Occasional Prayers.

Thanksgivings.

service, except on those mornings when the Litany was said.

Praise is an essential part of divine worship. Hence we retain, throughout the services, Doxologies, Psalms, and Canticles. But these do not include that particular thanksgiving for extraordinary deliverances, or indeed for daily mercies, which is due to the author and giver of all good things. Hence some particular thanksgivings[1] were annexed to the Litany, at the revision of the Prayer Book after the Hampton Court Conference, by order of James I., under the title of '*An enlargement of thanksgiving for diverse benefits, by way of explanation.*'[2] These were thanksgivings *for Rain, for Fair Weather, for Plenty, for Peace and Victory*, and *for Deliverance from the Plague* in two forms.[3] At the last revision, after the restoration of the Monarchy, another special form of thanksgiving was added *for Restoring Publick Peace at Home*.[4] Its language must have been felt to be strikingly appropriate, when read with the restored Common Prayer, after such a mournful period of civil discord. At the same time the Convocation accepted a form of *General Thanksgiving*, composed by Bishop Reynolds,[5] an addition which rendered the book more perfect by making the Thanksgivings correspond with the Prayers.[6]

[1] 'The English ritual, I believe, is the only one which contains special thanksgivings for the mercies of God, others having confined themselves to general expressions of gratitude on all such occasions. It has therefore, in the present case, improved on the ancient customs of the Christian Church, instead of being in any way inconsistent with them.'—Palmer, *Orig. Lit.* 1. p. 307. See Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. 43.

[2] See above, p, 142.

[3] Cardwell, *Conf.* pp. 222, 223.

[4] Based upon Wren's suggestion, *Fragm. Ill.* p. 64.

[5] Cardwell, *Synodalia*, 658.

[6] In the American Prayer Book the *Prayer for all Conditions of Men*, and the *General Thanksgiving* are inserted in their place in the Morning and Evening Prayer; and the *General Thanksgiving* is also inserted at the end of the Litany. The

Prayer for Parliament becomes, with slight alteration, *A Prayer for Congress; A Prayer to be used at the Meetings of Convention* is taken in great part from a paragraph in the Homily for Whit-Sunday, changes of phrase being provided, adapting it for use in churches during the session of any General or Diocesan Convention. The Prayers, *For Rain, For Fair Weather, In Time of Dearth and Famine*, and *In Time of War and Tumults*, are taken with some changes of phrase, and omission of the references to the Old Testament; and the two forms *For those who are to be admitted into Holy Orders, to be used in the Weeks preceding the stated Times of Ordination*, are taken from the English Book, with only two minute improvements in the first Form, 'who' (for 'which'), and 'show forth' (for 'set forth') thy glory, as 'set forward' immediately follows. The *Prayer in Time of great Sickness and Mortality*, was composed and placed in the Book of 1789; and additional Forms are provided *For the Unity of God's People, For Missions, For Fruitful Seasons* (in two Forms), *to be used on Rogation Sunday and the Rogation-days*. Also, *For a Sick Person, For a Sick Child, For a Person or Persons going to Sea, For a Person under Affliction, For Malefactors after Condemnation* (all dating from 1789).

Additional Thanksgivings (to be used after the General Thanksgiving) are, *For a Recovery from Sickness, For a Child's Recovery from Sickness* (1892), and *For a Safe Return from Sea*. The Thanksgiving from the Churching Office is also placed among the Occasional Thanksgivings.

Occasional Prayers.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ORDER FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, OR HOLY COMMUNION.

SECT. I.—*Primitive Liturgies.*

Primitive Liturgies.

Traces of the Christian Service in the New Testament.

THE traces of the form of worship used by the Christian converts, which we find in the New Testament, refer to the Eucharist, as being emphatically the Christian Service. Attendance at the 'breaking of the bread' was from the first a principal feature of the Christian Church,[1] and the due performance of the service forms one of the main topics of one of S. Paul's Epistles.[2] It clearly was designed to be a close reproduction of our Lord's action in instituting the Eucharist at the last Passover, and this has in fact determined the whole course and method of Eucharistic worship from the very first. It led in very early days to the combining of the Eucharist with the Christian meal of the *Agape*—a combination which

Relation to the Agape.

[1] See the description of the earliest converts, Acts ii. 42, ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς, and compare 46, and xx. 7.

[2] See 1 Cor. xi. 13 and ff. Compare also 1 Cor. x. 16 and ff., referring to the consecration of the bread and wine and the meaning of reception; 1 Cor. xiv. 16, to the use of the word *Amen* by the people after the Eucharistical prayer offered by the minister; 1 Cor. xvi. 2, to the weekly almsgiving.

Primitive Liturgies.

was natural enough, until it led, as it clearly did at Corinth, to a false conception of the meaning and scope of the Eucharist: and then S. Paul's intervention, and the teaching which he gave in his epistle on the subject, mark the first step in a process of change: the Eucharist was separated from the *Agape*, and placed in the position, in which it is found at the opening of the IInd century, when evidence on the point is next forthcoming, viz., as an early morning service. It is significant that the Church at once interpreted literally the command 'Do this in remembrance of me' as an instruction to continue the Eucharist as a perpetual service, in quite a different sense from that which it gave to the apparently similar command to 'wash one another's feet'; just as it gave a quite different interpretation to the statement, 'This is my body' from that which it gave to such parallel statements as 'I am the vine,' or, 'I am the resurrection.' Thus from the first the Eucharist stood out in a unique position as the distinctive Christian service, and attendance at it as a primary Christian duty.

Interpretation of our Lord's command.

Hence naturally arose the ecclesiastical use of the word *Liturgy*,[1] to designate the form employed by the Church in performing that duty. Other titles bring out other aspects of the same service, which was called the *Mass* by the First Prayer Book, as was usual in the mediæval and the Latin Church, but which in the later Prayer

Titles of the rite.

[1] In classical Greek λειτουργία denotes any public service, religious or secular. In the LXX. translation it is used especially in Numbers and Chronicles for the *ministry of the Levites* (*e. g.* 1 Chron. xxvi. 30, εἰς πᾶσαν λ. Κυρίου); in the New Testament, among other things, for the *ministry of prophets and teachers* (Acts xiii. 2, where see Wordsworth's note; cp. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Test.* 1 § xxxv.); and in ecclesiastical writers, for any sacred function, and later, in an especial and strict sense, for the Eucharistic Office. See Bingham, *Antiq.* XIII. 1. The term has been at times extended to cover other services besides the Eucharist, just as the term 'Divine Service' has been similarly misused and extended: but it is far best to keep each to its own proper place. See above, p. 307.

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Books is called *The Lord's Supper* and *The Holy Communion*.[1]

Early documents.

Outside the New Testament the earliest descriptions of the service extant are those of Pliny (*circa* 112) and of Justin Martyr (*c.* 148): both these belong to a period when there were still no fixed forms of service and no written Service-books[2]: but though these are only general descriptions, as being intended for heathen readers, and, in the case of Pliny,[3] written by a heathen pro-prætor who had evidently little understanding of what he described, it is clear from them that the service followed a fixed outline and

[1] The following are the principal early titles of the service:—*Breaking of Bread*, Acts ii. 42, 46, xx. 7: *Communion*, κοινωνία, from S. Paul's account of the effect of the service, which is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, 1 Cor. x. 16: *Eucharist*, εὐχαριστία, S. Paul uses the word, 1 Cor. xiv. 16, but probably not in the technical sense: this, however, is clear in Ignatius, *Smyrn.* c. 6, 8; *Philadelph.* c. 4, and probably in the Didache, § 9. The use of εὐχαριστεῖν in Clement, § 41, is intermediate. *Lord's Supper*, Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, because instituted by our Lord at supper, and succeeding the Jewish Paschal supper; it does not appear, however, that the text (1 Cor. xi. 20) was interpreted absolutely of the Eucharist before the end of the fourth century; and at the end of the seventh century *Lord's Supper* had not become a familiar name for the Eucharist, but rather denoted the supper, or love-feast, *Agape*, which accompanied it, or our Lord's own supper with His disciples, or the supper which preceded the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday; in the Middle Ages, however, it was a very common name for the Eucharist: *Oblation*, προσφορά (*circa* 96) Clem. Rom. c. 40. *Sacrament*, sacramentum (112), Pliny, *Epist.* x. 96: the word was probably misunderstood by Pliny, and may have been technically employed, as it certainly was in Tertullian's day: *Sacrifice*, θυσία (150), Just. M. *Dial.* c. 41, 117: *Commemoration*, *Memorial*, ἀνάμνησις, μνήμη (150), *ibid.* c. 117: *Office*, officium (200), Tert. *De orat.* 14: *The Lord's Service*, dominicum (250), Cyprian *De opere et el.* 15; *Epist.* lxiii. 16: *Mass*, *Missa* (385), from the usual form of dismission, *Ite, missa est;* Ambros. *Epist.* i. 20, *ad Marcellinum*, § 4. See Probst, *Liturgie der Ersten Chr. Jahrh.* 1 and ff.

[2] These are printed below (see additional note 1, p. 506) together with passages from the Διδάχη, which gives two forms of thanksgiving after reception and a general Eucharistic thanksgiving to follow. The prophet with his gift of extempore prayer was allowed liberty in celebrating, while at the same period other celebrants were being restricted to fixed forms. But the forms very possibly refer only to the *Agape*. Bp. J. Wordsworth, *The Holy Communion*, 46.

[3] See Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. pp. 50 and ff. Keating, *Agape and Euch.* pp. 54 and ff.

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was on the way to be stereotyped into fixed liturgical forms.[1]

Pliny.

Pliny's letter suggests that the Eucharist took place early on Sunday morning, and that the *Agape* or Love-feast, which had accompanied it in the days when S. Paul dealt with the matter at Corinth, was now separated and put after it.[2]

Justin.

Justin Martyr speaks also of the Sunday gathering and specifies (i) the reading of Scripture, and (ii) a sermon based on it; (iii) the prayers for all classes of men; (iv) the kiss of peace; (v) the oblation of bread and the cup of wine and water; (vi) the long exercise of praise, prayer and thanksgiving offered by the president at his discretion, and responded to by the people with (vii) Amen; (viii) the administration to those present and by the deacons to the absent; (ix) the almsgiving. He touches further on the doctrine of the communion and on the discipline by which the sanctity of the Sacrament was safeguarded.

All this implies that in the middle of the second century the features familiar in later times were already present in an organized shape.[3]

The beginning of liturgical forms.

As to the fixity of liturgical forms there was probably much variety of habit. Prayer on a given theme very soon falls into regular phrases out of which formulas grow. Such phrases and formulas were no doubt in use in quite early times, but the officiant was not at first bound to them.[4] As time went on, the liberty of using

[1] See a general description in Wordsworth, pp. 41 & ff.

[2] *Ibid.* 57. Pullan, pp. 3, 7.

[3] For further descriptions of the Liturgy in later times see the references given above on pp. 4, 5. And Pullan, *History of B.C.P.* c. 1.

[4] It is probable that even as early as the Epistle of S. Clement, if not in N. T. times, a liturgical language had been formed, phrases had been coined and were in recognised use, and some formulas possibly had been generally adopted. See 1 Clem. 59-61; Warren, *Liturgy of Ante-Nicene Church*, 168-170; and for Biblical passages, 1 Tim. iii. 16, Eph. v. 14, and Warren, 34-36.

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extempore forms was curtailed, till it was restricted to special orders of the ministry, such as the 'prophets' or the episcopate; and finally to all intents and purposes it disappeared. But meanwhile for a considerable period the use of fixed forms and the liberty to extemporize went on side by side, and the earliest extant Liturgy, that in the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis, seems to be, not a common form in general use, but the particular form drawn up by Serapion for his own peculiar use, in virtue of the right of liturgical independence which belonged to him as a bishop.

The primitive liturgy.

Passing thus from the early period, in which almost the only evidence available is that of various descriptions of the service such as those of S. Justin or S. Cyril, to the later period at which actual forms of service and Service-books are forthcoming, the first impression is one of great multiplicity of rite and use: but on further study it becomes clear, not only (i) that these many individual forms can be classified in various families belonging to certain localities and centres of Church life, but also that (ii) there is underlying these families a primitive and universal scheme of Eucharistic service, on which all have been modelled, and that (iii) the scheme agrees with that which has been noticed in the early descriptions of the Eucharist. Round this primitive nucleus much has been gathered, and out of it much has been developed, in different ways and at different places and times; but dimly discernible in the background of the whole elaborate picture there is the early Christian form of Eucharistic service. Thus by working backwards from these later liturgical documents the same conclusions are to be reached which have already been suggested by the earlier descriptive documents.

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Its structural outline.

There existed at first, as has been shown, no more than a mere outline, to be followed out in general by all who celebrated, but to be filled in in detail at the discretion of the individual celebrant: S. Paul speaks of the congregational *Amen* at the end of the Eucharistic prayer,[1] and this implies that the congregation followed the prayer and knew their cue for responding. Similarly at a later date it is clear that at intervals through the service there were fixed cues, to which the celebrant was expected to return, though he were following a line of his own and perhaps even extemporizing, and which the congregation was prepared to recognise and even respond to.[2] The *Sursum corda*,[3] the *Sanctus*, the words of Institution, the Lord's Prayer, are cases in point. They are elements common to most early liturgies and are attested by early writers as prominent points in the service. They were principal parts of the structural skeleton of the early days, which later became variously clothed with differing features, just as they are still the main joints on which the Liturgy articulates.

No definite records of early days prescribe formally this skeleton or outline of service, but, since the two main lines of argument already mentioned, viz. patristic witness and comparative liturgiology, both converge and lead to the same results, it may fairly be claimed that the results acquired are trustworthy. They may be summarized as follows.

The liturgy of the catechumens

First with regard to the main structure of the Liturgy. It has always consisted of two parts, (i) a preliminary service of lessons, chants, preaching, and prayers, which possibly is not unconnected with the worship of the

[1] 1 Cor. xvi. 16.

[2] This is especially clear from the Sacramentary of Serapion. See p. 5.

[3] This is attested by the Hippolytean Canons in the middle of the third century. Ed. Achelis, § 21, or Duchesne, p. 506.

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synagogue. It was to this only that Catechumens were admitted, and it therefore is called the Catechumens' service. (ii) The second part of the Liturgy only began when all except the 'Faithful' had left;[1] it therefore is called the service of the Faithful. It followed the analogy of our Lord's institution of the Eucharist in being the definitely Christian rite annexed to the Jewish service.

It will be best at once to get a clear idea of the main contents of these two parts of the primitive outline of the Liturgy.

I. (*a*) Lessons, more or fewer in number, from various parts of scripture, such as Law, Prophecy, Epistle, Gospel.
(*b*) Psalms and canticles sung between the Lessons.
(*c*) Sermon.
(*d*) Prayers, including the special prayers for and dismissal of the various classes of persons, who were not qualified to remain to the Liturgy proper.[2]

The liturgy of the faithful

The service of the faithful itself falls into two parts, (A) the first preparatory to the offering of the Eucharist, (B) the second the offering itself, called technically the 'Anaphora.'

II. A (*a*) The Prayers of the Faithful.
(*b*) The offertory, that is the oblation of the Elements, and other offerings.[3]
(*c*) The Kiss of Peace.

[1] Baptized Christians in the East undergoing penitential discipline in one or other stage of excommunication were also excluded. See Marshall, *Penitential Discipline*, Angl. Cath. Lib. *Rev. d'Histoire*, VII. 1.

[2] This last feature certainly goes back to very early times, if not to the earliest. All these four divisions are mentioned by S. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 65-67), except the second, which is mentioned by Pliny (*Ep. ad Traj.* x. 96). See Additional Note 1.

[3] These at one time were very various, but were in time restricted to offerings of liturgical use. The third of the Apostolic canons restricted them to oil and incense. Bruns, *Canones*, i. 1.

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B (*d*) The Salutation, *Sursum corda*, &c.
(*e*) The great Eucharistic prayer, containing, in one or other form :—
(i) The Commemoration of God's Eternal Being and Work in Creation, leading to
(ii) The Triumphal Hymn of *Sanctus*.
(iii) The Commemoration of God's Work in Redemption, and of our Lord's incarnate Work, including the Recital of the Institution of the Sacrament.
(iv) In virtue of this, The Oblation of the elements and the Invocation of God's power to consecrate them.
(v) The Fraction, Lord's Prayer, and final Amen.[1]
(*f*) The Invitation and the Communion.
(*g*) The Thanksgiving and dismissal.[2]

The uniformity of outline.

From another point of view, already mentioned above, the Anaphora may be said to develop round five cardinal points : these are (i) the *Sanctus*, (ii) the Recitation of the institution of the Eucharist, (iii) the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, (iv) the Fraction, and (v) the Lord's Prayer. They are fixed points, in which every early Anaphora, whether improvised by the celebrant in early days or written down at a later date, may be expected to coincide. The second was at first probably only an incident in the historical summary of the work of redemption, which formed the central section of the action ; while the third naturally became attached to the historical summary in the position which its connexion with Pentecost obviously marked out for it ; but these two features gradually acquired special and rival prominence : in the West stress was laid on the former, and in the East on the

[1] The order of the closing items varies.

[2] The outline is only conjectural, but it is borne out in the main by the Liturgies and the early writings, though some points, such as the universality of the *Sanctus* and the position of the Lord's Prayer, are disputable.

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latter, with the result that the centre of gravity of the action became in the West the Words of Institution, and in the East the Epiclesis or Invocation.

That some such outline or scheme underlies all existing Liturgies may easily be deduced from a comparison of the earliest extant Liturgies and from the patristic writings bearing on the subject.[1]

with one main exception.

But one very early cause of dislocation and change needs special notice here. The Intercessions, including the Diptychs, or two lists of the Living and the Departed respectively who were to be prayed for, had originally preceded the Anaphora: but at an early date these were in most cases inserted into it, in one or another position and in greater or lesser degree: they were thus brought in closer relation to the central action of the liturgy, and in some instances they were inserted there more or less in duplicate, *i.e.*, without being altogether displaced from their original position. This seems to be the one clear exception to the uniformity of outline which underlies the Liturgies in their earliest recoverable forms.[2]

In the East.

In the East this outline has been very faithfully preserved: additions have been made to the Anaphora, such as the above mentioned addition of the intercession: some other parts, such as the 'Great Entrance' or solemn ceremonial of the offertory, have been developed; and in particular the preparation for the liturgy has grown in the course of time to considerable proportions:[3] but the changes have left the old structure undisturbed and recognizable, while the variations in the position of the

[1] These are best studied in Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western.*

[2] Possibly the use of the Lord's Prayer at the end of the Anaphora is not primitive: its position is variable, but there is testimony to its almost universal use in this position in S. Augustine's time. *Epistle*, 59 (149), 16, ad Paulinum. It was said by all present according to Oriental and Gallican Use, but by the celebrant only in the Roman Use. See below, p. 496.

[3] Brightman, *L. E. W.*, Appendix L.

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Intercession serve to differentiate the various Anaphoras into four different families—the West-Syrian, which has Antioch for its centre, the East-Syrian or Nestorian, the Byzantine, and the Egyptian.

contrasted with the West,

In the West there has been much more change, and even upheaval: but still there is evidence enough to shew that the same structure underlies the Western Liturgies, though it is far less recognizable here than in the Eastern liturgies.

in general outline,

There is little change as to the general outline of the service as a whole, but as to the form of the Anaphora there is great change visible. As the liberty in extemporizing prayer was curtailed and the crystallization into fixed forms gradually came about, a result was obtained in the West different from that reached in the East.

in the Anaphora.

In the East the result was the creation of a number of Anaphoras, each of them generally associated with some great name: these afforded considerable scope for change and choice, but each Anaphora itself was fixed and subject to no variation from day to day or from one season to another. In the West the variations were connected not with the various names of great Bishops or churches, but with the changing seasons and occasions of the year: moreover the mode of variation was different; for here, some parts of the anaphoral division of the service remained fixed and invariable, while other parts varied frequently or even daily. Thus the Latin Church instead of having a number of alternative Anaphoras, each of which was one long continuous and unchanging prayer, had for the anaphoral division of the service a series of short prayers, some invariable and some variable; or in other words, a fixed framework with a number of alternative 'masses'.[1]

[1] This distinction between East and West is for practical purposes worth noticing, though, strictly speaking, it is more apparent than real, and more a matter of form and method than of principle. Each

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The Liturgy in Rome.

Rome was unlike the bulk of Western Christendom, for there the church was originally Greek-speaking, and it seems clear that the original Greek Liturgy of the church of the City of Rome was maintained down at least to the end of the IIIrd or even to the middle of the IVth century.[1] At some such time the great change was made of adopting a Latin Liturgy: probably there had been for a long time two liturgies in use side by side:—one of the Greek pattern (and probably akin to that of Alexandria), with an invariable Anaphora, into which it is probable that the Intercession had already been inserted: the other of the Latin pattern, comprising fixed elements alternating with variable prayers: here the Intercession was still in its old place before the Anaphora.

The Canon;

The Roman 'Canon' seems to be the result of a compromise between the two. It will be best to deal first with this, the central section and nucleus of the Liturgy, and to come later to the history of the less central parts.

a forecast of its history.

It will be shown to have combined something of the variableness of the Latin model with much of the fixity of the Greek model. The position of the Intercession seems to have been a concession to the Greek view, while in other respects the Canon is markedly Latin: the western plan of providing variants in the Anaphora is adopted, but considerably restricted. This fusion was

Eastern Anaphora (or, to be more accurate, not only the Anaphora but the whole *Missa Fidelium*) is made up of a combination of variables and constant elements; while each Western *Missa*, if the variable and the constant elements were combined in one, would be seen to be the equivalent of an Anaphora. The difference is mainly one of arrangement; Western custom separated off variables from constants, while Eastern custom kept them together.

[1] Duchesne gives the former date, *Revue d'Histoire*, v. 45; Burbidge the latter, quoting passages from Victorinus Afer (*c.* 365), *Adv. Arium*, i. 30, ii. 7 (Migne, *P.L.* VIII. 1063, 1094), which seem references to a Greek Liturgy. *Guardian*, March 24, 1897. But as the Latin Canon was apparently already in use (see below p. 459, note 3), the two must in that case have been going on side by side; this is not at all improbable.

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apparently completed by the end of the IVth century, and since that event the Roman Canon has been very little altered: only the amount of variation was still further and steadily curtailed, while slight additions were made to the fixed text by S. Leo and by S. Gregory, and the Lord's Prayer was transferred so as to come before the fraction instead of after it.[1]

SECT. II. *The Roman Canon.*

The Canon as brought to England by S. Augustine is therefore practically identical with that of the later Latin Service-books of the English Church. It will be best therefore to give it here from the Sarum Missal[2] as a starting point from which both to work backwards in describing its history and significance, and also to work forwards, in describing the process by which the consecration prayer of the English Prayer Book came out of it.

1. *The Anaphora begins.*

Dominus vobiscum.
Et cum spiritu tuo.
Sursum corda.
Habemus ad Dominum.
Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.
Dignum et justum est.

2. PREFACE *variable, with two alternative fixed endings in ordinary use.*

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus:

Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis cum Thronis et Dominationibus cumque omni militia cœlestis exercitus hymnum gloriæ tuæ canimus, sine fine dicentes;

Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates, Cœli, cœlorumque Virtutes, ac beata Seraphin, socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes;

[1] See Ebner, *Quellen*, 394—429, and footnotes on pp. 442 and 443.

[2] The Sarum arrangement is given above, p. 282: this is rearranged.

The Roman Canon.

3. Sanctus. *Sung by the choir.*

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua : Osanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini : Osanna in excelsis.

The Canon.[1]

4. *Introduction to the Prayer of the Living.*

Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus ac petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc ✠ dona, hæc ✠ munera, hæc ✠ sancta sacrificia illibata, imprimis quæ tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro N. et Antistite nostro N. et Rege nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.

Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N. et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio : [pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel][2] qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis, pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ, tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero.

Commemoration of the Saints or of the Festival Variable.

Communicantes et memoriam venerantes, imprimis gloriosæ semperque virginis Mariæ, genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum, Petri, Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis, et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani et omnium sanctorum tuorum ; quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

5. (a) *Oblation of the gifts. Variable.*

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari.[3] Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

(b) *With fixed ending.*

Quam oblationem tu, Deus omnipotens, in omnibus, quæsumus,

[1] According to the later mediæval use the *Canon* is the portion commencing 'Te igitur,' and ending before the Lord's Prayer. Ebner, 395. From the eighth century onward the celebrant said it *secreto*, or *submissa voce :* 'ita ut ipsemet se audiat, et a circumstantibus non audiatur.' There are many constitutions of the English Church about the mode of utterance : *e.g.*, Can. VI. of a Council at Oxford (1222), 'Verba vero Canonis, præsertim in consecratione Corporis Christi, plene et integre proferuntur.' Wilkins, I. 505. See Bingham, *Antiq.* XV. iii. § 34. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, VI. iii.

[2] This is a later insertion. Ebner, 404.

[3] This passage, '*diesque nostros... numerari*,' was permanently added to the Canon by S. Gregory : *Lib. Pont.* i. 312, *s.v.* Beda, *Hist.* II. 1.

bene✠dictam, adscrip✠tam, ra✠tam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis Cor✠pus et San✠guis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi. The Roman Canon.

Qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem in sanctas et venerabiles manus suas, et, elevatis oculis in cœlum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, bene✠dixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens : Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim Corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens, bene✠dixit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens : Accipite, et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim calix Sanguinis mei novi et æterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hæc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis. 6. *Commemoration of the Institution,*

(*a*) Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis, offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam pu✠ram, hostiam sanc✠tam, hostiam imma✠culatam, panem sanc✠tum vitæ æternæ, et ca✠licem salutis perpetuæ. 7. *and of Redemption.* *Oblation of the elements,*

(*b*) Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium Patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.[1]

(*c*) Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui Cor✠pus, et San✠guinem sumpserimus, omni bene✠dictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. *and the equivalent of the Invocation.*

Memento etiam, Domine, animarum famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N. qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. 8. *The Prayer of the Departed.*

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus : cum Johanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, *Duplicate commemoration of the Saints.*

[1] These words, 'sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam,' were added to the Canon by Leo the Great : *Liber Pont.* i. 238, *s. v.*

The Roman Canon.

Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et cum omnibus sanctis tuis : intra quorum nos consortium, non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ, quæsumus, largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

9. *Two duplicate Doxologies, with Amen.*

(*a*) Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sancti✠ficas, vivi✠ficas, bene✠dicis, et præstas nobis.

(*b*) Per ip✠sum, et cum ip✠so, et in ip✠so, est tibi Deo Patri omni✠potenti in unitate Spiritus✠Sancti omnis honor et gloria, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oremus.

10. *Prelude to the Lord's Prayer.*

Præceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere, Pater noster, &c.[1]

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

Chorus respondeat : Sed libera nos a malo.

Sacerdos privatim : Amen.

11. *Conclusion appended to it.*

Libera nos, quæsumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis, præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris : et intercedente beata et gloriosa semperque virgine Dei genetrice Maria, et beatis apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque Andrea, cum omnibus sanctis, da propitius pacem in diebus nostris : ut, ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesus Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[2]

12. *Fraction into three parts.*

Pax Do✠mini sit sem✠per vobiscum.

Chorus respondeat : Et cum spiritu tuo.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi : miserere nobis.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi : miserere nobis.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi : dona nobis pacem.

[1] Gregory the Great joined the Lord's Prayer to the Canon, from which it had previously been separated by the fraction : 'orationem vero Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent.' Greg. M. *Ep.* ix. 12 (26) *ad Johan. Syracus.* Migne *P.L.*, LXXVII. 956. Duchesne, *Origines*, 176.

[2] Here special prayers were inserted. Thus, by an indenture between King Henry VII. and the Abbat of Westminster, it was directed that at every mass in the chapter, after the fraction of the Holy Sacrament, and before the holy prayer of *Agnus Dei*, Special Psalms, Orations, and Prayers for the said King should be said. Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.* I. 279, cited in Maskell, *Anc. Lit.* p. 110 [162]. Here also the episcopal benediction was given. See Maskell, *ibid.* p. 198 [270]. Above, p. 291.

The Roman Canon.

Hæc sacro✠sancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi omnibusque sumentibus salus mentis et corporis, et ad vitam æternam promerendam et capescendam præparatio salutaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

The Commixture. The third part of the Host is placed in the chalice.

Antequam pax[1] *detur, dicat sacerdos:*

Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus: da mihi hoc sacrosanctum Corpus et Sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi ita digne sumere ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere, et tuo Sancto Spiritu repleri, et pacem tuam habere. Quia tu es Deus, et non est alius præter te, cujus regnum gloriosum permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Pax tibi et ecclesiæ Dei.

Responsio: Et cum spiritu tuo.

The kiss of peace.

The Eastern and Western type of Anaphora.

If the Roman Anaphora is compared with the primitive outline given on p. 437, which is still closely followed by Eastern Liturgies, it will be seen that it follows the whole scheme though much modified. The Intercession has been inserted in two places (i) after the *Sanctus*, and (ii) after the section corresponding to the Invocation. Hardly anything has survived of the Commemoration of the Work of Redemption except the commemoration of the Institution, while the Invocation has been greatly obscured and can hardly be said to be directly made. The result of this is that while the outline remains the same, the centre of gravity has settled itself at a different point here from that which it has occupied in the East (as has been already stated above),[2] and it has become customary in the West to connect the consecration not with the Invocation but with the recital of the words of Institution. This identification was more and more narrowly emphasised as

[1] '*Pax*; instrumentum quod inter missarum solemnia populo osculandum præbetur.' Du Cange. The introduction of the Pax instead of the old practice of mutual salutation was not until about the 13th century. Maskell, p. 116 [170] *note*.

[2] See pp. 437, 438.

The Roman Canon.

Their bearing on the doctrine of consecration.

time went on: conformably with it in later mediæval times the method of writing and saying the Canon was altered and the ceremonial was adapted to match: but there still remains enough of the old in the prayer to witness to the fact that originally this narrow identification was not so made; for the elements are spoken of as *panem* (bread) and *calicem* (cup) until the point of the Invocation has been reached, a sacrifice analogous to those of Abel, Abraham and Melchizedek; but after that point they are *corpus* (Body) and *sanguis* (Blood).[1]

The fact is that the liturgies themselves do not encourage the fixing of a precise moment of consecration. The non-Roman service of the West has sometimes a very explicit Invocation and sometimes is as vague as the Roman Canon, and often contains phraseology which by its lack of precision militates quite as much as the Roman Canon against a narrow identification of the act of consecration with particular words.

The Roman and the Non-Roman Anaphora.

We must now leave comparisons of East with West and try to get at the history of the Roman Canon. It clearly is a document which has suffered much from changes and modifications: clearly it is also closely connected in outline as well as phraseology with non-Roman or Gallican forms.

Comparing the Roman Anaphora now with the ancient Latin non-Roman Anaphora we obtain the following table:

NON-ROMAN.	ROMAN.
i. *Sursum Corda*, &c.	1. *Sursum Corda*, &c.
ii. Variable Preface leading to	2. Variable Preface (*Vere dignum*) leading to

[1] In § 9. a they are also called simply *bona*. For the interpretation of this passage see below, p. 448.

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NON-ROMAN.	ROMAN.
iii. *Sanctus.*	3. *Sanctus.*
	4. Introduction and Prayer of the Living with variable Commemoration of the Saints, &c. *Communicantes.*
iv. Variable oblation.	5. Variable oblation. *Hanc igitur.*
v. Commemoration of the Institution. *Qui pridie.*[1]	6. Invariable Commemoration of the Institution. *Qui pridie.*
vi. Variable Prayer of Commemoration and Oblation with the Invocation, or its equivalent.	7. Invariable Prayer of Commemoration and Oblation, with the equivalent of the Invocation.
	8. Prayer of the Departed with duplicate commemoration of Saints.
vii. Doxology.	9. Two duplicate Doxologies.
viii. Variable Prelude introducing the Lord's Prayer.	10. Invariable prelude introducing the Lord's Prayer.
ix. Variable Conclusion of the Lord's Prayer.	11. Invariable conclusion to the Lord's Prayer.

The two Schemes are parallel,

In the Roman scheme §§ 4 and 8 represent the interpolation of the Intercession and Diptychs into the Canon, which had not taken place in the non-Roman scheme: setting these aside, the parallelism of the two schemes is complete:[2] the *Sanctus*, *Qui pridie* and *Pater Noster* are the three cardinal points on which each turns: the only difference is in the amount of

[1] This was clearly the opening of the Gallican prayer originally as well as of the Roman since the variable prayers following are described as 'Post-pridie' prayers: but in the Mozarabic rite this prayer has been altered and now begins quite otherwise: Adesto, &c. See *Paléog. Mus.*, v. 54 and ff.

[2] The § 5 of the Roman Canon seems to correspond to two Gallican *Post-Sanctus* prayers, and § 7 with three or more *Post-pridie* prayers. In § 9 the dual ending is clearer still. For the whole of this see the *Guardian* of March 24, 1897, and *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. v. pp. 76–96.

The Roman Canon.

but differ in the amount of variation.

variants. The Gallican scheme has variation normally at five points: in the Roman prayer the variation has been retained as a normal thing only at the Preface: at the Commemoration of the Saints, &c. (4 b), and the first oblation (5) it occurs as an exceptional thing, but nowhere else in the Roman Anaphora. The Roman variants have all a fixed opening, two have also fixed endings, while the Preface has almost always one of two alternative endings: so that the whole variation amounts to little more than an occasional intercalation into a fixed form. Moreover, the number of variations prescribed in each case steadily diminished, and except in the case of the Preface soon became inconsiderable.[1]

Origin of the Roman Canon.

It will be enough then for the present purpose to have arrived at this point, and, setting aside minuter questions, to be able to say, without risking much in the conjecture, that the Roman Canon is a prayer which assumed its present form (details apart) about the beginning of the fourth century in Rome: it certainly represents a reaction against the excessive variation which was then common in the liturgical formulas of the West, and it seems possible that the reform was not unconnected with the transition, which took place within the Roman Church, from a Greek to a Latin Liturgy.

It is also worth while to notice that, though the Canon itself is greatly open to criticism from several points of view, and can hardly be called a satisfactory composition,[2]

[1] The Sarum Liturgy retained only six *Communicantes* variants and three *Hanc igitur* variants, and after 1175 confined itself to ten Prefaces, which were all that the Roman Liturgy had then retained. See below, p. 489.

[2] The obscure passage in § 5 becomes intelligible if it is really the fusion of two *Post-Sanctus* prayers as has been already indicated. Another of the chief obscurities is explained when § 8 is recognised to be a later interpolation, for then § 9 (a) follows naturally as the true close of § 7 (c) omitting the Amen which figures there; and there is no need to suppose, as some have done, a reference to the blessing at this point of fruits of the earth. Duchesne, p. 174.

The Roman Canon.

yet the reform in the direction of fixity, to which it owed its origin, and probably its name, has been an entire success. A period of compromise between the Roman and Gallican rites ensued, but the Roman reform won its way everywhere,[1] and even here in Great Britain, as elsewhere, the older Latin type of service gave way before it, in spite of Celtic tenacity and insular conservatism.

SECT. III. *The English Canon of* 1549.

The problem of revision.

The translators of the Prayer Book in dealing with the Mass were confronted with this venerable document, the Roman Canon, with which the English Church had been familiar ever since the coming of S. Augustine.[2] They

The other chief obscurities are due, not so much to the prayer itself, as to the theory of consecration which has been developed in the face of it. See above, p. 446. But, apart from all obscurities or theories, the whole is meagre and miserably jejune judged by the primitive or Eastern model.

[1] In 415, when Innocent wrote his famous letter to Decentius, No. xx. (Migne, *P. L.* xx. 551–561), it was supposed already, at any rate in Rome, that the Roman Canon had come from S. Peter, and that the Gallican usages were unlawful innovations. Decentius, however, was clearly asking in simple good faith for more information as to the Roman customs which he had witnessed in Rome, but which were to him, as Bishop of the Umbrian diocese of Gubbio, unfamiliar and novel. It is equally clear that the practice of his Church was the ordinary non-Roman or Gallican practice as to the position of the Pax and the intercession in the Liturgy, besides other matters of baptism, confirmation, the observance of Saturday, &c. A century later Pope Vigilius dealt more reasonably with Profuturus of Braga in writing to inform him about the Roman rite in 538: he clearly explained the difference in principle between the Gallican rite of Spain, with its many variants, and the fixed Canon of the Roman rite, with its few variants; and sent him the Roman Canon, with the variants of Easter Day, as a specimen, to serve as a model for the Spanish Church. Vigilius, *Ep. ad Profuturum* (*Eutherium*), § 5. Migne, *P. L.* lxix. 19. The Roman model was consequently adopted by the Council of Braga in 563. Harduin, *Conc.* ii. 1432: iii. 350, and Hefele, *History of Councils*, E. T. iii. 381 and ff.

The view here adopted of the relation of the Roman to the Gallican rite is only one of several rival views. See Additional Note 2, p. 508.

[2] For the Celtic Liturgy, see Warren, *Liturgy of the Celtic Church* and *Bangor Antiphoner*. The latter is a purely Gallican and Celtic fragment: the earliest extant book which represents the later usage, the Stowe Missal, has already adopted the Roman Canon, though it exhibits peculiarities.

The English Canon of 1549.

knew it as it was being used, that is to say, set in surroundings and encompassed by interpretations which were alien and even contrary to its original meaning and history. They had not the opportunity to see it in any other light, and not unnaturally they connected it with the abuses of Eucharistic doctrine, which were then current and against which they were raising their protest. Even if the learned could have disabused themselves of the associations which clung to it, this could not have been expected of the multitude. It was therefore inevitable then that the old Roman Canon should be laid aside; indeed at the time it was the object of such hatred and abuse, as it is difficult now to understand; and there was little regret but rather great eagerness expressed on the part of the Reformers to be rid of it.

To take its place a new English Canon[1] of the Mass was provided for the First Prayer Book: the nature of this will best be seen by a comparison of it with the Latin. The two are here printed in parallel columns and the passages which are common to both are printed in italic type.

THE LATIN MASS.[2]	THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549.
1. *Dominus vobiscum.* 1. *The Lord be with you.*	*The Lord be with you.*
And with thy spirit.	*And with thy spirit.*
Lift up your hearts.	*Lift up your hearts.*
We lift them up unto the Lord.	*We lift them up unto the Lord.*
Let us give thanks to our Lord God.	*Let us give thanks to our Lord God.*
It is meet and right so to do.	*It is meet and right so to do.*
2. *Vere dignum.* 2. *It is very meet, right,* fitting and profitable *that we should at*	*It is very meet, right,* and our bounden duty *that we should at*

[1] The title 'Canon' was expressly given to the new prayer in the rubric at the end of 'The Celebration of the Holy Communion for the Sick,' in the First Prayer Book.

[2] Compare p. 287.

THE LATIN MASS.

all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God: And *therefore with angels and archangels*, with thrones and dominions *and with every company of the heavenly host* we sing the hymn of thy glory, *saying evermore;*

3. *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts,*

Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory:

Hosanna in the highest.

Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the highest.

4. Therefore *most merciful* Father, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Lord,

we humbly pray and beseech Thee to receive these gifts, these offerings, these holy undefiled sacrifices *which first of all we offer to* Thee for Thy holy *Catholic Church, which do Thou vouchsafe to keep in peace, to watch over, to unite and govern throughout the whole world,* together with *Thy servant* our

Pope and *our Bishop N.*, *and our King N.*,

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The English Canon of 1549.

all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, almighty everlasting God: therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the holy company of heaven we laud and magnify Thy glorious name *evermore* praising Thee and *saying;* 3. *Sanctus.*

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts,

Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory;

Hosanna in the highest.

Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Glory to thee O Lord in the highest.

PRIEST OR DEACON. Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

PRIEST. Almighty and ever-living God which by Thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications and to give thanks for all men, 4. *Te igitur.*

we humbly beseech Thee most mercifully to receive these our prayers, *which we offer* unto Thy Divine Majesty, *beseeching Thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity and concord: and grant that all they that do confess Thy holy name may agree in the truth of Thy holy word* and live in unity and godly love. Specially we beseech Thee to save and defend *Thy servant Edward our King*, that under him we may be godly and quietly

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THE LATIN MASS.

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governed. And grant unto his whole council, and to all that are put in authority under him that they may truly and indifferently minister justice to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of God's true religion and virtue.

Give grace (O Heavenly Father) to *all Bishops*, Pastors and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth Thy true and lively word and rightly and duly administer Thy holy sacraments.

and all right believers and maintainers of the Catholic and Apostolic faith.

Memento. *Remember O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens, N. and N.,*

And to all Thy people give Thy heavenly grace that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive Thy holy word, truly serving Thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

And we most humbly beseech Thee, of Thy goodness (O Lord) to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.

and all here standing around whose faith is known and devotion noted by Thee; for whom we offer unto Thee, or who are offering unto Thee, *this sacrifice of praise* for themselves and all theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety, and who unto Thee are paying their vows,

And especially we commend unto Thy merciful goodness this congregation which is here assembled in Thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of Thy Son.

THE LATIN MASS.

O everlasting God, living and true.

In communion with and venerating the memory firstly of the glorious and ever-virgin Mary, mother of Jesus Christ our God and Lord; and also of Thy blessed *Apostles and Martyrs* Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, *and of all Thy saints; by whose* merits and prayers grant that we may in all things be defended by the help of Thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

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The English Canon of 1549.

Communicantes.

And here we do *give unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks* for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in *all Thy saints from the beginning of the world: and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, mother of* Thy Son *Jesu Christ our Lord and God, and* in the Holy Patriarchs, Prophets, *Apostles and Martyrs;*

whose examples (O Lord) and stedfastness in Thy faith and keeping Thy holy commandments grant us to follow.

(8.)

We commend unto Thy mercy (O Lord) all other Thy servants which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of Thy Son, may altogether be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice: Come unto Me, O ye that be blessed of My Father, and possess the kingdom, which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world: Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only mediator and advocate.

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5. (a) *Hanc igitur oblationem.*

5. (*a*) This oblation therefore of our service, as also of Thy whole household, we beseech Thee, favourably to accept, O Lord, and to order our days in Thy peace, and command that we be delivered from eternal damnation, and numbered with the flock of thine elect; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

(b) *Quam oblationem.*

(*b*) Which oblation, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, do Thou vouchsafe altogether to render blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable and acceptable, *that it may be made unto us the Bo✠dy and Bl✠ood of Thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.*

6. *Qui pridie.*

6. *Who* on the day before He suffered *took bread* into His holy and venerable hands, and with His eyes uplifted towards heaven, unto Thee O God His Almighty Father, *giving thanks to Thee, He bless✠ed, brake, and gave to His disciples, saying; Take and eat* ye all of this, for *this is My Body.*

Likewise after supper, taking also this excellent *cup* into His holy and venerable hands, again *giving thanks* unto Thee, *He* bless✠ed, and *gave to His disciples, saying;* Take and *drink*

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O God Heavenly Father, which of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son Jesu Christ, to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, who made there by His one oblation once offered a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute and in His Holy Gospel command us to celebrate a perpetual memory of that His precious death until His coming again:

Hear us (O merciful Father) we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bl✠ess and sanc✠tify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, *that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.*

Who in the same night that He was betrayed, *took bread,*

and when He had blessed and given thanks, He brake it and gave it to His disciples saying; Take, eat, this is My Body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of Me.

Likewise after supper He took the cup, and when He had given

thanks, He gave it to them saying; Drink ye all of this,

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ye all of this, for this is the cup of *My Blood of the new* and everlasting *Testament*, the mystery of faith, *which* shall be *shed for you and for many for remission of sins. As often as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me.*

7. *Wherefore also, O Lord, we Thy servants*, but also Thy holy people, *having in remembrance the so blessed passion of the same Thy Son Christ our Lord, as also His resurrection from the dead and eke His glorious ascension* into the heavens, do offer unto *Thy* excellent *Majesty of Thine gifts* and bounties a pure ✠ offering, a holy ✠ offering, an undefiled ✠ offering, the holy ✠ bread of eternal life and the cup ✠ of everlasting salvation: upon which do Thou vouchsafe to look with favourable and gracious countenance, and hold them accepted, as Thou didst vouchsafe to hold accepted the presents of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham, and that holy sacrifice the pure offering, which Thy high priest Melchisedek did offer unto Thee.

THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549. The English Canon of 1549.

for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which

is *shed for you and for many, for remission of sins. Do this as oft as you shall drink it in remembrance of Me.*

Wherefore O Lord and Heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesu Christ, *we Thy humble servants* do celebrate and make here before *Thy* divine *Majesty with these Thy holy gifts* the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make: *having in remembrance His blessed passion, mighty resurrection and glorious ascension;* 7. (a) *Unde et memores.*

(b) *Supra quæ.*

rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, entirely desiring Thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept *this our Sacrifice of praise* and thanksgiving: most humbly beseeching Thee to grant that by

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the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole church may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His passion. And here we offer and present unto Thee (O Lord) ourself, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto Thee:

(c) *Supplices Te.*

We humbly beseech thee, Almighty God, *command these things to be brought up by the hands of Thy Holy Angel to Thy altar on High before the sight of Thy divine Majesty; that as many of us, as by this partaking of the altar shall have received the most sacred Bo✠dy and Blo✠od of Thy Son, may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace;* through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

humbly beseeching Thee that whosoever shall be partakers of this Holy Communion may worthily *receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ and be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction* and made one body with Thy Son Jesus Christ, that He may dwell in them and they in Him. And although we be unworthy through our manifold sins to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service: *and command these* our prayers and supplications *by the ministry of Thy Holy Angels to be brought up into Thy Holy Tabernacle before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty;*

8. *Memento*

8. *Remember also O Lord* the souls of *Thy servants and handmaidens, N. & N., who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and repose in the sleep of peace; grant unto them, we beseech thee, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ a place of refreshment, light and peace;*

(See p. 453.)

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through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Unto us sinners also, Thy servants that hope in the multitude of Thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with Thy holy Apostles and Martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cicely, Anastasia, and with all Thy saints; unto whose company do Thou admit us,

not weighing our merits, but bestowing pardon, we beseech Thee, *through Christ our Lord.*

Through whom, O Lord, all these good gifts Thou dost ever create, sancti✠fy, quicken ✠ bless ✠ and bestow upon us.

By ✠ Him and with ✠ Him and in ✠ Him *in the unity of the Holy Ghost all honour and glory* is *unto Thee, God the Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.*

Let us pray.

10. Admonished by salutary *commands and* directed by divine *teaching, we are bold to say; Our Father, &c.*

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil. Amen.

11. Deliver us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present and future, and at the intercession of Mary the blessed, glorious and ever-virgin

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not weighing our merits but pardoning our offences, through Christ our Lord;

By whom and with whom in the unity of the Holy Ghost all honour and glory be *unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.*

Let us pray.

As our Saviour Christ hath *commanded and taught us, we are bold to say; Our Father, &c.*

And lead us not into temptation.

THE ANSWER. *But deliver us from evil. Amen.*

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Nobis quoque.

Per quem.

10. *Preceptis salutaribus.*

Libera nos.

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THE LATIN MASS.	THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549.
Mother of God and Thy blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and Andrew with all Saints graciously give peace in our time; that aided by the succour of Thy mercy we may be both free evermore from sin and secure from all alarm; through the same Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God for ever and ever. Amen.	
The peace of the ✠ Lord be alway with you.	PRIEST. *The peace of the Lord be alway with you.*
CHOIR. *And with thy spirit.*	CLERKS. *And with thy spirit.*
	PRIEST. Christ our paschal Lamb is offered up for us once for all, when He bare our sins in His Body on the cross; for He is the very Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world: wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast with the Lord.
[The *Agnus Dei*, Commixture and Kiss of Peace follow.]	

The Latin and the English Canon.

The point which stands out most clearly from this comparative table is the close similarity of the new to the old: the general outline is exactly the same, except that the Prayer of the Departed is placed immediately after the Prayer of the Living. There are signs of a wish to revert more closely to biblical models: for example § 4 opens with a reference to 1 Tim. ii. 1; the prayer for the King is put before that for the Bishop probably because this order was held to be more in accordance with the same passage; while the commemoration of the institution follows very closely S. Paul's narrative in 1 Cor. XI.[1]

Influence of the Bible.

[1] This represents a change from the Latin Services which everywhere had followed the Synoptists, except that the Mozarabic Liturgy at some

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of doctrinal considerations

Other changes were due to different motives; the effect of the perverted views of the Eucharistic sacrifice then current was to make the Revisers very reserved on the subject: therefore at the beginning of § 4 the offering is one of 'prayers' in place of 'gifts, offerings and holy undefiled sacrifices.' Again in § 5 the term oblation is applied, not to the Eucharistic oblations, but to our Lord's sacrifice of Himself, and words are heaped up to emphasize the fact that that sacrifice was all-sufficient and could not be repeated, but only re-presented.[1] When in § 7 the gifts are offered, it is carefully explained that this is the 'memorial' which Christ ordered, and the phrase, 'sacrifice of praise,' the biblical term for the Eucharistic sacrifice[2] is transferred here from the first *Memento* (§ 4). The commemoration of the Saints is analogous to that in the Litany, since the long lists are omitted, but a brief commemoration is retained. The order of thought and the phraseology are influenced by the *Antididagma*. In many places the prayer is amplified and made less jejune, especially in the intercessions § 4 and § 8 and the invocation and commemoration in § 5.

amplifications

The allusions to Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek,[3] on the other hand are omitted, and it is curious to notice

and omissions.

unknown date made the same change as the P. B. made. The Lutheran formulas had done the same. See for example the Kirchenordnung of Brandenburg-Nürnberg. Richter, i. 207. See Burbidge, 209, n. The Eastern liturgies follow S. Paul. Cp. *Pal. Musicale*, v. 54 and ff.

[1] This was a protest especially against the mediæval error that while the Sacrifice of the Cross availed for original sin, the satisfaction for actual sin was through the Sacrifice of the Mass. Kidd, *Eucharistic Sacrifice* (C.H.S. Tract XLVI.), pp. 73 and ff.

[2] See *Responsio Archiepp. Angliæ De ordinationibus Anglicanis*, § XI. It was at the time recognised by the 'old learning' as the technical term for 'the oblation and action' of the priest in the Mass. See the articles signed by Shaxton, Bp. of Salisbury, to prove his orthodoxy in 1546. Burnet, I. iii. record xxix. (vol. iv. p. 531).

[3] References such as these are found in several Gallican prayers in the like position, and the mention made of Melchizedek was criticised by a writer as early as the time of Damasus (366–388). Duchesne, *Origines*, 168; *Pal. Mus.* v. 88.

The English Canon of 1549.

that in § 7 (*c*) the Angels are mentioned in the plural.[1] The eleventh section is omitted altogether, probably because it was not thought wise to retain the ceremonial Fraction which took place meanwhile: similarly the Commixture which followed was also omitted, together with the Kiss of peace, while the *Agnus dei* was set for the clerks to sing later 'in the Communion time.' Its place here was somewhat filled by the brief exhortation provided for the priest to say or the choir to sing.[2]

Ceremonial change.

The elevation of the host was expressly forbidden by rubric. It was a comparatively recent addition to the ceremonial, and was evidently only becoming general in England at the beginning of the XIIIth century:[3] but its significance was exaggerated out of all due proportion to the doctrine of antiquity, and it was then commonly associated with the most debased forms of Eucharistic doctrine: the prohibition was thus characteristic of the reformation.[4]

SECT. IV. *The Roman Liturgy.*

The Roman Liturgy as a whole.

It is now time to turn from this central nucleus of the service to consider the setting in which it is placed in the Roman Liturgy as a whole.[5] It will be seen that this Liturgy corresponded more or less closely with the primitive scheme already described.

[1] The same is the case in the Pseudo-Ambrosian *De Sacramentis*, iv. 27. The original reference was probably to the angel who appeared to Manoah (*Judges* xiii.). See *Pal. Mus. l. c.*

[2] *Journ. Theol. Stud.* i. 235.

[3] It is constantly mentioned in documents of that period, *e.g.*, Bp. Poore's constitutions for Salisbury, No. LVI. or XXXVIII., (*Sarum Charters*, R.S. p. 147); Harduin, (*Conc.* VII. 100), and for Durham, (Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 579); or the Canons of the Council of Oxford in 1222. (*Ibid.* 594.)

It was sanctioned by Pope Honorius in 1219. *Decret.* Greg. IX. lib. III. tit. 41, cap. x.

[4] It became a test question again in 1559. See above, p. 97.

[5] For a comparison of the Roman and Gallican Liturgies in regard to the general scheme, see Pullan, *History of the Prayer Book*, pp. 21–26.

The Roman Liturgy

It consisted of three main elements : (i) the chants, (ii) the lessons, and (iii) the prayers, corresponding with the three classes of Service-books for the Liturgy, viz. (i) *Antiphonale Missarum*, Gradual or Grayle, (ii) *Comes*, Epistle Book, Gospel Book, (iii) Sacramentary.

The Chant.

The Roman chant in its present form represents the result of a revision of the ancient liturgical music by S. Gregory at the end of the VIth century : the bulk of it has gone through very little change even down to the present day. It comprised two different classes of items, viz. six variable elements: (i) the Introit or Office,[1] a psalm with its antiphon sung at the beginning of Mass : (ii) the Communion, a psalm and antiphon corresponding to the former and sung at the end during the Communion : (iii) the Gradual, a respond sung between the lessons : (iv) the *Alleluia* with its Verse, sung at festival times after the Gradual :[2] (v) the Tract, a psalm sung instead of the *Alleluia* at penitential occasions :[3] (vi) the Offertory, an antiphon with Verses sung during the offering of the oblations. To these may be added as an appendix (vii) the Sequence, a rhythmical or metrical composition differing from the preceding, inasmuch as it was like hymnody rather than like psalmody, and did not begin till the IXth century.[4]

Variable elements.

In the case of the two antiphonal chants, the Introit

[1] The term 'Office' properly belongs to the opening section of the service, and is only in a narrower sense identified with the term Introit.

[2] Originally when there was a prophetical lesson preceding the Epistle and Gospel (see below, p. 465), the Gradual came before and the *Alleluia* after the Epistle.

The latter was originally sung at Rome only at Easter (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 19), and was not sung except in Eastertide until S. Gregory extended its use. *Ep.* ix. 12. Migne, *P. L.* LXXVII. 956.

[3] See Additional Note, above, p. 345.

[4] At that period a rage set in for inserting Tropes, *i.e.*, interpolations, into the chant, often of a very incongruous nature. The greater number of the Tropes were, after a short stay, expelled again from the Liturgy, but the Sequences, which were Tropes appended to the *Alleluia*, held their ground. See Frere, *Winchester Troper* (H. B. S. vol. VIII.).

The Roman Liturgy.

and Communion, at an early date there was a change made, in order to reduce the length of the singing, when the opening ceremonial had been curtailed and the number of communicants had declined: consequently the psalm[1] entirely disappeared from the latter and almost entirely from the former, leaving only a short antiphon to stand by itself for the Communion, and leaving for the Introit only one verse with *Gloria patri* and the antiphon twice (or according to Sarum use thrice) repeated. By a similar process of reduction the Offertory lost its Verses when the ceremonial offering of the oblations had come to be curtailed. But apart from such changes as these, the variable chants have remained marvellously unaltered and almost without additions since the VIth century.

Invariable elements.

The case is otherwise with the invariable elements, which may be numbered thus: (i) the *Kyrie*, a ninefold chant (*Kyrie eleison* thrice, *Christe eleison* thrice, *Kyrie eleison* thrice)[2] sung at the beginning of the Liturgy: (ii) the *Gloria in excelsis*: (iii) the Nicene Creed: (iv) the *Sanctus*: (v) the *Agnus Dei.*

Kyrie.

All of these except the *Sanctus* and possibly the *Kyrie* are of later date. The *Kyrie* with the collect following is probably a survival of the old Litany introductory to the Liturgy.[3] The *Gloria in excelsis* was originally a Greek hymn for Mattins,[4] dating at least

Gloria.

[1] One psalm originally did duty for both, the first part being sung at the Introit and the remainder at the Communion.

[2] In this form it was introduced by S. Gregory. *Ep.* ix. 12. Migne, *P. L.* LXXVII. 956. See above, p. 408.

[3] See above, p. 409.

[4] See above, p. 382. In some most ancient forms it contains a full commemoration of the Holy Trinity, 'God the Father Almighty, Lord and only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, and Holy Ghost,' and so the first part closes, and the second opens with the address, 'O Lord God, Lamb of God,' &c.

This is still found in the Greek:

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

Ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε,

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from the IVth century and possibly from the IInd and was translated into Latin at an early date; when first imported into the Roman Liturgy[1] it was said only by the bishop in the Mass on Christmas night. Pope Symmachus at the beginning of the VIth century extended its use to Sundays and Festivals.[2] It was not till much later that the use of it was conceded to ordinary priests at Rome except on Easter Day or under special circumstances. As the Roman Liturgy won its way outside Rome, these restrictions were removed and its use was extended; but it was not in general use in Rome till the XIth century. At the same date also the Creed was adopted into the Liturgy in Rome: but it had been so used elsewhere in the West since the VIIth century. The *Agnus Dei* began as a *confractorium* or chant sung by the choir during the Fraction: subsequently its use was extended, and it was ordered by Pope Sergius at the end of the VIIth century that it should be sung by both clergy and people. The fixing of the triple repetition and the change of the third refrain was accomplished far later still; not much before the XIIth century.[3]

Creed.

Agnus.

εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν, Κύριε Βασιλεῦ, ἐπουράνιε Θεέ, Πάτερ παντοκράτορ, Κύριε Υἱὲ μονογενὲς Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, προσδέξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν· ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρος, καὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος Ἅγιος, σὺ εἶ μόνος Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρός. Ἀμήν.

This is found also in the Celtic Latin version (*Bangor Antiphoner*, H. B. S. f. 33), but not in the Roman version, where the commemoration of the Trinity is at the end instead. The earlier, as well as the later, survived in one setting of the *Gloria in excelsis* in the York Gradual (MS. of James Ward, Esq.), and it has been restored in the Scottish Book, but the clause concerning the Second Person is now twice repeated. See Burn, *Introd. to Creeds*, pp. 265 and ff.; *Dict. Chr. Ant.* s. v. *Gloria* and Doxology.

[1] The introduction is ascribed to Pope Telesphorus early in the second century (*L.P.* i. 129).

[2] *Ibid.* i. 263.

[3] *Lib. Pont.* i. 376, and the passages collected by Thalhofer, ii. 276. Other music was required by the

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The music of all these invariable texts was very simple: different settings did not begin to multiply till the Xth or XIth century, and the Creed had one setting, and one only, even down to the time of the Reformation. They thus present a marked contrast with the older variable chants which were elaborate, and, when intended for solo voices, were even of immense difficulty and required brilliant vocalisation.[1]

Relation of the chant to the English Book.

In the English Prayer Book none of the variable chants have been properly retained. The Introit survived in an altered form in 1549 but disappeared in 1552. A small and novel collection of Offertory and Post-communion anthems were provided, but the former alone have barely survived, while the latter disappeared in 1552. The fixed chants were all retained, but in 1552 the *Agnus Dei* was omitted and the second half of the *Sanctus* was shorn off, while the *Gloria in Excelsis* was transferred to the end of the service. The effect of this was to give greater prominence to the *Kyrie*, and this was further heightened by another change. The ten Commandments were prefixed to the Liturgy as a penitential preparation, and the old ninefold *Kyrie* was altered to serve as responses after the several Commandments: the old petition—in its English dress, 'Lord have mercy upon us'—was repeated after each Commandment, amplified by the addition of the words 'and incline our hearts to keep this law' after the first

celebrant and ministers beyond that of the choir which the Gradual contained, principally for the singing of Epistle and Gospel, and for the recitation of the Preface and Lord's Prayer.

[1] For the whole of this part of the subject, see Frere, *Graduale Sarum*, Introduction, especially pp. xxx–xxxiv. The Antiphonale Missarum is best studied in Tommasi *Opera* (ed. Vezzosi), vol. v.; in Migne, *P.L.* LXXVIII. and the facsimiles in *Paléographie Musicale*, vols. I. and IV.

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nine, and the words 'and write all these thy laws in our hearts we beseech Thee' after the tenth.[1]

The Lessons.

The Lessons of the Roman Liturgy from the sixth century onward were normally only two (the Epistle and Gospel), though on some occasions traces remained of the system of three Lessons, which was common elsewhere, and was retained in the Gallican Rite. In early days it is clear that the Lessons were sometimes simply read continuously from day to day,[2] while on special occasions a special selection interrupted the continuous reading.[3]

The old Roman series.

It is possible to trace back the special lessons of the Roman rite to very early times. The *Comes* or Lectionary was a well-known directory towards the end of the fifth century: the preface to it is a letter addressed to Constantius, who was probably Bishop of Cosenza at the beginning of the same century;[4] and if the author was not really S. Jerome, as is alleged,[5] it was some considerable person living in or near Rome not very long after his time. Internal evidence confirms this; for there exist many MS. copies of the *Comes* of various dates, and there is an original nucleus clearly underlying them all, to which additions have been made in different ways as time went on.[6] In Caro-

[1] For the supposed connexion of this with the service of Pullain, see above, pp. 86, 87. The connexion of the Commandments and *Kyrie* had been made far earlier by Coverdale, who in his *Ghostly psalms*, published before 1539, gave metrical versions of the Commandments, with the *Kyrie* as a refrain. See his *Remains* (Parker Soc.), pp. 543 and ff.

[2] See, *e.g.* S. Augustine, *In Joan. Ev.* Tr. xi. 1; Tr. xxxix. 8.

[3] See S. Augustine, *In Epist. Joan. Prol.* and Tr. ix. 1. Even on festivals the continuous reading was not always broken off. See *In Joan. Ev.* Tr. ii. 13.

[4] *Revue Bénéd.* for 1898, pp. 248 and ff.

[5] Later mediæval liturgists asserted that S. Jerome compiled the *Comes* and that it was adopted by Pope Damasus (*circa* 382), *e.g.* Radulphus Tongrensis, *De canon. obs.* § 23; Hittorp, col. 1153.

[6] Possibly it has been also curtailed, for the Preface seems to suggest that originally the *Comes* provided for a prophetical lesson as well as for Epistle and Gospel. It contained

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lingian times it came under the revising hand of Alcuin; and by this and other means the principle of continuous reading was dropped,[1] and special lessons were provided for all Sundays, Festivals and principal vigils, fasts, &c., of the year, for every day in Lent, and for the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday in ordinary weeks.

continued in the Sarum Missal and the Prayer Book.

The Epistles and Gospels in the Sarum Missal represent one form of this old Roman arrangement,[2] and from them the series of the Prayer Book is derived.[3] The most important change was that of curtailment: no provision was made for any days but Sundays or Festivals, except in Holy Week, and so the lectionary was brought back to a state even simpler in many respects, and less adequate than the elementary stage at which it began in the fifth century.[4]

The Prayers.

The Prayers of the Liturgy were contained with those of other sacraments in the 'Sacramentary.' The history of the central series of prayers has already been given, from which it will be easily understood that the Canon, or invariable part of the Roman Anaphora, was placed in a central position in the middle of the book. Round it were grouped the variable elements, those belonging to the Anaphora, § 2 and § 5, together with

Ash-Wednesday and the Friday following, but not the Thursdays in Lent.

[1] To a certain extent the selected lessons still follow one another on a principle of continuous reading, *e.g.* the Epistles of the Sundays after Epiphany and after Trinity, when there are no special events to commemorate, form a continuous series from S. Paul's Epistles: the continuity, however, was upset in course of time. See below, pp. 531, 550.

[2] At an earlier date a non-Roman form of Lectionary had been imported into use into England from Capua by Hadrian, one of the companions of Archbishop Theodore in 668. But there is no evidence that it was exclusively used. Morin, *Liber Comicus* (Anecd. Maredsolana I.), p. 426.

[3] See, for this subject, Ranke, *Das Kirchliche Perikopensystem*, especially pp. 133, 259 and ff., and the Appendixes; and Morin's article in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1898, pp. 241–246.

[4] All traces of the prophetic lesson disappeared; two masses were retained only at Christmas and Easter, and otherwise the Vigil Mass entirely went out.

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variable prayers inserted at other points in the Liturgy, three normally in the Gregorian Sacramentaries, viz. the Collect proper at the beginning,[1] the Secret at the Offertory, and the Postcommunion at the end.[2]

The old Roman Sacramentaries.

The Roman Sacramentary is extant in three principal stages: the earliest is that of the 'Leonine Sacramentary,' contained in a unique and mutilated MS. of the seventh century: it represents the state of things in the middle of the sixth century before the reforms of S. Gregory: it is purely a Roman document, but is not complete, and probably is a private collection rather than an official service book.[3]

The second stage is that of the 'Gelasian Sacramentary': several MSS. of this type are forthcoming: it represents the Roman Liturgy as current in Gaul, and modified by Gallican influence at the beginning of the eighth century.[4]

The third stage is that of the 'Gregorian Sacramentary': in its original form it represents the sacramentary sent from Rome by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne at the end of the eighth century:[5] but an appendix for Frankish use was at once added to it by Alcuin, and other modifications were made before it finally superseded the Gelasian Sacramentary, which was in possession.

The mediæval sacramentaries are mainly the various

[1] This was probably in its origin the collect which closed the processional Litany preceding the Liturgy: of which a trace has already been noticed in the *Kyrie*. Above, pp. 462, 409.

[2] The Gelasian Sacramentaries often had five prayers, viz. a prayer at the offertory (*super sindonem*) and a benedictory prayer after the Postcommunion *ad populum*, as well as the above. The latter survived in Lent in the Gregorian books.

[3] Printed in Migne, *P.L.* LV., in Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus*, and most recently edited by Feltoe for the Cambridge University Press.

[4] Printed in Tommasi and Muratori, and lately re-edited by Wilson for the Oxford University Press.

[5] A number of early MSS. of this Sacramentary at various stages are in print. See Muratori, and Migne *P. L.* LXXVIII. The MSS. of Sacramentaries are described in Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*. See also Duchesne, pp. 114 and ff., and Ebner, 373–394.

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results of compromise between these two, though they contain materials which are found in the Leonine Sacramentary and elsewhere. A large part of the prayers is common to all three of the early types.

Additional devotions added subsequently.

Thus the Chants, the Lessons, and the Prayers are the three strands which together form the old Latin Mass: in course of time other prayers, &c., were added to the 'Ordinary' of the Mass, at first as private devotions, but gaining more and more of an official position: especially preparatory prayers (i) at the beginning of service for the celebrant and his ministers, and (ii) for the celebrant before and at his communion: or again, prayers connected with the ceremonial, (iii) for the incense, (iv) at the gospel, (v) at the offertory: or again, after the Canon, (vi) at the commixture, (vii) at the Pax, (viii) at the ablutions: and finally (ix) closing prayers.

These varied from place to place and very profusely: they made no pretence to be of the same calibre and fixity as the rest, and only had a very precarious claim to be included in Sacramentaries or Missals at all.[1]

Thus by a combination of these three ancient strands, together with the admixture of a varying number of semi-official devotions, the mediæval Missals grew up, containing in one book all the various elements collected together. The following table represents the result of the combination: the different strands are represented by different type; the CAPITALS shew the musical items, the *large Italic* distinguishes the lessons, while the items from the Sacramentary are in large **Clarendon** type; and the variable portions are distinguished from the rest by being indented.[2]

[1] See a collection of these in Martene *De eccl. rit.* I. cap. IV. esp. Ordo iv.

[2] Compare this with the Latin rite, as printed above, p. 282.

	THE SARUM MASS.	PRAYER BOOK. 1549.	PRAYER BOOK. 1552.
1.	Preparation, including the Collect for Purity, Lord's Prayer, Mutual Confession and Absolution, Versicles, Collect.	Lord's Prayer. Collect for Purity.	Lord's Prayer. Collect for Purity.
2.	Blessing of incense and censing.		
3.	INTROIT (sung meanwhile).	INTROIT.	
4.	KYRIE (d°.)	KYRIE (IX.).	Commandments and KYRIE (X.).
5.	GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.	GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.	
6.	**Collect for the day.**	**Collect for the day.** Collect for the King.	**Collect for the day.** Collect for the King.
7.	*Epistle.*	*Epistle.*	*Epistle.*
8.	GRADUAL.		
9.	ALLELUIA and SEQUENCE or TRACT.		
10.	Prayers at the Gospel.		
11.	*Gospel.*	*Gospel.*	*Gospel.*
12.	CREED (on occasion). Sermon.	CREED (usually). Sermon.	CREED daily. Sermon.
13.	**Dominus vobiscum and Oremus.**	**Exhortation.**	
14.	Prayers at offertory and censing, and lavatory.		
15.	OFFERTORY (sung meanwhile).	OFFERTORY.	OFFERTORY. **Intercession (Church Militant)** **Exhortation.**
16.	**Secret.**		
17.	**Salutation.**	**Salutation.**	
18.	**Preface.**	**Preface.**	
19.	SANCTUS.	SANCTUS.	
20.	**Canon.**	**Canon.**	
	Intercession.	**Intercession.**	
	Consecration.	**Consecration.**	
	Oblation.	**Oblation.**	
	Lord's Prayer.	**Lord's Prayer.**	
		Invitation.	Invitation.
		Confession and Absolution.	Confession and Absolution.
		Comfortable Words.	Comfortable Words.
			Salutation.
			Preface.
			SANCTUS.
		Prayer of Humble Access.	Prayer of Humble Access.
			Consecration.

THE SARUM MASS.	PRAYER BOOK. 1549.	PRAYER BOOK. 1552.
21. AGNUS DEI.	AGNUS DEI during the	
22. Prayers at Commixture and *Pax.*		
23. Prayers at Priest's Communion.	Communion of Priest and people.	Communion of Priest and people.
24. Prayers at ablutions.		
25 COMMUNION (meanwhile).	POSTCOMMUNION.	
		Lord's Prayer
26. **Postcommunion.**	Thanksgiving.	**Oblation** or Thanksgiving / GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.
27. **Dismissal.**	Blessing at dismissal.	Blessing at dismissal.
28. Closing prayers.		

SECT. V. *The First Prayer Book.*

Edwardine adaptation.

The table shows also in graphic form the changes introduced in the Liturgy of 1549; the principal have been already noted, but it is well to point out one or two further points.

Private prayers.

The preparatory prayers were reduced to a minimum and almost all the semi-official devotions disappeared; the celebrant and his ministers were left almost entirely to themselves for their prayers at the offertory, communion and other times noted above: they were also

Rubric.

provided with only a bare minimum of rubric,[1] and even that was not generally provided except in places where a change was made, and where therefore the old customs needed to be superseded: since these were otherwise assumed to continue so far as was consistent with the new service.[2]

[1] Rubric was a novelty. The old books had practically none, and many late mediæval books were equally destitute. The directions for ceremonial were separate from the ritual texts contained in Ordines, such as the early Roman Ordines, printed by Mabillon, &c. (Migne, *P. L.* LXXVIII.), or later in the Ordinals, *e.g.*, the old Sarum Ordinal (*Use of Sarum*, vol. ii.) The Sarum Service-books in their later and printed form incorporated in the services as rubric the greater part of the directions of the later recension of the Sarum Ordinal, which bore upon them.

[2] For example, no direction was given as to the conclusion of the collects, nor was the conclusion of the Preface for Trinity Sunday given at all in the book. See below, pp. 490, 524.

The First Prayer Book.

The singing of the *Gloria in excelsis* and the Creed was directed as the normal course and the omission of them an exceptional thing; hitherto they had only been in use on a certain (and increasing) number of occasions.

Gloria *and Creed.*

A fixed collect for the king was affixed to the variable collect for the day, probably for the same reason as the similar change which has been noted in the Canon, viz., to comply with St. Paul's direction in 1 Tim. ii. 1.

Collect.

Special directions were made for the sermon or homily and for an exhortation on the Sacrament, and for the placing of the communicants.

Sermon

After the Canon was inserted 'The Order of the Communion' of the people which had been issued in 1548 and since then had been hitherto in use in conjunction with the Latin Mass: the exhortations mentioned above were also drawn from the same source.[1] A similar form of preparation was in use before communion already, but it was generally in Latin, it was not incorporated into the Missal, nor did the Communion of the people necessarily take place at this its natural position or even within the service at all.[2]

Communion.

A corporate thanksgiving was provided for the priest to say on behalf of himself and all the communicants: this to some extent took the place of the personal and private thanksgivings prescribed for him in the later Missals.

Close.

A blessing was provided for the dismissal of the people: it was the usual custom at low Mass at the time, though no provision was made for it in the English Missal.[3]

[1] They are distinguished by small Clarendon type in the table above.

[2] Wordsworth, *Mediæval Services*, p. 93.

[3] The Lambeth Judgment (Read v. Bp. of Lincoln) denied this, but the evidence for it is considerable. Frere, *Exposition de la Messe* (Alcuin Club Collections II.) pl. 17. Rock, *Church of our Fathers* III. ii. 168. Cp. York Missal (Surtees Soc.) ii. 192. Hereford Missal 443 (ed. of 1874). York Manual (Surtees Soc.) 39, 25* (Sarum), the same blessing at Nuptial Mass. Cp., for an earlier use, Ebner, p. 17.

The Second Prayer Book.

SECT. VI. *The Second Book.*

The Edwardine Revolution.

In the Second Prayer Book of 1552 extensive changes were made in the service. The new English Canon of the Mass was divided into three parts and considerably altered in language: the first section, the Intercession, was placed earlier, so as to follow immediately upon the offertory.[1] This was consciously or unconsciously a return to primitive use; but on the other hand a great departure was made from primitive use by the omission of prayer for the faithful departed and the consequent alteration of the bidding by the insertion of the words 'militant here in earth.'[2]

Dismemberment of the Canon.

The central section was retained as the Consecration Prayer; but in place of the invocation of the Holy Spirit the following petition was inserted, "Grant that we receiving these thy creatures of Bread and Wine accord- to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood." This change was a serious departure from primitive methods in that it omitted both the direct prayer for consecration which was retained in 1549, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which, though not in the Latin Canon, had been inserted in the new English Canon. Dangerous consequences have also resulted from the ending of the prayer at the recital of the Words of Institution; since it ministers to the narrowest Western view of the doctrine of consecration, as being tied to the particular words; and further, the cutting off of all reference to our Lord's resurrection, ascension, and heavenly priest-

Its consequences.

[1] At the same time it was made a prayer of offering the alms collected at the offertory. Below, p. 480.

[2] These restricting words were greatly debated in 1661, and only at the last it was decided finally that they should be retained.

The Second Prayer Book.

hood is likely to obscure the true view of the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice, as the offering which the Church presents on earth in union with our Lord's continual presentation of His sacrifice in heaven.[1]

The ending of the Consecration prayer at this unfortunate point was brought about by the transference of the third section, the oblation, to the close of the service after the Communion of the people. The purpose of the change is clear. The revisers, accepting the current western and mediæval doctrine of consecration,[2] were anxious that the Communion should follow immediately upon it, and to secure this, they transferred, not only the oblation but even the Lord's Prayer also and the prayers following it, till the later moment, after Communion.

Its object.

This involved a further important change: in 1549 the devotions for communicants from *The Order of the Communion* had followed the Canon, and in the old way immediately preceded their communion. In 1552, conformably with the above mentioned purpose, they were set earlier, and were divided up; the greater part was set before the Anaphora, but the Prayer of Humble Access was inserted into it, immediately before the Consecration. The revisers thus obtained their purpose, and, by admitting no interval between consecration and communion, they minimized the danger, which there undoubtedly was at that time, of a false habit of eucharistic worship: but the reform was purchased at a very dear cost: the present position of the prayer of oblation is the main blot upon the English Liturgy, a blot which has carefully been removed in both the Scottish and the American Liturgies.

Further transposition,

[1] Milne, *Eucharistic Worship*, 49, 57, 69.

[2] In later Prayer Books, *e.g.* in the XVIIth century, the words of institution were not infrequently printed in capitals to emphasize them as the words of consecration. See above, p. 153.

The Second Prayer Book. *and modification.*

In the process of transference the prayer of oblation also underwent considerable change; the commemoration of the passion, resurrection and ascension of our Lord—a most primitive and catholic feature—was perforce omitted as unsuitable to the new position, and for the same reason the prayer for grace worthily to receive the Sacrament was changed into a prayer for a blessing upon the communion received. It is less easy to explain why the mention of the ministry of the Holy Angels should have been omitted.

Other changes.

Besides the redistribution and remodelling of the Canon and the transposition of the devotions for communicants, other changes were made: by (1) The omission of the Introit-Psalms, *Agnus Dei* and Post-communion anthems, (2) The insertion of the Commandments and alteration of the *Kyrie*: (3) The transference of the exhortation from the sermon time to the beginning of the new 'Mass of the Faithful' to use the old formula, or after the 'Ante-communion Service' to use a more modern description: (4) The transference of the *Gloria in Excelsis* from the opening to the close of the service. Also ceremonial changes were introduced by (5) the alteration of Vestments; (6) the omission of direct orders for the offertory, (7) for the mixed chalice, and (8) for the manual acts in consecration. On the other hand provision was made for the first time for notice to be given of Holy Days, and fasting days, for kneeling at communion; and for the first time the Black Rubric appeared.

Such was the revolutionary revision of 1552: each revision since has done something to undo some of its effects; but the English Liturgy still lags behind its Scottish and American daughters, and its best friends are those who would most desire some amendment and reform.

SECT. VII. *The Present Order.*

The Present Office.

The principal features in the history of The Order of Holy Communion will be perceived from what has preceded. It remains only to go *seriatim* through the service as it is and trace the changes by which it has been brought to its present arrangement. This will involve some recapitulation, but it will also give an opportunity for touching upon some details which have hitherto for clearness sake been passed over.

The title of the service in 1549 was *The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion commonly called the Mass*. This was altered in 1552 to its present title, *The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.*

The Rubrics.

The words of the first Rubric (1549) implied that there was time between Mattins and the Communion Service for intending communicants to signify their names to the Priest who has the cure of the parish.[1] And the Rubric remained in this form until 1661; by then there were very few Parish Churches in which there was any space at all between the services,[2] and it was therefore ordered [3] that the names should be signified to the curate *at least some time the day before.*[4]

Notice of Communion.

Discipline.

The second Rubric refers to the case of notorious evil livers, or persons who have done wrong to their neighbours by word or deed, to the offence of the congregation.

[1] Wordsworth *Mediæval Services*, p. 556 and ff.; Pullan, 141.

[2] *Fragm. Illustr.* 74, and Cosin, *Works*, v. 512. In earlier times there had been an interval of an hour or two, as morning prayer was at 6 or 7, and Communion at 9 or 10. Heylyn, *Antid. Linc.* iii. ch. x. p. 61. The practice of inverting the order so that Morning Prayer succeeds instead of preceding the Eucharist is of very recent introduction, and entirely contrary to the whole history of worship and the spirit and actual provisions of the Prayer Book.

[3] See above, pp. 177, 187.

[4] The practice has fallen into general though not universal disuse; the Rubric is omitted in the American Prayer Book.

The Present Office.

The third likewise refers to malicious persons. These rules, implying an efficient system of corrective discipline, are wisely retained for self-reproof, and as a means of showing what the Church requires in her members, though in practice they have fallen into disuse, partly because of the abeyance of the preceding rubric and partly from the uncertainty of their legal application. There is, however, no doubt as to the duty of admonition ; and ordinarily conscience and public feeling will deter a notorious offender from Communion, if not from crime. In proceeding to repulsion, it must be remembered that this is in fact excommunication, which requires the sentence of a competent judge ; and that no private person may condemn a man upon common report as a 'notorious' offender unless he has been convicted by some legal sentence.[1] The ecclesiastical rule is, according to the addition made in 1661 to the third Rubric, to signify the case of one who will not be admonished to the Bishop.[2] The safety of such a step to the individual clergyman consists in this, that the Bishop is the party to institute legal proceedings, which he is bound to do, if the offender is to be repelled from communion.[3]

The position of the Holy Table.

The fourth Rubric (1552) determines the position of the Priest, and of the Holy Table itself, together with its covering, at the time of Communion.[4] Its language directing the Table to stand where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said, whether in

[1] This rule is as old as the time of S. Austin. See *Serm.* CCCLI. 10. Cp. Bp. Wilson, *Works*, i. 462. Andrewes, *Minor Works*, p. 151. Cp. the CIXth canon.

[2] See above, pp. 177, 188, and Cosin's suggestion, *u.s.*

[3] See this question argued at length in the *Book of Common Prayer with Notes* (ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.) pp. 1056 and ff.

[4] In the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637) this rubric was : '*The Holy Table having at the Communion-time a carpet, and a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture, meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancel or church, where the Presbyter standing at the north side or end thereof, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with this Collect following for due preparation.*'

The Present Office.

the body of the church (as in parish churches), or in the chancel (as in cathedrals and college chapels), was meant on the one side to encourage ecclesiastical propriety, and, on the other, not altogether to condemn the laxer usage of the ultra-Reformers. It was re-enacted in 1559, but at once abrogated by the Queen acting under the 26th section of the Uniformity Act,[1] through an order appended to the Injunctions, confining the Holy Table to the chancel.[2] But the Prayer Book rubric was not altered,[3] and was re-enacted in 1661 with slight verbal changes, and the addition of an order that the people should kneel.[4] By custom, however, the older rule, which Laud finally succeeded in generally enforcing,[5] has still gone on. The altars are confined to the chancel, are not moved at the time of Communion, and are set altar-wise. As to the position of the celebrant, the exact compliance with the Rubric thus became impossible, since the Holy Table no longer had a north side, and consequently the eastward position of the celebrant has been in use since Laudian times, and was recognised as legal by the Lambeth Judgment in 1890.[6]

The Lord's Prayer and Collect.

The Lord's Prayer[7] and Collect[8] were taken, in 1549,

[1] *Parker Corr.* 375.

[2] Above, p. 105.

[3] In fact the Order was explained away by the Bishops' *Interpretations*. *Doc. Ann.* i. 238. Above, p. 105.

[4] Changes were proposed both to make the rubric consistent with the Order, and with current practice, and also to include a mention of the carpet of silk ordered in the 82nd Canon, but neither was finally adopted. See Cosin, *Works*, v. 513.

[5] Hutton, *William Laud*, pp. 16, 73-78. *Lambeth Judgment*, pp. 19 and ff.

[6] *Judgment*, p. 40.

[7] The Lord's Prayer was not printed here until 1662; the rubric only directed it to be said. Hence apparently the custom of the unreformed service continued, that the Priest alone should repeat it; and the tradition has prevailed over the general rubric, inserted there at the first occurrence of the Lord's Prayer, ordering that the people should repeat it with the minister, '*wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service*,' unless indeed the term Divine Service was meant in its strict sense, which is unlikely.

[8] This collect is probably of Eng-

The Present Office.

from the devotions which had been repeated by the Priest and the other ministers as a preparation for the Mass.

The Commandments.

The Ten Commandments were inserted in 1552, and the *Kyrie* was adapted to suit them; the direction that the celebrant should turn to the people in rehearsing them was inserted in the Scottish Book, and thence adopted in 1661 at Wren's suggestion.[1] The concluding response naturally followed the reading of the Law in a Christian service, being a prayer for the fulfilment of the prophetic promise concerning the law.[2]

Collects for the King and for the Day.

The Collects for the King were composed in 1549,[3] and originally succeeded the Collect of the Day, being said in the old way as a 'Memorial.' In 1661 the order was inverted, as it had been in the Scottish Book of 1637, probably merely for convenience and to avoid turning back in the book, or else to keep the Collect in close connexion with the Epistle and Gospel.[4] The Collect for the Day, the Epistle, and Gospel, and the Creed,[5] occupy the same relative position in which they

Lessons and Creed.

lish origin or at any rate especially connected with England. See Blunt *ad loc.*

[1] *Fragm. Ill.*, p. 75. The Bishops at the Savoy had laid down the general principle in reply to the Puritans. Above, p. 178.

[2] Jer. xxxi. 33. In the American Prayer Book of 1892, our Lord's Summary of the Law (Matt. xxii. 37–40) may be read after the Ten Commandments, with the introductory words, 'Hear also what our Lord Jesus Christ saith.' And the Decalogue may be omitted, provided it be said once on each Sunday: but, whenever it is omitted, the Minister shall say the Summary of the Law, and the Lesser Litany be said after it. In the Scottish Office (1637) it was directed that the Commandments should be rehearsed distinctly, 'the people all the while kneeling, and asking God mercy for the transgression of every duty therein, either according to the letter, or to the mystical meaning of the said Commandment.' This observation applied especially to the Fourth Commandment. Afterwards, the Summary was added as an alternative: this was borrowed from the Nonjurors' Office of 1718 (above p. 226), where the Summary was first used, to the exclusion of the Ten Commandments. Dowden, *Annot. Scottish Com. Office*, p. 158.

[3] The mediæval Service inserted the King's name, together with that of the Pope and the Bishop of the diocese, in the Canon (above, p. 442).

[4] Cosin, *Works*, v. 513.

[5] See above, p. 469.

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had been placed in the mediæval service. The rubric was simplified in 1552 and enlarged in 1661, especially by the addition of the order that the people should stand; but the direction for the ascription *Glory be to Thee, O Lord,* was not reinserted,[1] though it had been prescribed in 1637 with a second ascription to follow the close of the Gospel. Tradition has supplied the deficiency.

Sermon.

The sermon or homily is a very old feature of the service, since there is mention of it in S. Justin's account of the Liturgy in the IInd century. Its natural place was after the reading of Scripture, and a large part of the long series of Christian sermons from the earliest days to the present have been expositions of the lessons read at the Eucharist.[2] In the later middle ages sermons were not preached at the Mass weekly, but only on occasions: consequently the restoration of the weekly sermon or homily was a special feature of the reform movement.[3]

With regard to notices, the rubric of 1661 transferred the time for them from the end to the beginning of the sermon and gave fuller directions.[4]

The offertory.

At the same time directions for the offertory, such as there had been in 1549, were restored, and placed side by side with those for the collection of alms for the poor, which alone was mentioned in 1552. The history is a little intricate, and the stages of change were as follows.

[1] Cosin had proposed this, as well as the order to stand at the Gospel and Creeds.

[2] S. Austin's sermons and expositions are especially full of allusion to the lesson and chants of the service.

[3] For the connexion with the Bidding Prayer see above, p. 255.

[4] This is the proper place for the publication of banns of marriage. The Act 26 Geo. II., c. 33, authorises their publication after the second lesson only in a case where there is no Morning service, but only Evening Prayer, said in a church. But in many Prayer Books an unwarranted alteration of rubric has been made by the printer. Stephens, *B. C. P. with Notes*, ii. 1151.

The Present Office.

In 1549 the Offertory was to be sung by the clerks [1] or said by the minister while the people offer; thus there was an opportunity for people to contribute to the poor men's box, or upon the offering days [2] to pay their dues to the curate. The communicants were divided from those who were not intending to communicate, and the elements were prepared and set on the altar.

In 1552, when the Intercession, which had been originally the first part of the Canon, was brought into its present position with an altered bidding, the rubric preceding it was: *Then shall the Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotions of the people, and put the same into the poor men's box*, &c. And the words of the prayer were: 'We humbly beseech Thee most mercifully to accept our alms,' with the side-note, *If there be none alms given to the poor, then shall the words, &c.* The next change was that introduced into the rubric of the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637), which directed the deacon or one of the churchwardens, to '*receive the devotions of the people there present in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered he shall reverently bring the said bason with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the Holy Table. And the Presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's table, that it may be ready*

Alms.

Devotions of the people.

Oblations.

[1] Music for these Offertories was provided in Merbecke's *B. C. P. Noted*; direction was given in 1552 that the sentences should be said which had been only an alternative method in 1549. They are still commonly sung, though rarely to Merbecke's music. Additional sentences are provided in the Scottish and American books.

[2] The usual offering-days were Christmas Day, Easter Day, and two others, of which the feast of the Dedication of the Parish Church was usually one. Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 713, ii. 160. By an Act of Henry VIII. (1536), Midsummer and Michaelmas were substituted for the two latter days.

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for that service.' Still the prayer itself only mentioned *our alms*, and the side-note only *the alms given to the poor*. At the revision of the Prayer Book in 1661, all mention of the payment of dues at this time was omitted,[1] the substance of the Scottish rubric was taken, and a variety was recognised in the uses of the offertory. It was ordered that the *alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people*, should be received in a decent bason and brought to the Priest, *who shall humbly present, and place it upon the Holy Table. And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place*[2] *upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient.* Thus the scope of the collection was enlarged to include other offerings besides the alms for the poor, and the solemn presentation of the elements which was customary, though not prescribed,[3] was again definitely enjoined. At the same time the words '*and oblations*' were put into the prayer, and a corresponding change made in the side-note, 'If there be no alms *or oblations*.' The interpretation of the additional word is somewhat doubtful, but it seems legitimate to refer it either to the elements just set upon the altar,

[1] Cosin urged this on the ground that if it were in fact carried out it would be very unseemly. *Works*, v. 514.

[2] The words, *offer up and place*, from the Scottish Office (1637), were proposed for adoption by Convocation in 1661, but they were not adopted.

[3] In the first part of the XVIIth century, though there was no rubric for the offertory, it was performed with great ceremony. This rubric therefore only confirmed existing practice. The same was the case with regard to the manual acts in consecration. See above, p. 148. For the elaborate ceremonial then practised, though not prescribed by rubric, see Andrewes, *Minor Works*, pp. 152 and ff., and the forms of service in Lambeth MS. 577. From the earliest times it has been customary to mix water with the wine in the chalice: the direction for this was given in 1549, but omitted in 1552, and not restored in 1661. It was decided in the Lambeth Judgment that the mixed chalice is lawful provided that the mixing is not done during the service. *Lamb. Judg.* pp. 4–13.

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or else, from a more strictly antiquarian point of view, to the dues and offerings paid by the people to the clergy.[1]

The general history of the prayer has already been given, but it must be noted further that the concluding sentence of thanksgiving and prayer for the faithful departed was added at this same time (1661) to supply the gap caused by the omission in 1552.[2]

[1] It is significant that Patrick, in his *Mensa Mystica* (second ed. 1667), and his *Christian Sacrifice* (first ed. 1670), refers the word 'oblations' to the placing the Bread and Wine upon the Holy Table, as a thankful oblation to God of the fruits of the earth: and this use of the term was common in the XVIIth century. But its technical meaning had been in older times, and still was, the contribution of the laity to the support of the clergy. This is clearly its strict meaning here; or, in a wider sense, all offerings of the people other than alms for the poor. And the insertion of the word in the prayer corresponds not with the simultaneous addition of a rubric providing for the placing of the Bread and Wine upon the Altar, but with the contemporary alteration of the preceding rubric; by this (i) the order for payment of 'the due and accustomed offerings' to the curate by the laity was omitted, and thus the ancient 'oblations' became voluntary instead of compulsory: and (ii) these voluntary oblations, as part of 'the other devotions of the people,' were not simply paid over to the Curate, but were 'presented and placed upon the Holy Table,' and so were fitly given a place side by side with the alms in the prayer.

The identification, therefore, of the oblations with the eucharistic elements, though obvious and supported by early and good evidence is not, historically speaking, the primary one. But as a secondary interpretation it is probably as old as the rubric itself. See Wesley, *The Pious Communicant* (1700) p. 4, quoted in Clutterbuck, *Vindication*. 'Alms relate to the money collected for the poor, and oblations *may* relate to the Bread and Wine' (Edn. 1702) p. 50, and for the whole question see *Journ. Theol. Stud.* i. 321 and ff.

[2] All mention of the dead was omitted in 1552, when the place and heading of this prayer were changed. It had been (1549) introduced with the words, 'Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church:' in 1552, the words 'militant here in earth,' were added, in compliance with Bucer's strictures upon the practice, which he allows to be very ancient, of making mention of the dead in prayer: *Script. Angl.*, p. 467; above, p. 46. In the Scottish Prayer Book (1637) much of the language of the formulary of 1549 was introduced; and this single clause was added in 1661. Thus the objection was met which both Cosin and Wren made that the prayer spoke of 'giving thanks,' but in fact contained no thanksgiving. Cosin, *u.s.*; *Fragm. Illustr.*, *u.s.* A proposal was made at the same time to substitute as title *Let us pray for the good estate of the Catholic Church of Christ*, and for a long time the proposal held the field. It was rejected in the final stages of the revision, but the title in this form appeared not infrequently in early editions of the Restoration Prayer Book. See Parker, *Introduction*, p. cc. and *The Book Annexed*.

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The Exhortations are a special feature of the reformed offices. They have passed through many changes, not so much in language as in arrangement. In 1552, the Prayer for the Church Militant was followed by (i) an *Exhortation at certain times when the Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the Holy Communion:* 'We be come together at this time, dearly beloved brethren, to feed at the Lord's Supper, unto the which in God's behalf I bid you,' &c.: a new form, composed apparently by Peter Martyr at the instance of Bucer.[1] Then followed (ii) another Exhortation, with the rubric: *And sometime shall be said this also at the discretion of the Curate:* 'Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to Almighty God, our heavenly Father, most hearty thanks, for that He hath given His Son, our Saviour,' &c.: a recast of the invitation in the *Order of the Communion* and the Book of 1549.[2] (iii) *Then shall the Priest say this Exhortation:* 'Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come,' &c.: the long exhortation of the *Order of the Communion* and the Book of 1549. The short exhortation followed:—(iv) *Then shall the Priest*

Exhortation to the negligent.

Notice of Communion

Long Exhortation.

Short

[1] *Censura*, cap. xxvii. p. 495. Its object clearly was to promote frequent communion, and that all who were present should communicate: 'ut qui communioni sunt præsentes sacramentis quoque participent.' The Exhortation contained the words: 'Which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on of them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves,' which disappeared in 1661, because, as Bishop Wren recorded, by that date it had become the custom for non-communicants to retire. *Fragm. Illustr.* 78.

[2] The following words which originally stood at the end were omitted in 1552. After the direction to unquiet consciences to resort to the minister for absolution there follows: "requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general confession not to be offended with them that do use to their further satisfying the auricular and secret confession to the priest, nor those also, which think needful or convenient for the quieting of their own consciences particularly to open their sins to the priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God and the general confession to the Church. But in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity, and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or consciences, whereas he hath no warrant of God's word to the same."

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Exhortation.

say to them that come to receive the Holy Communion, 'Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you,' &c. This order continued until the last revision (1661). At that time the form of giving notice of Communion, which was adopted in 1548 but given up in 1552, was restored: the order of the two invitations was altered, and an alteration was made in the beginning of each, in order to include the giving of such notice; also the rubric directed one or the other to be read *after the Sermon or Homily ended, on the Sunday, or some Holy Day, immediately preceding*.[1] The revised edition of (ii) was placed first, as being that which was likely to be used most frequently as a general instruction to communicants, and also a warning to contemners of the Sacrament; and hence the notice to blasphemers, &c., not to presume to come, was at the

[1] See the suggestions of Cosin and Wren, *u.s.* This secured (i) that the Exhortation was read to those who needed the Exhortation, and (ii) that time was allowed for those who desired it to come to the Minister 'for the quieting of their conscience and receiving the benefit of absolution.' The Irish Canons until quite recently made special provision thus. '*Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical*, of the years 1634 and 1711, Canon XIX. *Warning to be given beforehand for the Communion.*

Whereas every lay person is bound to receive the Holy Communion thrice every year, and many notwithstanding do not receive that Sacrament once in a year:

We do require every Minister to give warning to his parishioners publickly in the church at Morning Prayer the Sunday before every time of his administering the holy Sacrament, for the better preparation of themselves; which said warning we enjoin the said parishioners to accept and obey under the penalty and danger of the law.

And the Minister of every parish, and in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches some principal Minister of the Church, shall, the afternoon before the said administration, give warning by the tolling of the bell, or otherwise, to the intent, that if any have any scruple of conscience, or desire the special Ministry of Reconciliation, he may afford it to those that need it.

And, to this end the people are often to be exhorted to enter into a special examination of the state of their own souls; and that finding themselves either extreme dull, or much troubled in mind, they do resort unto God's Ministers, to receive from them as well advice and counsel for the quickening of their dead hearts, and the subduing of those corruptions, whereunto they have been subject, as the benefit of absolution likewise, for the quieting of their consciences by the Power of the Keys, which Christ hath committed to his Ministers for that purpose.'

The Present Office.

revision inserted here, instead of being, as hitherto, addressed to the communicants at the time of Communion.[1] Peter Martyr's Exhortation (i) was directed to be used *instead of the former, when the people were negligent to come to the Holy Communion:* and a change was made in the position of the two invitations, which henceforward were to follow the sermon instead of being postponed till after the Church Militant Prayer.[2] In contradistinction to them, the long Exhortation (iii) was appointed to be said *at the time of the celebration of the Communion, the communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament;* followed by the Invitation (iv), which still retained its rubric, *Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the Holy Communion*,[3] but the words in the Exhortation implying a congregation of non-communicants were omitted,[4] because by this time all such were accustomed to retire previously.[5]

Three of the Exhortations mentioned above, together with the Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words that immediately follow, were derived from *The Order of the Communion* of 1548, as well as the Prayer of Humble Access, which is now separated from the rest, the words of administration (first part) and the 'Peace' prefixed to

[1] This was one of Cosin's suggestions, *Works*, v. 515, but it was probably adopted only at a late stage of the revision, as it was one of the corrections made like the insertion of the black rubric (p. 503) after the transcription of the *Annexed Book*.

[2] See above, p. 178.

[3] In old days it was customary for the communicants to 'draw near' at this point, and the previous rubric was inserted before the Long Exhortation in order to obviate this. Cosin, *Works*, v. 516; *Not. Euch.*

[4] The omission was very incompletely made, for the rubrics which precede and follow still contemplate the presence of others not communicating.

[5] In the American Book the two Exhortations giving warning (ii. and i.) are placed after the service. Leave is given to curtail them and to omit the Long Exhortation to communicants (iii.) '*if it hath been already said on one Lord's Day in that same month.*' Cp. the Irish Book.

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the final Blessing. The history of this Order has been given above,[1] and its incorporation into the First Prayer Book has also been recorded,[2] but a fuller account of it has been deferred till now.

It began with the Invitation to give notice of Communion and exhort to a due preparation, *i.e.* (ii) above. Then followed the rubric:—

Order of the Communion (1543).

'*The time of the Communion shall be immediately after that the Priest himself hath received the sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass* (*until other order shall be provided*), *but as heretofore usually the Priest hath done with the sacrament of the body, to prepare, bless, and consecrate so much as will serve the people; so it shall continue still after the same manner and form, save that he shall bless and consecrate the biggest chalice, or some fair and convenient cup or cups full of wine with some water put unto it; and that day not drink it up all himself, but taking one only sup or draught, leave the rest upon the altar covered, and turn to them that are disposed to be partakers of the Communion, and shall thus exhort them as followeth:* 'Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye coming to this holy Communion must consider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, &c.'

The Exhortation.

This is our present *Exhortation at the time of the celebration of the Communion, i.e.*, (iii) above.

'*Then the Priest shall say to them which be ready to take the Sacrament:* If any man here be an open blasphemer, &c.' This clause is now inserted, in almost the same words, in the first *Exhortation, giving warning of the Communion, i.e.*, (i) above.

'*Here the Priest shall pause a while, to see if any man will withdraw himself: and if he perceive any so to do, then let him commune with him privily at convenient leisure, and see whether he can with good exhortation bring him to grace: and after a little pause, the Priest shall say:* You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins . . . make your humble confession to Almighty God, and to His holy Church, here gathered together in His name, meekly kneeling upon your knees, *i.e.*, (iv) above.

Address to the communicants.

The General Confession.

'*Then shall a general Confession be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, either by one*

[1] See p. 38. [2] See p. 471.

of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the Priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees: Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, &c. *Then shall the Priest stand up, and turning him to the people, say thus*: Our blessed Lord, who hath left power to His Church, to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ, have mercy upon you, pardon, &c.'

Order of the Communion (1548).

The Absolution.

Then followed the '*Comfortable Words*,' the Prayer '*in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion*,' and the Administration to Ministers first and then people with these words: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life.' 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul to everlasting life:' concluding with the blessing: 'The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and in his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *To which the people shall answer*, Amen.'

Prayer of humble Access. Communion.

A rubric ordered that '*If there be a Deacon or other Priest, then shall he follow with the chalice, and as the Priest ministereth the bread, so shall he for more expedition minister the wine:*' also that *the bread* '*shall be such as heretofore hath been accustomed; and every of the said consecrated breads shall be broken in two pieces at the least:*' and *if the wine hallowed doth not suffice*, '*the Priest, after the first cup or chalice be emptied, may go again to the altar, and reverently, and devoutly, prepare and consecrate another, and so the third, or more, likewise beginning at these words*, Simili modo postquam cœnatum est, *and ending at these words*, qui pro nobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum, *and without any levation or lifting up.*'

A second consecration of Wine.

The Present Office.

The Confession.

In comparing this with the present service, the first point to notice after the Exhortations is that the rubric before the Confession was altered in 1661, in accordance with that introduced into the Prayer Book for Scotland,[1] and with the exceptions of the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference.[2] The Confession itself had been

[1] *Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, by the Presbyter himself, or the Deacon; both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees.*' Rubr. (1637).

[2] Above, pp. 178, 188.

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composed in 1548, partly from the old Latin form,[1] and partly from the long form in Hermann's *Consultation*.[2]

[1] The mediæval Confession contained the expression, 'peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere, *mea culpa*': the words, 'By thought, word, and deed,' are due to this source. See above, pp. 267, 282. It is further possible that those which follow, 'provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us,' were taken, as a single idea, from Pollanus (fol. 5), 'perditi jam inde a prima nostra origine, indies magis atque magis judicium tuum in nos provocantes vitæ improbitate.'

[2] 'Almighty everlasting God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Maker of all things, the Judge of all men, we acknowledge, and we lament that we were conceived and born in sins, and that therefore we be prone to all evils, and abhor from all good things; that we have also transgressed thy holy commandments without end and measure in despising thee and thy word, in distrusting thy aid, in trusting ourselves and the world in wicked studies and works, wherewith we have most grievously offended thy Majesty, and hurt our neighbour. Therefore we have more and more buried ourselves into eternal death. And we are sorry for it with all our hearts, and we desire pardon of thee for all the things that we have committed against thee; we call for thy help against sin dwelling in us, and Satan the kindler thereof; keep us that we do nothing hereafter against thee, and cover the wickedness that remaineth in us with the righteousness of thy Son, and repress it in us with thy Spirit, and at length purge it clean out. Have mercy upon us, most gentle Father, through thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ. Give, and increase thy Holy Spirit in us, who may teach us to acknowledge our sins truly and thoroughly, and to be pricked with a lively repentance of the same, and with true faith to apprehend and retain remission of them in Christ our Lord, that dying to sin daily more and more, we may serve, and please thee in a new life, to the glory of thy name, and edifying of thy congregation. For we acknowledge that thou justly requirest these things of us, wherefore we desire to perform the same. Vouchsafe thou, O Father of heaven, which hast given us a will, to grant us also that we may study to (do) those things with all our hearts which pertain to our health, though our Lord Jesus Christ.

Hear the Gospel.

John iii.: God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that all which believe in Him should have life everlasting.

Or, 1 Tim. i.: This is a sure saying, and worthy of all embracing, that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners.

Or, John iii.: The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hands: he that believeth in the Son hath everlasting life.

Or, Acts x.: All the prophets bear witness unto Christ, that all that believe in him receive remission of their sins through him.

Or, 1 Joh. ii.: My little children, if any have sinned, we have a just advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, and he is an atonement for our sins.

When the pastor hath showed to the people one of the said Gospels, he shall say further,—Because our blessed Lord hath left this power to his congregation, that it may absolve them from sins, and restore them into favour of the heavenly Father, which being repentant for their sins, do truly believe in Christ the Lord; I, the minister of Christ and the congregation, declare and pronounce remission of sins, the favour of God, and life everlasting through our

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A comparison of it with the latter shows how our Reformers kept in view the truth that confession was a personal action, an acknowledgment of personal sins; and that it was not necessary to recur at all times to the sin of our nature, which in a confession seemed to offer an excuse for personal transgression rather than an acknowledgment of it.

The Absolution.

The Absolution is from the old Latin form, with an additional clause prefixed which was probably taken also from the *Consultation*, and which makes the formulary to be also a declaration of the need of repentance and faith in order to forgiveness. The Comfortable Words that follow are the scriptural statements upon which the Absolution is grounded: the idea was taken from the *Consultation*, but altered and set after the Absolution instead of before it.

The Comfortable Words.

The Preface.

We come now to the more solemn part of the service, called the Anaphora, commencing with the Versicles and Preface. The origin and growth of this central section have already been dealt with at length, and only a few points remain to be noted. The number of Proper Prefaces, which had once been considerable, was restricted to ten at a Provincial Council held in 1175 under Richard Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] so as to conform with Roman custom. In the Prayer Book the number was further reduced to five,[2] two of which

Lord Jesus Christ, to all them which be sorry for their sins, which have true faith in Christ the Lord, and desire to approve themselves unto him.' Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. cci. and ff. (1548). A mediæval English form of *Exhortation before Communion* is printed in Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* III. 348 [408]; and in Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 178 [382].

[1] Harduin, *Conc.*, VI. p. ii. p. 1638. The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, a Winchester book written *c.* 1020, has 281 Prefaces. Another Winchester Missal a century later (*c.* 1120) has 190. See *Jumièges Missal* (H.B.S. XI.), pp. lxxiii. 337–340.

[2] The five omitted are those for (1) the Epiphany, and throughout the Octave; (2) Ash Wednesday and Lent fast-days; (3) Feasts of the Apostles and Evangelists; (4)

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date from 1549,[1] while the rest are taken from the old Latin.[2] All the proper Prefaces in 1549 were appointed only for the day of commemoration: this was altered in 1552, in accordance with the old rubrics, which had appointed the Prefaces of these days to be said throughout their Octaves: that for Whitsunday is to be said only during the six following days, because the Octave is Trinity Sunday, which has its proper Preface, and which is said only on that day, in celebration of the Unity in Trinity.

Sanctus.

The *Sanctus* is drawn almost entirely from the texts

the two festivals of Holy Cross; and (5) every festival of the Blessed Virgin Mary, except the Purification.

[1] Those for Christmas Day and Whit-Sunday. For the former the old Preface was: 'Quia per incarnati Verbi mysterium nova mentis nostræ oculis lux tuæ claritatis infulsit: ut dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus, per hunc in invisibilium amorem rapiamur.' And for the latter 'Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui ascendens super omnes cœlos, sedensque ad dexteram tuam, promissum Spiritum Sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit. Quapropter profusis gaudiis totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultat. Sed et supernæ virtutes atque angelicæ potestates hymnum gloriæ tuæ concinunt, sine fine dicentes.'

[2] The following are the Latin originals. For Easter: 'Et te quidem omni tempore, sed in hac potissimum die gloriosius prædicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus, qui abstulit peccata mundi: qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit.

'Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus cumque omni militia cœlestis exercitus hymnum gloriæ tuæ canimus sine fine dicentes:—'

For Ascension Day: 'Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui post resurrectionem suam omnibus discipulis suis manifestus apparuit, et ipsis cernentibus est elevatus in cœlum, ut nos divinitatis suæ tribueret esse participes. Et ideo . . .'

For Trinity Sunday: 'Qui cum unigenito Filio tuo, et Spiritu Sancto, unus es Deus, unus es Dominus, non in unius singularitate personæ, sed in unius trinitate substantiæ. Quod enim de tua gloriæ revelante te credimus, hoc de Filio tuo, hoc de Spiritu Sancto, sine differentia discretionis sentimus. Ut in confessione veræ sempiternæque deitatis, et in personis proprietas, et in essentia unitas, et in majestate adoretur æqualitas.

'Quam laudant angeli atque archangeli, Cherubin quoque ac Seraphin, qui non cessant clamare una voce dicentes:'

This ending was the only exceptional ending; of the two ordinary Latin alternatives (above, p. 441) one only was required for all the other prefaces in the Prayer Book, viz. the ending 'et ideo cum angelis.' For this exceptional case the cue, 'Whom the angels,' was given here in 1549, but the full translation of it was never given, and in 1552, the same cue was appended to this as to the rest.

of Scripture, viz. the song of the Seraphim (Is. vi. 3) and the song of welcome at our Lord's Triumphal entry on Palm Sunday (Mat. xxi. 9). This was inserted in full in 1549, but in 1552 the translation was altered, and the latter part, or *Benedictus*, was cut off. The Present Office.

The prayer of humble access formed part of *The Order of the Communion*, and remained here in the position in which it was placed in 1549, while the Invitation, Confession, Absolution and Comfortable Words were transferred to an earlier point. Two new rubrics were introduced in 1661 in connexion with the consecration prayer, (i) the marginal rubric directing the manual acts in consecration, which had been designedly omitted since 1552, though they were commonly retained in practice; and (ii) the rubric preceding the prayer and directing that the priest should stand before the table to arrange the elements in preparation for these acts in consecration.[1] *Prayer of humble access.* *Rubrics.*

The present Prayer of Consecration, which is the second of the three sections into which the English Canon of 1549 was divided, consists of three parts:—an introduction expressing the meaning and object of the rite, a petition, and the words of institution. There had always been in this part of the service a commemoration of God's benefits to man through Jesus Christ; it has been already pointed out[2] that this part is here much more full than it was in the Latin Canon, and that great pains is taken to reaffirm a truth, which had then been strangely controverted, that the oblation of Christ once offered is a full and perfect satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. The second part of the prayer comes not *The Consecration.* *Commemoration of God's mercies.*

[1] The insertion of this Rubric authorised the Eastward position at consecration, which was at the time used by many, though not enjoined. Talbot, *Ritual*, p. 132. The Irish Book has altered this.

[2] See above, p. 459.

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The ἐπίκλησις.

from 1549 but from the revision of 1552, at which the Invocation of the Holy Spirit was omitted and there was substituted the phrase 'Grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine . . . . may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood,' differing from the phrase in the Latin Canon,[1] and from that in the Scottish Office.[2] The Prayer avoids at this point any express mention of the consecration of the creatures of bread and wine, and of the work of the Holy Spirit in consecration: it is carefully worded so as not to express any special theory of consecration while consecrating the sacrament: the prayer has already been offered that we may duly 'eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood,' and it is enough now to pray that we, receiving those creatures of God, may partake of that Body and Blood, truly and really,[3] in a sacramental manner, according to the full meaning of Christ's ordinance, whatsoever that may be, without specifying the hidden way in which the earthly elements are made conductors of the heavenly grace. The third part of the prayer comprises the Words of Institution with the manual acts, the taking the bread and the cup into the hand, the breaking of the bread, and the laying the hand upon the bread, and upon the vessels containing the wine, in sign of blessing and consecration. At this point the prayer comes to an abrupt end. The oblation

The Words of Institution.

[1] Above p. 443, 'corpus et sanguis *fiat* dilectissimi Filii tui.'

[2] This was (1637):—'Vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy Word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they *may be unto us* the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son.' In the present Office it is:—'. . . that they *may become* the Body and Blood . . .'

[3] 'All sides agree in the faith of the Church of England, that in the most blessed sacrament the worthy receiver is by his faith made spiritually partaker of the true and real Body and Blood of Christ truly and really [*verily and indeed*], and of all the benefits of His passion.'—Laud, *Conference with Fisher*, § 35, p. 241, ed. Oxf. 1839.

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The Administration.

and Lord's Prayer are deferred and the communion immediately follows.

The Administration of the Elements is according to the primitive order: the Clergy first receive in both kinds, and then the people in like manner, having not only Communion in both kinds,[1] but receiving the bread and the wine separately;[2] the people by the rubric introduced in 1552[3] are required to be kneeling, and since the same date the bread has been delivered into the hand of the communicant.[4] The form of words used in delivering the elements has met with many changes. The earliest that we can trace were very simple, such as 'This is the Body of Christ,' '*Amen*:' 'This is the Blood of Christ,' '*Amen*'; or again 'The Body of Christ, The Blood of Christ the Cup of Salvation,'[5] and stress was laid on the communicant's response 'Amen.'[6] In the time of Gregory the Great, it appears that the form used in the Roman Church was, 'Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet animam tuam,'[7] and a similar

[1] The withdrawal of the chalice from the assistants began in England in the twelfth century, and then spread abroad until, apart from exceptional cases, it was complete in the fourteenth century. Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* IX. vii: Pullan, 45, and most fully Smend, *Kelchspendung und Kelchversagung*, pp. 14, 23 and ff.

[2] In the Eastern Church the bread is dipped in the cup, and the laity thus communicated in both kinds. The same custom of 'intinction' was in use for some time in the West previously to the withdrawal of the cup from all but the celebrant. *Not. Euch.* IX. v., Smend, p. 19. On the different modes which have prevailed in administering the Eucharist, see also Bingham, *Antiq.* XV. ch. 5. *Dict. Chr. Antiq. s. v.* Communion.

[3] See above, pp. 83–85.

[4] This is the primitive custom. The direction given by S. Cyril of Jerusalem (348) is this. 'Making your left hand a throne for the right, which is as it were to receive a King and hollowing the palm, receive the Body of Christ.' *Cat. Myst.* v. 18. Brightman, *L. E. W.* i. 466. Cp. 484–536. *Not. Euch.* IX. viii. It began to be disused by the ninth century, and was forbidden by the Council of Rouen (c. 878) Hard. vi. 205. See Martene, *De Ritibus*, I. iv. 10, § 8. *Not. Euch. l.c.* The restoration was suggested by Bucer. See above, p. 74.

[5] Hippolytean Canons, 146: Clementine Liturgy in *Const. Apost.* VIII. 12; *L. E. W.* 25.

[6] *Ibid.* 25, 466. S. Augustine, *Contra. Faust.* XII. 10. Eus. vi. 43.

[7] Joh. Diacon. *Vita. Greg.* II. 41; Migne. *P.L.* LXXV. 103.

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form ending, 'custodiat corpus tuum et animam tuam in vitam eternam. Amen,' was that which was customary in England before the Reformation.[1] When this was

In 1548. adopted for the double administration in the *Order of the Communion* of 1548, not only were the words 'which was given (shed) for thee' inserted, but 'preserve thy body' was said at the administration of the Body, and 'preserve thy soul' at the administration of the Blood.[2]

In 1549. Objection was raised to this distinction, and consequently in 1549 the formulas followed more closely the old words, thus: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life:' 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul to

In 1552. everlasting life.' In 1552, entirely new sentences were substituted, more in accordance with the views of foreign reformers[3] and avoiding every appearance of calling the elements the body and the blood of Christ: 'Take, and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.' 'Drink this, in remembrance that Christ's blood was

[1] It is given in the Manuals, not in the Missals. See for York and Sarum, *The York Manual* (Surtees LXIII.), pp. 52, 51*.

[2] See the form of words above, p. 487. No direction is given for the posture of the priest, and no form is provided with which he is himself to receive; these points were left undecided deliberately in 1661, but the use of the first person seems most in accordance with the origin of the words which he uses in administering to others, and has Wren's authority. *Fragm. Illustr.* 82, 83.

[3] The form in Hermann's *Consultation* (fol. ccxxiv.) is, 'Take, and eat to thy health the body of the Lord, which was delivered for thy sins. Take, and drink to thy health the blood of the Lord, which was shed for thy sins.' The form used by Pollanus (1551) was, 'Panis quem frangimus, communicatio est corporis Christi; Calix cui benedicimus, communicatio est sanguinis Christi.' *Liturgia Peregrinorum*, fol. xi. In a second edition (Frankfort, 1555) a longer form is given: 'Panis quem frangimus communicatio est corporis Christi; Accipite, comedite memore, corpus Christi pro vobis esse fractum. Calix benedictionis cui benedicimus communicatio est sanguinis Christi, qui pro vobis est fusus in remissionem peccatorum.' See the form appointed in the *Directory*, above, p. 205. The Scottish Prayer Book (1637) restored the form of 1549.

shed for thee, and be thankful.' When the Prayer Book was revised at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth (1559), these two sentences were combined with the older formulas of administration.

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In 1559.

The rubric directing a second consecration, if required, was added in 1661. It was already customary, a similar rubric had been inserted in the Scottish Book, and the attempt of a Puritan to administer unconsecrated bread and wine, when more was required, without proceeding to a second consecration, had been definitely condemned in 1574, though he could plead that there was no rubric to authorise him to do so.[1] The directions are in accordance with late mediæval precedents which made the recital of the Words of Institution the irreducible minimum to be required for consecration; but in the earlier middle ages before the withdrawal of the chalice from the laity, additional wine was consecrated by simple contact with the Sacrament that had been already consecrated.[2] When it was necessary to make fresh directions recourse was had to the later and not the earlier expedient.[3]

A second consecration.

The rubric following as to the placing and covering of what remains of the consecrated elements upon the Lord's table, also dates from 1661, and is part of the

[1] Case of Robert Johnson in *A parte of a Register*, pp. 105–111, quoted in *The Case for Incense*, pp. 10–12.

[2] *Not. Euch.* IX. vi. Smend, *l.c.*

[3] This has the advantage that some definite words of consecratory prayer are said; but on the other hand it certainly favours the notion that the act of consecration is connected not with the prayer in general, but with the simple recitation of the words of institution, and it does not even require all of them to be uttered. In this respect it goes beyond the direction in the Prayer Book for Scotland, from which it is taken: *And to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least; and then, if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more, either bread or wine: the Presbyter beginning at these words in the prayer of consecration*, 'Our Saviour, in the night that He was betrayed, took,' &c. (Fifth Rubric after the Office, 1637.) The defect was pointed out by Cosin, *u.s.* It has been better met in daughter Rites. See p. 515.

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provision then made for greater reverence to the Holy Sacrament.

Post-Communion.

At the revision in 1552, the Anthems were omitted which had been provided in 1549 to be sung by the choir after the Communion, as well as the *Agnus Dei* sung during the Priest's Communion.[1] At the same time the post-Communion service came, as has been shown, to consist of the Lord's Prayer, a Prayer of Oblation or of Thanksgiving, the Great Doxology, and the Blessing.

The Lord's Prayer.

The Lord's Prayer when placed in its present position in 1552 was also assigned to be said by the people as well as the Priest according to Gallican and Eastern custom.

The Thanksgiving.

The first of the two alternative forms following is the Prayer of Oblation cut off from the Edwardine Canon in 1552 and placed in this anomalous position.[2] The second form was composed in 1549 as the Thanksgiving to be used at this part of the service. The Latin Mass was dependent upon its variable post-Communion prayers for the principal act of thanksgiving, and this fixed prayer which was provided in their place may be allowed to accord most with the thanksgivings which the primitive Church used in the same position.[3] One expression in it is taken from the Priest's thanksgiving after receiving.[4]

[1] In the Lambeth Judgment, which authorised the restoration of this hymn, the suggestion was adopted that its omission was due to the transference of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, containing the same words, from the beginning of the service, where it was remote from this, to the end, where it was very close to it: and it was further suggested that it was by way of compensation for this omission, that then the words in the *Gloria in Excelsis* were thenceforward thrice repeated, instead of twice, as had formerly been the case. *Judgment*, p. 61. But some MS. settings of the First Book (p. 43) have the repeat.

[2] A proposal emanating from Cosin to restore the prayer of oblation to its proper position as 'more consonant, both to former precedents, and the nature of this holy action' was not accepted by the bishops at the revision in 1661. Cosin, *Works*, v. 517.

[3] The opening words have a certain similarity to a prayer in the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Order of 1533 (Jacobs, p. 243), but the bulk of the prayer is entirely different. Richter, i. 207.

[4] Above, p. 293: 'Gratias . . . qui me refecisti de sacratissimo corpore, &c.' Cp. the Thanksgiving in the Greek Liturgies in *L. E. W.*

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Gloria in excelsis.

The history of the '*Gloria in excelsis*' has already been given[1] and it has been shown how at the revision of the Prayer Book in 1552,[2] it was placed at the end of the service. This according to present arrangements appears to be its most suitable position. The whole service, indeed, is eucharistical; but as it was then made to open with the Law, and prayers of humble confession, it was most natural to put the hymn of praise in close connexion with the thanksgiving, which has always been placed after Communion.

The Blessing.

The Blessing which was added at the end of the service in 1549 to take the place of the blessing that was customary though not prescribed in the Latin Missals, consists of two parts. The first clause taken from Phil. iv. 7, was appointed in 1548 as the close of the administration in '*The Order of the Communion*'; the second clause is that which was habitually used at the close of the special blessing which the Bishop, when he celebrated, pronounced after the Canon was completed;[3] it was probably also the form used in giving the customary blessing at the end of Mass.[4]

The Collects.

Of the six *Collects to be said after the offertory when there is no communion, &c.*, the first, second and fourth were taken from ancient offices,[5] the others were com-

[1] Above, p. 462. In translating the hymn in 1549, the opening words were taken from the Greek, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία, not from the Latin of the Vulgate and the Missal, '*pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*'

[2] Above, p. 474.

[3] These Episcopal Benedictions varying throughout the year were collected in Benedictionals (*e.g.* that of S. Ethelwold, published by the Soc. of Antiquaries in 1853), and often inserted into the Pontificals. A standard series received the imprimatur of Peckham Abp. of Canterbury (1279–1294).

[4] 'Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper.' Lacy's *Pontifical*, p. 153; Bainbridge, *Pontifical* (Surtees Soc. LXI.), p. 40. In others the form varies, *e.g.* S. Ethelwold's *Benedictional*, p. 51, or Egbert's *Pontifical* (Surtees Soc. vol. 27), p. 59, which have 'Benedictio Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.' Cp. *Leofric Missal* (ed. Warren), pp. 63, 248.

[5] The first is the Collect, 'Adesto,

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posed in 1549. They seemed to have been placed here for use as post-communion collects as well as for days when there was no communion. This is shown by their position here and also by the rubric in the corresponding position in the ordination services.

The Rubrics. I. Part of the service to be read without Communion.

The direction for the 'ante-communion service' is an attempt to revive the old custom, current in primitive times, of saying the introductory part of the Liturgy on solemn days when there was no celebration of the whole. In the book of 1549 this, together with the Litany, was prescribed for Wednesdays and Fridays, the 'Station Days' of the early Church.[1] The rubrics then assumed that there would be a communion on Sundays and Holy Days: but in case of failure they provided that on all other days, beside the Litany days, *whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray in the church and none disposed to communicate with the priest*, the first part of the service should be said. By 1552 the communion on Holy Days could no longer be counted upon, and the order was transferred to *the Holy Days if there be no communion:* this order continued until the last revision in 1661, when it had long been evident that even a regular Sunday communion was a thing of the

Domine, supplicationibus nostris et viam famulorum tuorum in salutis tuæ prosperitate dispone: ut inter omnes viæ et vitæ huius varietates tuo semper protegantur auxilio. Per.': said in the Sarum *Missa pro iter agentibus;* also in the devotions called *Pretiosa*, which were said in chapter after Prime; *Brev. Sar.* ii. 5. The second is the Collect, 'Dirigere et sanctificare et regere dignare Domine Deus quæsumus corda et corpora nostra in lege tua, et in operibus mandatorum tuorum: ut hic et in æternum, te auxiliante, sani et salvi esse mereamur. Per': usually said on the same occasion, *Ibid.* p. 55. The fourth was a Collect appointed for the second Saturday in Lent: 'Actiones nostras, quæsumus, Domine, et aspirando præveni, et adjuvando prosequere; ut cuncta nostra operatio a te semper incipiat, et per te cœpta finiatur. Per.'

[1] See above, p. 331. The old service of Good Friday and Easter Even is of this nature: the Mass of the presanctified was grafted on to it in mediæval times, but originally it was simply an 'ante-communion service.'

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past, and consequently the opening portion of the office was directed to be said *upon the Sundays and other Holy Days if there be no communion*.[1] These changes reveal a gradual declension from primitive custom. In place of communion on Sundays and Holy Days with ante-communion on Station days, the rubric sanctioned a general substitution of table prayers for communion, and a general disuse of the Lord's service on the Lord's day.[2] The cause that has led to this result has been the provision in the following rubric forbidding to proceed to the solemn part of the Liturgy without communicants.[3] This very necessary reform,[4] when promulgated among people who were in the habit of communicating only once a year, had the immediate result that for want of communicants a constant celebration of the Lord's Supper never came into use, and the daily mass was discontinued.[5] For the Priest could not communicate alone, and the people had not learned to communicate except at Easter.[6] The

II. and III. Requirement of Communicants.

[1] The old pre-anaphoral service survived through the middle ages as a possible alternative to Mass in exceptional circumstances. See Legg in C.H.S. Tract LXXIII. pp. 14 and ff.

[2] In the American Book the rubric is as follows:—*Upon the Sundays and other Holy Days* (*though there be no Sermon, or Communion*) *shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, unto the end of the Gospel, concluding with the Blessing.*

There are no other rubrics in this place, but one, directing the reverent consumption of whatever consecrated Bread and Wine may remain. The Declaration, or 'Black Rubric,' is omitted.

[3] '*There shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper except there be some to communicate with the Priest*' (1549):—'*except there be a good number*,'—'*four, or three at the least*' (1552). The Irish Book has reduced the requirement to *three or two at the least*.

[4] The Council of Trent (Sess. xxii. 6), while maintaining Private Masses, and others without communicants, expressed the desire that there should always be communicants at every Mass.

[5] For the primitive custom of daily Eucharist and daily communion, see *Not. Euch.* XIV.

[6] The current rule was for laymen to communicate once a year, according to the 21st canon of the Lateran Council in 1215 (Harduin, VII. 35). The demand of the Devonshire rebels (1549) to 'have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay people,' shows the difficulty of reform. This minimum was re-enacted by the Council of Trent (Sess. xiii. 9).

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disuse of the Liturgy then proceeded by rapid strides, although the Reformers showed in every possible way that they wished to introduce more frequent communion,[1] and their provision for the ante-communion service was at least a way of reminding the people of their duty.[2]

The Puritans taking advantage of the omission since 1549 of the direction to say the service 'at the altar,' made a practice of saying it at the reading desk, and this in spite of episcopal prohibitions. At the Savoy Conference the practice was condemned by the Bishops and was considered illegal, though not explicitly forbidden by rubrical direction.[3]

IV. Weekly Communion where possible.

The wish of the Reformers for frequent Communion is expressed clearly with regard to Cathedrals and Colleges, where the clergy are to be expected to communicate every Sunday: while a daily Eucharist is provided for, in so far as the rubric directs the use of the Epistle and Gospel of Sunday on vacant days throughout the week following.[4]

V. The Wafer or Bread.

It was ordered in 1549 that to avoid dissension the bread should uniformly be *unleavened*[5] *and round as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was*, and thus should be always divided at the distribution. But in 1552 permission was given[6] to use ordinary bread instead, provided

[1] Wordsworth, *Holy Com.* pp. 147 and ff.; *Not. Euch.* XIV.

[2] Cp. the Answer of the Bishops at the Savoy Conference, who defended it not only on the ground of primitive practice (above, p. 174), but also as 'an invitation to the Holy Sacrament' and a reminder of 'our duty, viz. to receive the Holy Communion, some at least, every Sunday.' Cardwell, *Conf.* p. 342. Cp. Clutterbuck, *Vindication of the Liturgy* (1702), p. 45.

[3] *Not. Euch.* XII.

[4] See the Note before the Table of Proper Lessons: see also below p. 530.

[5] For the history, see *Not. Euch.* XV.

[6] Archbishop Parker's letter written after conference with the Queen upon the subject, expressly

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it be of the best quality: this provision survives as the present rubric. In Elizabeth's reign the rule of 1549 was revived by the Royal Injunctions with the 'force of law'[1]; but it met with great opposition and was after a time not enforced, and common bread became more usual than wafer. At the revision in 1661 the rubric was left practically unaltered though rival proposals in favour of a more explicit statement were made, one expressing a direct preference for wafer and the other a preference for common bread.[2] Thus on the face of it the use of wafer is tacitly assumed and the use of common bread is expressly conceded; but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has twice ruled that the rubric directs exclusively the use of common bread.[3]

VI. The reverent consumption of the Sacrament.

The rubric allotting the unused bread and wine to the Curate dates from 1552, but in 1661 it was necessary to add the word 'unconsecrated' because some had applied the rubric to the consecrated bread and wine and profanely taken this home and used it as common food:[4] a further clause was added to direct the reverent consumption of this in church, so as to provide more surely still against profanation. A similar rubric had been inserted in the Scottish Book,[5] and similar directions existed in pre-Reformation times for the reverent consumption of the

and authoritatively explains the words, 'It shall suffice' as being merely permissive. *Parker Corr.*, p. 375. See above, p. 365. Compare the use of the same direction with regard to baptism by affusion. The Irish Book omits the words.

[1] This was done by Royal authority, under the 26th section of the Act of Uniformity, with the advice presumably of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed July 19, 1559, immediately before the Visitation, since there was no Primate available till Parker's consecration in December. *Parker Corr. l. c.*; and above, p. 101.

[2] *Fragm. Illustr.* 84; Cosin, *Works*, v. 518.

[3] Elphinstone (Hebbert) *v.* Purchas and Clifton *v.* Ridsdale. See Talbot *Ritual*, pp. 134–140. The question presents many illuminating analogies and contrasts with the question of Vestments. Above, pp. 362—367.

[4] Cosin, *Works*, v. 519.

[5] Both Wren and Cosin urged the insertion of a similar provision here.

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Sacrament 'if any remains.'[1] The rubric was not intended to touch upon the question of the Reservation of the Sacrament for the Communion of the sick; it is only concerned with the consumption of that which remains, and authorizes the ablutions by which this consumption is reverently and adequately carried out.[2]

VIII. Minimum rule of Communion.

In primitive times communion was frequent: S. Cyprian in the middle of the IIIrd century speaks of daily communion,[3] but the custom varied in different times and places and according to different dispositions.[4] As time went on it was necessary to prescribe a minimum rule for all professing Christians, and at first three times a year was specified; this rule existed as early as the VIth century, and became general and was enacted in England in the IXth century:[5] later the requirement was reduced to one communion a year, viz. at Easter, by the Lateran Council of 1215,[6] and this remained the rule up till the Reformation[7] and was repeated in the First Prayer Book. The older requirement of three communions including

[1] Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, III. tit. 25; Dignissimum, q. and Gratian, *Decr.* III. Dist. ii. c. 23. 'Tanta in altario certe holocausta offerantur quanta populo sufficere debeant. Quod si remanserint, in crastinum non reserventur sed cum timore et tremore clericorum diligentia consumantur.' From the Pseudo-Clementine epistle to James of Jerusalem, a forgery of the VIIth century; Works of S. Leo (ed. Ballerini), App. 674 (Migne, *P.L.* LVI. 893): afterwards used by Pseudo-Isidore: see Hinschius, *Decr. Pseudo-Isid.* pp. lxxxi. 46.

[2] See *Lambeth Judgment*, pp. 14–17, and Talbot *Ritual*, pp. 147–149.

[3] *De orat. dom.* 18.

[4] *Not. Euch.* XIX.

[5] Can. 18 of the council of Agde (506), prescribing Christmas, Easter, and Whitsundays, was incorporated in the *Decretum*, III. Dist. ii. c. 19, and into the Pseudo-Egbert *Excerptiones* of the IXth century. Spelman, *Concilia*, p. 262, No. 39.

The custom of being content with the three communions a year was condemned by Bede in 734, as prevailing then even with the more religious people. *Ep. ad Egbertum*, 9.

[6] Canon 21. Harduin, VII. 35. This was adopted in the Provincial Constitutions of S. Edmund of Canterbury, in 1236, c. XVIII.; *Ibid.* p. 270.

[7] The older rule was, however, not lost sight of; the above-named constitution, and even as late as 1378 a republication of it by Simon of Sudbury at the Synod of Lambeth, urged the three communions of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. Lyndwood, *Prov.* v. Tit. xvi.

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Easter was restored in 1552. This was retained in 1661, but the succeeding clause *And shall also receive the Sacraments and other rites according to the order in this book appointed* was omitted, because it seemed to clash with the language in the Catechism and the Articles relative to the two Gospel Sacraments.[1]

Ecclesiastical dues.

The Easter offerings comprised personal tithe, the payment of which was ordered by Act of Parliament [2] as well as customary dues which were less defined and less easy to trace or specify.

IX. The disposal of the Collections.

The Book of 1661 for the first time recognised that the offerings made might be for other purposes than for the poor: consequently the rubric as to the disposal of the money was inserted here.

The Black Rubric.

The history has already been given of the Declaration on kneeling which was at the last moment foisted by the Council into the Second Prayer Book.[3] Its omission in 1559 became one of the stock Puritan grievances, and although the Bishops at the Savoy Conference held out no hopes of restoring it, it was restored, but in a modified form, which implicitly affirms the Real Presence instead of denying it.[4]

Rationale

It only remains to add a few words concerning the general structure of the form now in use at the celebration of the Holy Communion. It consists of three general divisions: the Preparation, the Office itself, and

The Preparation.

[1] See Cosin's objection. *Works*, v. 519. The Scottish Book omitted the word 'Sacraments' here.

[2] 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. XIII. section 7.

[3] Above, pp. 83–85, 102, 153, 180, 197, 204.

[4] Burnet ascribes the reinsertion of the Declaration to the influence of Bps. Gauden and Morley and the Earl of Southampton. *Hist. of Own Time*, i. 324 (Oxford 1897).

The change was made at the instance of Dr. Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Chichester and Ely: so Burnet, who disliked the change, bears venomous witness. Preface to *Hist. Ref.* (ed. Pocock, iii. 8). The insertion was made at a late stage of the revision after the transcription of the annexed book, but clearly before its subscription. See above, p. 204.

Rationale.

The first part.

the Service of Thanksgiving.[1] The first part of the Preparation incites the whole congregation to the exercise of repentance, by the Lord's Prayer, the Collect for purity, and the Ten Commandments ; of holy desires, by the Collects for the King, and of the day ; of obedience, by hearing the Epistle and Gospel ; of faith, by repeating the Creed ; and of charity, by the Offertory, and the Prayer for the whole Church. If we consider the Commandments as a permanent lection from the Law, this portion of the office may be compared with the early Christian Service, containing lessons from the Old Testament, the Gospels, and the writings of the Apostles, followed by an instruction or exhortation in the sermon. The preparation then proceeds to a further stage with the Offertory and Solemn Prayer ; and then, distinguishing those who are to communicate from the rest, it deals with them in the Exhortation and Invitation, showing the care taken to provide fit recipients of those holy mysteries. Hence, that all may come with clean hands and pure heart, this more immediate preparation contains an humble Confession, and an Absolution, in which the promises of God to the penitent are applied with the authority which He has given to His visible Church ; and then some of the most precious declarations of Holy Scripture are read, to confirm the hope and gratitude of the pardoned worshippers.

The second part.

The Anaphora.

They then enter upon the second part beginning with the ancient Versicles, Preface, and the Seraphic Hymn of Praise. But even in this part we observe that the jubilant character of the service is

[1] 'Melius dividitur Missa in tres partes ; scilicet in præparationem populi, quam materiæ consecrandæ ; in eucharistiæ consecrationem et oblationem ; in consecratæ communionem et mysterii conclusionem. Prima pars potest dici missa catechumenorum, pro eo quod major pars admittit catechumenos, secunda canon, tertia communio.' Gabriel Biel, *in Canone, lect.* 15.

Rationale.

deferred: the attitude of prayer and supplication befits those, who shall partake of these mysteries, at each step of their approach to the table of the Lord. Here is, therefore, placed the Prayer of Humble Access, in which we again solemnly acknowledge our unworthiness of the mercies, given to us in the cleansing of our sinful bodies and souls by the Body and Blood of Christ. The elements of Bread and Wine are then consecrated by the Word of God and prayer; the prayer of the faithful is offered by the Priest according to the practice of the primitive Church, and following as closely as possible the actions of our blessed Lord. The Holy Sacrament is then delivered into the hands of the kneeling people, since this posture most befits us, when we are to receive so great a gift as the Body and Blood of Christ.

The post-Communion.

The post-communion, like the ante-communion, opens with the Lord's Prayer, introductory to an expression of praise for which two forms are provided: the first is principally designed to give expression to a feeling like that of S. Paul,[1] that it is just and reasonable that we should offer up, together with our Eucharistic 'Sacrifice of praise,' ourselves, our body and our soul, as a living sacrifice. The second form is one of Thanksgiving, consisting more entirely of praise for the mercies which are assured to us in this Sacrament; yet it also includes a very earnest prayer for perseverance and fruitfulness in good works. The office then concludes with the Great Doxology, or song of praise for the mercies of redemption, and finally with the solemn Blessing.

[1] Rom. xii. 1. Cp. S. Austin's teaching quoted in Gore, *Romans* ii. 240.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

I. *THREE EARLY ACCOUNTS OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST*

From the Διδαχὴ τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων (*circ.* A.D. 90).

Κεφ. θ'. Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἕν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ Κύριος· Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

Κεφ. ι'. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν· ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου. Πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ

ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ. Εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω· μαραναθά. Ἀμήν.

Τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.

From the *Apology* of Justin Martyr (A.D. 140).

Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ· εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται· ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν· καὶ, ὡς προέφημεν, παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν. καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται. οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὃ βούλεται δίδωσι· καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς, κ.τ.λ.[1]

From Pliny's Letter to Trajan (A.D. 112).

Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium: quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram.[2]

[1] Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 67. Cp. chapters 65 and 66. See also the description of the service at the reception of converts, *ibid.* p. 97.

[2] Epist. x. 96.

II. *GALLICAN versus ROMAN.*

The relation of the Gallican customs and rites to the Roman customs and rites is a very doubtful point. All authorities agree that there is a clear distinction between them, and recent investigation and discussion has only tended to accentuate the contrast (i) by adding to the evidence for the widespread prevalence of non-Roman ways, and (ii) by reducing all these non-Roman ways to one type, and so reducing the conflict of rites to a duel of Gallican *versus* Roman. It is clear that at the end of the IVth century Rome and its immediate surroundings formed in liturgical matters an island in the midst of a sea of Gallican customs and rites.

Three principal explanations of this have been propounded. 1. Formerly it was suggested that an oriental type of Liturgy came with the stream of Asiatic influence from Ephesus to Gaul, and spread from Lyons and similar centres through the West: this theory now finds few if any supporters.[1] 2. It has been suggested by Duchesne that the oriental features came to Italy with Auxentius, the Cappadocian Bishop of Milan in the middle of the IVth century and spread from there. No doubt there is much to recommend this suggestion.[2] 3. It has recently been maintained afresh that the Gallican Liturgy is the old Roman Liturgy,[3] but that changes occurred within Rome itself, which resulted in the discrepancy which is revealed by documents of the IVth century, such as Innocent's letter to Decentius.[4] 4. The explanation set forth in the text is not quite any of these: but more akin to the last than to the first two views. So far as the Liturgy goes it may be true that Rome innovated, while the rest of the West preserved a type of Liturgy more akin to the primitive type, and including features which now seem oriental, though really they are simply primitive. But the problem is wider than the question of Liturgy: it touches Baptism, Ordination, and other points.[5] The difference can hardly be due to the changes of one era, for while the Gallican influence in respect of Liturgy seems to have been conservative, and to have kept an older type of Liturgy than Rome, in other respects, *e.g.* ordination services, it seems to have been radical, and to have led conservative Rome somewhat unwillingly to accept Gallican novelties.

[1] For the arguments against it see Duchesne, p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.* 88. *Revue d'Histoire* (Jan. 1900), v. 31 and ff.

[3] *Paléogr. Musicale*, v.

[4] See above, p. 449.

[5] For these see below, pp. 564, 571, 652 and ff.

The solution of the difficulty probably lies in the fact that in early days little interest was taken in Liturgical customs, and churches in various localities developed, without comparing notes with one another, and without much of self-criticism or self-consciousness. Rome in particular was using its unique influence to secure agreement in other and more important matters, and liturgical uniformity was little thought of. Only occasionally when the discrepancies were emphasised, as in the dealings of Innocent and Decentius, some naïve surprise was expressed on both sides. But Rome was still content to reserve its influence and pressure for other matters in the main : at a later date, when it felt itself free to direct its attention and influence to the liturgical divergencies, the effect was very clear, and by steady pressure the Roman customs either absorbed or else drove out the Gallican.

It was generally the music which paved the way for the acceptance of the Roman Service-books. The Gallican churches had their own sacramentaries and lectionaries, their own method of psalmody and canonical hours, but they had nothing at all comparable to the Roman chant : it is not surprising therefore to find that the Antiphonals did the work of pioneers. This is the case in the contest between the Celtic and the Italian methods in England, as also at a later date in the movement in France by which the Gallican rites disappeared.

The history of the triumph of the Gregorian Sacramentary is typical. First came the Roman music to Metz, Rouen, &c., and then the Gelasian Sacramentary arose as an adaptation of Roman customs to Gallican use : this did much to abolish or absorb the old Gallican customs, though it was only one, and probably the most Roman one, of many similar compromises. Then later at the Frankish Court the music again effected its entrance, and opened the door to the Roman rites : Charlemagne, with his zeal for Rome and for uniformity, accepted the pure Roman Sacramentary as Pope Hadrian sent it, but did not promulgate it through his empire until it had received from Alcuin's hands the appendix which should reconcile it to what remained of the Gallican customs, and reconcile the people to its acceptance. Thus the Roman rite made terms with the Gallican and superseded it.

Scottish and American Offices.

III. *Arrangement of the Scottish* (1764) *with Bishop Seabury's* (1786) *and the American Office* (1892).

Scottish, 1764; Bp. Seabury, 1786.	American.
After the Preface, ending with *Sanctus.*	
	Then shall the Priest, kneeling down at the Lord's Table, say, in the name of all those who shall receive the Communion, this Prayer following.
19	We do not presume, &c.
Then the Presbyter, standing at such a part of the holy table as he may with the most ease and decency use both his hands,	*When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands, he*
17 *shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth.*	
a All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give Thine [thy, *S.* (1764)] only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption;	
who (by his own oblation of himself once offered) made	who made there (by his one oblation of Himself once offered) [*A.* and 1786.]
a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory [memorial (1764)] of that his precious death and sacrifice until his coming	
b *The Institution.* again: For in the night that [in which *A.*] he was betrayed, he took bread . . .	
c *The Oblation.* Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine majesty with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.	

Scottish, 1764; Bp. Seabury, 1786. | American.

Scottish and American Offices.

And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread

d *The Invocation.*

and wine, that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son. [d. 2.]

and wine; that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood. [d. 3.]

e

And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we, and all thy whole Church, may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we [humbly (1764)] offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively [living *A.*] sacrifice unto thee, [humbly (1786 and *A.*)] beseeching thee, that whosoever [we and all others who (1786 and *A.*)] shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, [and (1764)] be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them [us *A.*] and they [we *A.*] in him. And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus [Jesus Christ, (*Seabury*, 1786, and *A.*)] our Lord: by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

Almighty and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men; We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers,

Here may be sung a Hymn.

[In the American Office, the Prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church militant" follows the Offertory, and the placing the bread and wine upon the Table.]

9

Scottish and American Offices.

SCOTTISH, 1764; BP. SEABURY, 1786.

which we offer unto thy divine Majesty; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord; and grant that all they that [who, *Bp. Seabury*, 1786] do confess thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and especially thy servant our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole council, and to all who are put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments: and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart, and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we commend especially to thy merciful goodness the congregation which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy name for all thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching thee to give us grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come,

[and Governors; and grant that they, and all who are in authority, may truly and impartially minister (*Bp. Seabury*, 1786)]

[from their labours: yielding unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful goodness and virtue (*Bp. Seabury*, 1786)]

Scottish, 1764.	Bp. Seabury, 1786.	Scottish and American Offices.
ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*		
Then shall the Presbyter say		
As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,		
Our Father . . . For thine is the kingdom . . . Amen.		18
Then the Presbyter [*Priest* (1786)] *shall say to them that come to receive the holy communion, this invitation.*		
Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways:		13
Draw near,	Draw near with faith,	
and take this holy sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God.		
Then shall this general confession be made, by the people along with the Presbyter; he first kneeling down.	*people, along with the Priest; all humbly kneeling upon their knees.*	
Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ . .		14
through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.	through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*	
Then shall the Presbyter, or the Bishop (being present), stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce the absolution, as followeth.	*Then shall the Priest,*	
Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who . . .		
Then shall the Presbyter also say,	*Then shall the Priest say,*	
Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him.		15
Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.	heavy laden, and I will refresh you.	
	Private ejaculation. Refresh, O Lord, thy servant wearied with the burden of sin.	
God so loved the world, that he gave . . .		

Scottish and American Offices.

SCOTTISH, 1764.

BP. SEABURY, 1786.

Private ejaculation.

Lord, I believe in thy Son Jesus Christ, and let this faith purify me from all iniquity.

Hear also what St. Paul saith.

This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation . .

Private ejaculation.

I embrace with all thankfulness that salvation that Jesus Christ has brought into the world.

Hear also what St. John saith.

If any man sin, we have an advocate . . .

Private ejaculation.

Intercede for me, O blessed Jesu! that my sins may be pardoned through the merits of thy death.

Then shall the Presbyter,

Then shall the Priest,

turning him to the altar, kneel down, and say, in the name of all them that shall communicate, this collect of humble access to the holy communion, as followeth.

19 We do not presume . . . that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his most sacred body, and our souls washed through His most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

SCOTTISH, 1764; BP. SEABURY, 1786.

Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Presbyter [*the Priest* (1786)] *that celebrateth, first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, (if there be any present,) and after to the people in due order, all humbly kneeling. And when he receiveth himself, or delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ to others, he shall say,*

AMERICAN.

Then shall the Priest first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner, (if any be present,) and after that to the People also in order, into their hands all devoutly kneeling. And sufficient opportunity shall be given to those present to communicate. And when he delivereth the Bread he shall say,

Scottish, 1764; Bp. Seabury, 1786.	American.	Scottish and American Offices.
The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve		
thy soul and body unto everlasting life.	thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.	20
Here the person receiving shall say, Amen.		
And the Presbyter or Minister that [*And when the Priest* (1786)] *receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, shall say this benediction,* [*he shall say,* (1786)]	*And the Minister who delivereth the Cup shall say,*	
The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve		
thy soul and body unto everlasting life.	thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.	
Here the person receiving shall say, Amen.		
If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent	*be spent*	
before all have communicated, the Presbyter [*Priest* (1786)]	*the Priest*	
is to consecrate more, according to the form [*before A.*] *prescribed. beginning at the words,* All glory be to thee, &c., *and ending with the words,* that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son.	*beginning at*—All glory be to thee, Almighty God—*and ending with these words*—partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood.	
When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lord's table, and cover with a fair linen cloth that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say,	*the Minister shall return to the Lord's Table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated Elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth.*	
Having now received the precious body and blood of Christ,	*Then shall the minister say*	21

Scottish and American Offices.

SCOTTISH, 1764; BP. SEABURY, 1786.

let us give thanks to our Lord God, who hath graciously vouchsafed to admit us to the participation of his holy mysteries; and let us beg of him grace to perform our vows, and to persevere in our good resolutions; and that being made [resolutions; that being made (1786)] holy, we may obtain everlasting life, through the merits of the all-sufficient sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Then the Presbyter [*Priest* (1786)] *shall say this collect of thanksgiving as followeth.*

AMERICAN.

the Lord's Prayer, the People repeating after him every Petition.

Our Father, . . .
for ever and ever. Amen.

After shall be said as followeth.

22 Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us, and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of his most precious death and passion. We now most humbly

the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son. And we most humbly

beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace and Holy Spirit, that we may continue in that holy communion and fellowship,

that we may continue in that holy fellowship,

and do all such good works as Thou hast commanded us to walk in,

prepared for us to walk in;

through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with the Father [with Thee (1786)]

with thee

and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

Then shall be said or sung, Gloria in excelsis, *as followeth.*

Then shall be said or sung, all standing, Gloria in excelsis; *or some proper Hymn from the selection.*

SCOTTISH, 1764; BP. SEABURY, 1786.	AMERICAN.	Scottish and American Offices.
Glory be to God in the highest, and in earth	Glory be to God on high, and on earth	23
peace, good will towards men. We worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty; and to thee, O God, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; and to thee, O God, the Holy Ghost.	We praise thee, we bless thee, Almighty.	
O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu[s] Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, who [that *A.*] takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.		
	Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.	
Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.		
For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father.		
Amen. [*Amen* (1786)].	Amen.	
Then the Presbyter [*Priest* (1786)] *or Bishop if he be present, shall let them depart with this blessing.*	*Then the priest* (*the Bishop if he be present*)	
The peace of God . .		24

Key to the numbers used in the following Table, to mark the order of the parts in certain English Communion Offices.

1 The Lord's Prayer, and Collect following.
2 The Ten Commandments, with Response.
3 The Gospel Summary of the Law.
3* The second Collect at the end of the Communion Office,—'O Almighty Lord,' &c.
4 Collect for the King.
5 The Collect of the Day, with the Epistle and Gospel.
5* 'Glory be to thee, O Lord,' said before the Gospel;
5** The same, with 'Thanks be to thee, O Lord' after the Gospel.
6 The Nicene Creed.
7 The Offertory Sentences:
8 The Alms presented and placed upon the holy Table;
8* —presented . . . with the words 'Blessed be thou,' &c., from 1 Chron. xxix. 10 . . .;
8** —put into the poor men's box.
9 Prayer for the whole state of the Church militant on earth;
10 with Praise for all Saints departed.
11 Exhortation at certain times to non-Communicants, or negligent.
12 The Exhortation to the Communicants.
13 The Invitation:—'Ye that do truly,' &c.
14 The General Confession, and Absolution.
15 The Comfortable Words.
16 *Sursum corda*, The Preface ending with *Sanctus*:
16* —the same, when *Sanctus* is printed as a separate clause, that the people should then join with the Priest in singing it.
17 The Prayer of Consecration.
a The opening Address.
b The Recitation of the Institution.
c *The Oblation:*—Wherefore, &c.
d *The Invocation:*—'Hear us,' *or* 'And we most humbly beseech thee to hear us . . . and vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine' . . .
d.1 '—that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son' . .

d.2 '—that they may be unto us the body and blood of' . . .
d.3 'Hear us . . . and grant, that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine . . . may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood' . . .
e The Prayer for acceptance, with the offering of ourselves. (The first Form of Post-Communion Prayer.)
18 The Lord's Prayer.
19 Prayer of humble Access:—'We do not presume,' &c.
20 Communion, with the two clauses;
20.1 —with the first clause only;
20.2 —with the second clause only.
20.3 *The person receiving shall say*, Amen.
21 Introduction to Thanksgiving:—'Having now received,' &c.
22 Thanksgiving:—'Almighty and everliving God,' &c. (Our second Form of Post-Communion Prayer.)
23 *Gloria in excelsis;*
23* —omitting the interpolated clause.
24 The Blessing.

First Book. 1549.	Second Book. 1552.	Queen Elizabeth, 1559, and Latin, 1560.	The Sealed Book. 1662.	The Prayer-Book for Scotland. 1637.
1	1	1	1	1
Introit.	2	2	2	2
23*				
4	4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5	5
5*				5**
6	6	6	6	6
Sermon or Homily.	*Sermon or Homily.*	*Sermon or Homily.*	*Sermon or Homily.*	*Sermon or Homily.*
12	7	7	7	7
7	8**	8**	8	8
8**	9	9	*The Bread and Wine placed upon the Table.*	*—offer up and place the Bread and Wine.*
16*	11	11		
9	12	12		9
10	13	13	9	10
	14	14	12	11
	15	15	13	12
	16*	16	14	13
	19	19	15	14
			16	15
			19	16
17.a	17.a	17.a	17.a	17.a
d	d.3	d.3	d.3	d
d.2	b	b	b	d.2
b				b
c				c
e				e
18				18
Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered, &c.				19
13				
14				
15				
19				20.1
20.1	20.2	20	20	20.3
O Lamb of God, &c.	18	18	18	
Post-Communion Anthem.	e *or* 22	e *or* 22	e *or* 22	22
22		23 (1559)		
	23	23* (1560)	23	23
24	24	24	24	24

Bishop Falconar's Standard. 1764.	Bishop Seabury's. 1786.	American. Before the late Revision.	American. Revised Text, 1892.	Scottish. Present Use.
			1	1
			2	2 *or* 3
			(or 2 + 3, or 3, may be said.)	4
			3*	5
			5*	5**
				6
			The Apostles' or Nicene Creed, unless one of them has been used before in the Morning Prayer.	*The Sermon.*
12	12			12
7	7		*The Sermon.*	7
8*	8*		7	8*
—offer up and place the Bread and Wine.	*—offer up and place the Bread and Wine.*		8	*—offer up and place the Bread and Wine.*
16	16		*An Offertory Anthem may be sung or said.*	16
			The Priest shall then place the Bread and Wine upon the Table.	
			9	
			12	
			13	
			14 (but without naming absolution. *The Priest or Bishop shall say.*)	
17.a	17.a		15	17.a
b	b			b
c	c		16 16*	c
d	d		19	d
d.1	d.1		17.a	d.1
e	e		b	e
9	9		c	9
10	10		d	10
18	18		d.3	18
13	13		e	13
14	14			14
15	15	*Here shall be sung a Hymn, from the Selection.*	*Here may be sung a Hymn.*	15
19	19			19
20.1	20.1			20.1
20.3	20.3			20.3
21	21		20	21
22	22		18	22
			22	
23*	23*		23	23*
24	24		24	24

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COLLECTS, EPISTLES, AND GOSPELS: AND PROPER LESSONS FOR SUNDAYS AND HOLY DAYS.

Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.

THIS part of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. was entitled *The Introits, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, to be used at the celebration of the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion through the year: with proper Psalms and Lessons for divers Feasts and days.* An *Introit*, or Psalm to be sung at or before the commencement of the Communion Office, was prefixed to each Collect. These were removed at the revision in 1552; and the Proper Lessons were placed in the Kalendar of Lessons.

The Collects, Epistles and Gospels are, with some exceptions, the same that had been appointed in the ancient use of the English Church. They form two series, which may be distinguished as doctrinal and practical. The ecclesiastical year is divided into two parts. The first, from Advent to Trinity, is designed to commemorate the life of Christ on earth; and the several particulars of his life are celebrated in their order,—His incarnation, nativity, circumcision, manifestation to the Gentiles; His doctrine and miracles, His baptism, fasting, and temptation; His agony, His cross, His death, His burial, His resurrection, His ascension; and the mission of the Holy Ghost. The object of the

Two parts of the Ecclesiastical Year. Advent to Trinity.

Epistles and Gospels during this time is to remind us of the benefit which we receive from God the Father, through the mediation and atonement of God the Son, and through the ministration of God the Holy Ghost. Hence this part of the Church's course of teaching is fitly ended with the Commemoration of the Blessed Trinity. In the second part of the year, from Trinity to Advent, the Epistles form a continuous series and the Gospels are chosen with reference to them.[1]

The Collect.

Trinity to Advent.

A Collect is a form of prayer with special characteristics of its own; these stand out the more clearly by contrast with two other types of prayer, viz., Litany, which is prayer in dialogue, and Eucharistic prayer, which comprises the developed formulas of worship introduced by the *Sursum Corda* and a Preface: there were many of these in the old Roman services, but one alone has survived in the Prayer Book, namely, that for the Eucharist itself. The Collects were originally the summing up of the private silent prayer of the congregation: the officiant propounded certain subjects for prayer in the form of a bidding, such as has survived in many places in the Gallican Books and in some few places in the Roman Books; then according to the direction of the Deacon, the people either stood or knelt in silent prayer. If they knelt, the Deacon's direction, 'Flectamus genua' (Let us kneel), was followed after an interval by a counter direction 'Levate' (Stand), and then the officiant said the Collect to sum up in one short form the private prayers of the people, and they responded 'Amen.' In course of time this method[2] for brevity's sake was curtailed, the interval for silent prayer disappeared, the preface bidding to prayer was reduced to

Nature of a Collect.

The ancient method of public prayer.

[1] See below, p. 550.

[2] For a good instance of this procedure, the solemn prayers of Good Friday printed below, p. 537.

The Collect.

a simple 'Oremus' (Let us pray), and only this and (according to one explanation) the name 'Collect' survived to bear witness to the former use.[1]

Its structure.

The typical Collect of the old Roman sacramentaries, from which collections a great number of the Collects of the Prayer Book is taken, has also a structure, which is markedly its own, being distinguished by unity of thought and terseness of expression. It generally consists of (i) an introductory address and commemoration, on which is based (ii) a single central prayer: from this in turn (iii) other clauses of petition or desire are developed, and (iv) the whole concludes with some fixed form of ending.[2] Gallican prayers and Collects have not the same unity of thought or the same severe restraint of form and language, but are much freer, more diffuse, and more rhetorical, and have more in common with oriental types of prayer.

[1] Collecta = collectio. 'Sequitur oracio quam collectam dicunt, eo quod sacerdos, qui legatione fungitur pro populo ad Dominum, omnium petitiones ea oratione colligat atque concludat.' *Micrologus*, iii., in Hittorp, 734.

[2] Certain rules governed the ending in order to ensure that it was in harmony with the collect. These may be seen in full in *Use of Sarum*, i. 240, with the hexameter verses which served as a 'memoria technica' for the rules. They are given more briefly in the York Missal, thus:— '*Si dirigitur sermo ad Patrem absque mentione Filii et Spiritus Sancti, sic finietur:* Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum: Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. *Si vero de Spiritu Sancto fiat mentio, dicetur:* In unitate ejusdem Spiritus Sancti Deus, &c. *Si vero de Filio fiat mentio ante finalem partem, dicetur:* Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium, &c. *Si vero in fine fit mentio de Filio, dicetur:* Qui tecum vivit et regnat, &c. *Si autem ad Filium dirigitur oratio sine mentione Spiritus Sancti, dicetur:* Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, &c. *Si fiat mentio de Spiritu Sancto, dicetur:* Qui cum Patre et eodem Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas, &c. *Item orationes ad Patrem in quibus mentionem de Trinitate facimus, sic concludimus:* In qua vivis et regnas Deus, &c. *Illas autem quas ad ipsam Trinitatem dirigimus, sic finimus:* Qui vivis et regnas Deus,' &c. Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, p. 30 [p. 43, ed. 1882] *note*, and *Miss. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc., vol. 59), i. 169.

In the Prayer Book the collects were left without their endings until 1661, when they were at last to some extent, but not satisfactorily or adequately, supplied.

The Collect.

The Collects at Mass.

One survived.

Changes in its rationale.

It has already been pointed out that variable Collects figure normally at three points in the mediæval Roman Liturgy. In the English service there is only one such variable prayer, 'the Collect' *par excellence*, which survives in the first of the three points: at the other two places the two Collects, namely, the Secret after the offertory and the Postcommunion at the end of the service, have practically disappeared.[1] At a far earlier date a change came about which affected the position and rationale of the first variable Collect: originally it was connected with the Litany, either processional or stationary, which formed part of the introductory section of the Mass, and was the summing up in Collect-form of the petitions there offered in Litany-form:[2] but as the Litany shrank into smaller dimensions and prominence, this connexion became obsolete, and then the Collect acquired a new connexion and became closely bound to the Epistle and Gospel: this new connexion has been further developed in the course of the changes in the Prayer Book.

Advent.

The opening Collects of the collection exemplify this. Those for the first two Sundays in Advent were composed in 1549, and it is noticeable that they were formed from the Epistles of the Sundays: the same is observable about other Collects of that date. In consequence of this change only one was left of the series of Collects beginning 'Excita' which were characteristic of Advent in the Latin Books, namely at the Fourth Sunday.[3] For the Third Sunday, which had not one of this series, as it was the Sunday after Embertide, and therefore exceptional, a new Collect was written in 1661 to supplant the

[1] See above, p. 467.

[2] See above, pp. 409, 418.

[3] Another of the series, however, stands at what is now called the Sunday before Advent, but which used to be reckoned with the Advent Sundays as the Fifth Sunday before Christmas. See below, p. 555.

Advent

translation of the meagre Latin Collect which had till then occupied the position.[1] The direction for the repetition of the first Collect throughout Advent[2] carries on in a simplified form the old system of saying Collects as 'memorials,' *i.e.* in a subsidiary position to the chief Collect of the day. Similar provision is also made in Christmastide and Lent.

The Epistles and Gospels follow the old Latin series of the *Comes* in its earliest form,[3] and their appropriateness for Advent is obvious.

Christmas Day.

For Christmas the old Roman Books contained three Masses besides the Mass of the Vigil, and at each of them the prophetical lesson was retained side by side with the Epistle and Gospel. This arrangement was at first local and due to the fact that there were three Stational Masses said at Rome on Christmas Day,[4] but afterwards it became general elsewhere. In 1549 the service of the Vigil was dropped out and provision was made for only two Communions on this day: in 1552 the provision for the first Communion[5] was omitted,

[1] The following are the Collects in the Sarum Missal:—

'Excita, quæsumus, Domine, potentiam tuam, et veni: ut ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis te mereamur protegente eripi, te liberante salvari. Qui vivis.

Excita, Domine, corda nostra ad præparandas unigeniti tui vias: ut per ejus adventum purificatis tibi mentibus servire mereamur. Qui tecum.

Aurem tuam, quæsumus, Domine, precibus nostris accommoda: et mentis nostræ tenebras gratia tuæ visitationis illustra. Qui vivis.

Excita, quæsumus, Domine, potentiam tuam, et veni: et magna nobis virtute succurre: ut per auxilium gratiæ tuæ quod nostra peccata præpediunt, indulgentia tuæ propitiationis acceleret. Qui vivis.'

[2] It was suggested by Wren: *Fragm. Ill.* 65.

[3] See above, p. 465. The Hereford Missal had an unusual Gospel for the first Sunday, while the Roman Missal is here full of innovations. The Epistle for the first Sunday has been considerably lengthened.

[4] In nocte Ad Sanctam Mariam Majorem: Mane prima Ad Sanctam Anastasiam: In die Ad Sanctum Petrum. In the Sarum Missal the titles were Missa in Gallicantu, In Aurora and In die Nat. tercia missa. The three are mentioned by S. Gregory, *Homil.* viii. 1 (*P.L.* LXXVI. 1103), and also in the Gelasian Postcommunion of the first Christmas Mass, 'Læti domine.'

[5] The Collect at the first Communion was taken from the Mass *In vigilia:* 'Deus qui nos redemp-

Christmas.

and thus only the Epistle and Gospel of the High Mass, with a newly composed Collect, which were used at the second or principal Communion, are retained in the present service.

The Lessons. *Isa. ix. 1–7; vii. 10–16. Luke ii. 1–14. Tit. iii. 4–8.*

The first Lessons[1] contain prophecies of the coming of Christ in our nature; and the second Lessons, Epistle, and Gospel point out the completion of those prophecies in the history of the incarnation. In the Collect we pray that we may be partakers of the benefit of His birth; and the Psalms are expressive of praise and thanksgiving for the revelation of this mystery. The words of Ps. xix., *The heavens declare the glory of God, &c.*, are applicable to the circumstances of the birth of Christ, when a new star appeared, which so plainly declared His glory, that the Wise Men came from the East to worship Him: Ps. xlv., as a marriage song, is mystically applicable to the union between Christ and His Church: Ps. lxxxv. has from early days been applied to the redemption of man by the coming of Christ: Ps. lxxxix is a commemoration of the mercies performed, and promised to be continued to David and his posterity to the end of the world, the birth of the Messiah being the greatest of those mercies: Ps. cx. is a prophecy of the exaltation of Christ to His kingly and priestly office: and Ps. cxxxii. recounts the promises of God to David that Sion should be the dwelling-place of the Lord Himself. All these Psalms were appointed in the Breviary upon this festival.

The Psalms.

tionis nostræ annua expectatione lætificas; præsta ut unigenitum tuum, quem redemptorem læti suscipimus, venientem quoque judicem securi videamus;' the Epistle and Gospel from the Mass *In galli cantu*, viz. Titus ii. 11–15 and S. Luke, ii. 1–14. These have been reinserted in the American Book for use at the first Communion where there are two.

[1] The Morning Lessons had been read among the Lessons at Mattins. Part of the second Evening Lesson was the 'Little Chapter,' read '*ad sextam.*'

Christmas-tide.

After Christmas Day immediately follow the three Holy Days of S. Stephen, S. John, and The Innocents. S. Stephen was the first martyr; S. John was the disciple whom Jesus loved; and the slaughter of the children at Bethlehem was the first result of the Saviour's birth. 'Martyrdom, love, and innocence are first to be magnified, as wherein Christ is most honoured.'

The Collects in each case went through some amplification in the revision of 1661, but they are still based upon the Latin Collects.[1] Further alteration has been made in the Epistles for S. Stephen's Day and S. John's Day. The former was according to Sarum use a composite lesson made up of the beginning of the sixth and the end of the seventh chapter of the Acts. In place of this only the latter part was retained in 1549, the rest of the two chapters was assigned to the second Lessons. On S. John's Day a new Epistle was provided from the opening words of his First Epistle to take the place of the old Lesson from Ecclesiasticus. In other

[1] The old Collects were:—

For S. Stephen: 'Da nobis quæsumus Domine imitari quod colimus; ut discamus et inimicos diligere: quia ejus natalitia celebramus, qui novit etiam pro persecutoribus exorare Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum. Qui tecum.'

The Collect until 1661 was, 'Grant us, O Lord, to learn to love our enemies, by the example of thy martyr Saint Stephen, who prayed for his persecutors, to thee which livest, &c.'

For S. John:

'Ecclesiam tuam quæsumus Domine benignus illustra: ut beati Johannis apostoli tui et evangelistæ illuminata doctrinis, ad dona perveniat sempiterna. Per.'

The words, 'may so walk in the light of thy truth,' were added in 1661.

For the Holy Innocents:

'Deus cujus hodierna die præconium innocentes martyres non loquendo sed moriendo confessi sunt: omnia in nobis vitiorum mala mortifica; ut fidem tuam quam lingua nostra loquitur, etiam moribus vita fateatur. Qui cum Deo.'

The Collect until 1661 was, 'Almighty God, whose praise this day the young Innocents thy witnesses have confessed and showed forth, not in speaking, but in dying: mortify and kill all vices in us, that in our conversation our life may express thy faith, which with our tongues we do confess: through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

Christmas.

respects the Lessons for these three days remained substantially the same.[1]

The Rubric directs the Collect of the Nativity to be said on all these days and until New Year's Eve: consequently no special Collect is required for the Sunday after Christmas Day. The Epistle is the old Epistle for that day, but in place of the old Gospel is appointed the passage which in the old scheme was assigned to the Mass of Christmas Eve.[2]

The Circumcision.

The Circumcision has acquired more distinction in the Prayer Book than it had before in the Latin services. Originally regarded as the Octave of Christmas, its service remained unaltered when the title was changed and consequently there was nothing in the old service except the brief Gospel (S. Luke ii. 21) which bore upon the Circumcision. In 1549 a new Collect was written[3] and a special Epistle was appointed bearing upon the subject, while the old Gospel was enlarged by the prefixing of six additional verses. The festival thus commemorates the obedience of Jesus Christ to the law in the fulfilment of a perfect righteousness.

The Lessons. *Gen. xvii.* 9. *Deut. x.* 12. *Rom. ii.* *Col. ii.* 8–17.

The first Morning Lesson gives an account of the institution of Circumcision; and the Gospel, of the Circumcision of Christ: the first Evening Lesson, and the second Lessons, and the Epistle, all show that, though

[1] Small differences such as the inclusion of an additional verse for the Gospel of S. John's day must, in this present survey, be passed over here and elsewhere.

[2] In 1549 it began with the Genealogy (Mat. i. 1), but in 1661 this was excised at Wren's suggestion, and the Gospel was made to begin as of old at the 18th verse.

[3] Compare the following Benediction in the Gregorian Sacramentary for this day:—

'Omnipotens Deus, cujus Unigenitus hodierna die, ne legem solveret, quam adimplere venerat, corporalem suscepit circumcisionem; spiritali circumcisione mentes vestras ab omnibus vitiorum incentivis expurget; et suam in vos infundat benedictionem, &c.' Migne, *P. L.* LXVIII. 37.

Circumcision.

the outward rite is abrogated, the spiritual circumcision of the heart is required in order to our acceptance with God.

A rubric was added here in 1552, which shows that the idea of a daily Communion, as the successor of the daily Latin Mass, had by that time passed away:—*If there be a Sunday between the Epiphany and the Circumcision there shall be used the same Collect, Epistle and Gospel at the Communion which was used upon the day of Circumcision.* This rubric continued until the last revision, when the old ideal again came forward, and it was expressly provided that *The same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel shall serve for every day after unto the Epiphany.*

The Epiphany.

For the Epiphany the Collect[1] and Gospel are taken from the old services; but a new passage is assigned for the Epistle instead of the old Lesson from Isaiah, which was transferred to be the first Lesson at Mattins. These

Its design.

show clearly the design of the feast, which is to show our gratitude to God for admitting the Gentiles to those religious privileges, which had been confined to the Jews. There are three manifestations of our Saviour commemorated on this day: the first, mentioned in the Collect and the Gospel, the declaration of the birth of Christ to the Wise Men of the East;[2] the second, related in the second Morning Lesson, the manifestation of the Trinity at the baptism of Christ;[3] the third is the manifestation of the glory and divinity of Christ by His first miracle of

The Lessons.
Luke iii. 15-22.
John ii. 1-11.

[1] The following is the original of the Collect:—

'Deus, qui hodierna die Unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce revelasti: concede propitius, ut qui jam te ex fide cognovimus, usque ad contemplandam speciem tuæ celsitudinis perducamur.'

[2] See above, p. 323.

[3] This was a leading idea of the festival in the Eastern Church: hence it was a solemn time for baptism and was called *τὰ φῶτα, ἡμέρα τῶν φώτων, τὰ ἅγια φῶτα τῶν ἐπιφανίων* Greg. Naz. *Orat. in Sancta Lumina Opp.* I. 624; Guericke, p. 164.

turning water into wine, related in the second Evening Lesson. The first Lessons contain prophecies of the increase of the Church by the abundant access of the Gentiles; and the Epistle declares that the mystery of the Gospel was revealed to them.

The Epiphany.

Isa. lx. Isa. xlix. 13-23.

From Christmas to Epiphany the design of the proper services is to set forth the humanity of our Saviour; and from Epiphany to Septuagesima to show the divine nature of the Son of Man by relating in the Gospels some of His first miracles. The Epistles here show signs of being part of a continuous series which apparently began with the Epistles to the Romans and went through the Pauline Epistles in order at least as far as the end of the Colossians. It must at first have been designed for the uneventful Sundays after Epiphany and after Trinity: in its present shape it has evidently gone through some dislocation, but the outline of the scheme is clearly visible both in that part of the series which comes here and in the longer part which comes after Trinity Sunday.[1]

After the Epiphany.

The Sundays after Epiphany were differently treated in the different old Latin Service Books. The Sacramentary made provision for six Sundays, the Gradual only for three, the *Comes* for six Epistles generally and for ten Gospels. After the introduction of the observance of the Octave of the Epiphany the Sundays were reckoned from it and no longer from the day; there was then no need for more than five, and consequently only five were provided for in the Sarum Missal. But in 1549 a return was made to the older and simpler reckoning of the Sundays from the festival itself and not from the octave. Consequently some provision was needed for a sixth Sunday; which, as being seldom required, was

[1] Similar signs of dislocation are evident in the series of Gospels for the Sundays after Trinity. The Gospel Books agree as to the portions selected, but place the selections in different order.

The Epiphany.

supplied by a rubric :—*The sixth Sunday (if there be so many) shall have the same Psalm* [*Introit*], *Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, that was upon the fifth Sunday.* Our present Collect, Epistle, and Gospel were appointed in 1661. They do not follow the old lines but are entirely new, and in fact they are designed to refer more particularly to the manifestation of Christ's glory at His second coming, because they are more commonly read on the second Sunday before Advent,[1] than on the sixth Sunday after the Epiphany.

The rest of the material is drawn from the old books but there are changes in the fourth Sunday :[2] the ending of the collect was altered in 1661, the Epistle was changed and the Gospel was considerably lengthened.

The Sundays before Lent.

From this time the Sundays begin to be reckoned with reference to the coming Easter comprising Lent and the three preceding Sundays.

The design of the services on these Sundays is to call us away from the joy of Christmas, in order to prepare ourselves for the fasting and humiliation of Lent; from the manner of Christ's coming into the world, to think

[1] See the rubric, 25th Sunday after Trinity.

[2] The following are the old Collects for the five Sundays :—

'Vota, quæsumus, Domine, supplicantis populi cœlesti pietate prosequere : ut et quæ agenda sunt videant, et ad implenda quæ viderint convalescant.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui cœlestia simul et terrena moderaris : supplicationes populi tui clementer exaudi, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, infirmitatem nostram propitius respice ; atque ad protegendum nos dexteram tuæ majestatis ostende.

Deus, qui nos in tantis periculis constitutos pro humana scis fragilitate non posse subsistere : da nobis salutem mentis et corporis ; ut ea quæ pro peccatis nostris patimur, te adjuvante, vincamus.

Familiam tuam, quæsumus, Domine, continua pietate custodi ; ut quæ in sola spe gratiæ cœlesti innititur, tua semper protectione munitur.'

[3] The Epistle was Rom. xiii. 8–10, which in 1549 was added to the Epistle for the first Sunday in Advent ; and the Epistle for this Sunday was taken from the beginning of the same chapter, which had been read on the Friday after the first Sunday ; see the Sarum Missal *feria vi. post Dominicam i. post octav. Epiph.*

of our sins, which were the cause of the sufferings of His life. The first Lessons are taken from those chapters of Genesis which relate the creation and the fall of man, and his wickedness and punishment by the deluge. The design of the Epistles and Gospels is to persuade to acts of self-denial and religious duty, and to recommend charity and faith, as the necessary foundation for all religious actions. They follow the old lines[1], but the collect for Quinquagesima is a new composition based upon the Epistle and dating from 1549.

The Epiphany. *The Lessons.*

The name of Ash-Wednesday has survived, although the touching ceremony of receiving ashes upon the forehead as a sign of penitence has not been retained in the Prayer Book. The special services of that day were all abolished, and, except for the Communion service, the day was reduced to the ordinary level of rigid uniformity. The old Epistle and Gospel were retained but a new Collect was provided in 1549, based to some extent upon the old prayer for blessing the ashes.[2]

Ash-Wednesday.

[1] The following were the Collects in the Sarum Missal for these three Sundays :—

'Preces populi tui, quæsumus, Domine, clementer exaudi ; ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pro tui nominis gloria misericorditer liberemur.

Deus qui conspicis quia ex nulla nostra actione confidimus : concede propitius, ut contra adversa omnia doctoris gentium protectione muniamur.

Preces nostras, quæsumus, Domine, clementer exaudi ; atque a peccatorum vinculis absolutos ab omni nos adversitate custodi.'

The Epistle of Septuagesima had been continued into the following chapter : this part was omitted in 1549, as introducing another distinct subject. The Epistle of Sexagesima had been continued to the ninth verse of chap. xii., and thus included the mention of the glorious revelations given to the great Apostle, whose protection was sought in the prayer of the Collect. This part was omitted in 1549, and the phrase in the Collect altered. The Quinquagesima Collect was full of meaning, taken in connexion with the private confession customary on Shrove Tuesday, and the public ejection of penitents performed on Ash-Wednesday : but it lost its appropriateness when the latter was reluctantly given up, and the former was left to individual discretion, and no longer maintained as a custom for all the faithful.

[2] 'Omnipotens sempiterne Domine qui misereris omnium et nihil odisti eorum quæ fecisti,' &c. *Miss. Sarum*, 147. See further below, pp. 641, 642.

Lent.

The collect of the first Sunday in Lent is also easily recognisable as modern (1549) from its direct dependence upon the Gospel. The remainder[1] together with the Epistles and Gospels, read during this season, are continued from the old offices. They set before us the duty of self-denial, and teach us to withstand temptation by recounting Christ's victories over Satan. The fourth Sunday is called Midlent Sunday, or 'the Sunday of refreshment,' probably because the Gospel relates our Saviour's miracle in feeding the five thousand. The fifth is called Passion Sunday, because the commemoration of our Lord's Passion then begins: the Epistle speaks of him as our High Priest, sprinkling his own blood for us; the Gospel relates to one of those conversations with the unbelieving Jews, in which He endured the contradiction of sinners. According to the old system a marked change of attitude was made at Passiontide and especially the triumphal character of the Passion was brought out, *e.g.* by the special hymns and the red vestments.[2] The closing stage of the Victory of the Cross dates from the time when our Lord set His face to go to Jerusalem.

[1] The following are the Collects in the Sarum Missal for the Sundays in Lent:—

'Deus qui ecclesiam tuam annua quadragesimali observatione purificas: præsta familiæ tuæ, ut quod a te obtinere abstinendo nititur, hoc bonis operibus exequatur.

'Deus qui conspicis omni nos virtute destitui, interius exteriusque custodi, ut ab omnibus adversitatibus muniamur in corpore et a pravis cogitationibus mundemur in mente.

Quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, vota humilium respice; atque ad defensionem nostram dexteram tuæ majestatis extende.

Concede, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut qui ex merito nostræ actionis affligimur, tuæ gratiæ consolatione respiremus.

Quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, familiam tuam propitius respice; ut te largiente regatur in corpore, et te servante custodiatur in mente.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui humano generi ad imitandum humilitatis exemplum salvatorem nostrum carnem sumere et crucem subire fecisti: concede quæsumus ut et patientiæ ipsius habere documenta et resurrectionis consortia mereamur.'

[2] For the old English customs of Lent see Feasey, *Holy Week Ceremonial*.

The Holy Week.

The Quadragesimal fast was closed by the Great Week or the Holy Week. It began on Palm Sunday,[1] which was kept throughout Christendom by the Procession of Palms in commemoration of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. The whole week was observed with greater strictness and solemnity than the rest of Lent. This custom is retained in the Church of England by giving a special character to the daily services, in the appointment of Epistles and Gospels for each day, and thus collecting most of those portions of scripture which relate to the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour. These are taken in an orderly course: the history of S. Matthew is read on Palm Sunday, in the second Lesson, and continued in the Gospel; S. Mark's history is read in the Gospels on Monday and Tuesday; S. Luke's on Wednesday and Thursday; and S. John's on Good Friday. There are no special collects assigned till the Friday, the Epistles have been all transferred and altered, but the reason for the changes is not so clear as it is in the case of the Gospels. The Thursday in this week is called *Cœna Domini*, and *Mandate* or *Maundy Thursday*, from the anthem 'Mandatum novum do vobis' sung at the washing of the feet (Jo. xiii. 34) which gave its name to the ceremony.[2]

The Passions.

Maundy Thursday.

This touching observance together with the solemn Eucharist in commemoration of the Institution of the Sacrament formed the great feature of this eventful day in the old use. The Mass was preceded by the solemn

[1] Called Κυριακὴ τῶν βαΐων, *dominica palmarum* or *dominica in ramis palmarum*. The ceremony began in Jerusalem at least as early as the IVth century, when it was described by S. Silvia. *Peregr.* 31. It came at a much later date, and quite gradually into Western Use from the VIIIth century onward. Duchesne, 236. For the mediæval ceremonies see Feasey.

[2] Another common name of the day was *sheaf thursday*, 'for in olde faders dayes the peple wolde that daye shere her hedes & clyppe her berdes & polle her hedes, and so make them honest ayenst esterdaye.' *Liber Festivalis* (ed. 1499) f. 37^b.

The Holy Week.

restoration of those who had been ejected as penitents at the beginning of Lent, and it included also, where there was occasion, the solemn consecration of the Holy Oils by the Bishop, viz. the oil for anointing the sick, the Holy Oil for the catechumens and the oil for chrism, that is the mixture of oil and balsam which was used at Baptism and Confirmation as well as for some less constant purposes. After the Mass came the stripping and washing of the altars and then the Maundy. None of these special ceremonies have been prescribed in the Prayer Book[1]: the use of oil disappeared in 1552, the penitential system was reluctantly given up and only the Maundy survived as a Royal function which has steadily receded from its old character.[2]

Good Friday.

Good Friday and Easter Even have always been distinguished from the rest of the days of the year by the fact that no celebration of the Eucharist took place on them: the church fasted because the Bridegroom was taken away. The services of those days were originally

The Liturgy.

somewhat similar to the Ante-communion service prescribed by the Prayer Book—that is to say, the earlier part of the Liturgy was used by itself, as was in fact done also on other days of service, such as Station Days, whenever there was no consecration of the Holy Sacrament. This service survived in the peculiar Latin office of Good Friday, which consisted of Lessons divided by collects and singing, and followed by a solemn

Additional ceremonies

series of special intercessions. To this primitive service other features were added at a later date. First the veneration of the cross, which began in Jerusalem as

[1] For a description see Feasey, *Holy Week Ceremonial.*

[2] Queen Elizabeth performed it fully (Nichols, *Progresses*), but at the present time the service as performed at Westminster Abbey is merely a shortened form of Mattins (without any canticles), enclosing four anthems, two distributions of alms, and two special Collects, one for the Queen, and one referring to the Maundy.

The Holy Week.

early as the fourth century[1] and spread from there to the West, being finally adopted with Gallican embellishments into the Roman Liturgy. The second addition was the solemn Communion from the Sacrament that had been reserved on the previous day, which has been ill-named 'The Mass of the Presanctified': it was made with special pomp and circumstance on this day; but in fact it is only what would naturally take place in communicating solemnly from the reserved sacrament: and a similar rite does actually take place in the Eastern Church on solemn days when there is no celebration of the Liturgy proper.

The present services.

In the Prayer Book Good Friday[2] is brought into line with all other days of the year, except that the provision of three special collects keeps a slight trace of the old solemn prayers of the day.[3] No direction is given

[1] It is described by S. Silvia, *Peregr.* 37.

[2] This name is peculiar to the Church of England. Holy Friday, or Friday in Holy Week, was its most general appellation: *feria sexta in die Parasceves*, see *Miss. Sar.* col. 316: also παρασκευή—ἡμέρα τοῦ σταυροῦ—*dies dominicæ passionis*—σωτηρία—*dies absolutionis.*

[3] The following are the originals of the collects of Good Friday:—

1. 'Respice, quæsumus, Domine, super hanc familiam tuam, pro qua Dominus noster Jesus Christus non dubitavit manibus tradi nocentium, et crucis subire tormentum.'

2. 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, cujus Spiritu totum corpus ecclesiæ sanctificatur et regitur: exaudi nos pro universis ordinibus supplicantes, ut gratiæ tuæ munere ab omnibus tibi gradibus fideliter serviatur.'

The third collect is allied to the following collects with their respective biddings (above, p. 523), which occur among the solemn prayers of the primitive service:—

'Oremus et pro hæreticis et schismaticis: ut Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus eruat eos ab erroribus universis; et ad sanctam matrem ecclesiam catholicam atque apostolicam revocare dignetur. Oremus. Flectamus genua. Lêvate.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui salvas omnes homines et neminem vis perire; respice ad animas diabolica fraude deceptas: ut omni hæretica pravitate deposita errantium corda resipiscant, et ad veritatis tuæ redeant unitatem.

Oremus et pro perfidis Judæis: ut Deus et Dominus noster auferat velamen de cordibus eorum; ut et ipsi agnoscant Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Oremus. *Non dicitur hic.* Flectamus genua. Levate.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui etiam Judaicam perfidiam a tua misericordia non repellis: exaudi preces nostras quas pro illius populi obcæcatione deferimus; ut agnita

The Holy Week.

as to celebrating the Eucharist, consequently the old custom must be presumed to stand, though it has not been universally maintained. The solemn reading of the Passion belongs specially to this day.[1] According to the use of the Prayer Book, it is fitly taken from S. John's Gospel, because he was present at the crucifixion; and from his example we may learn not to be ashamed or afraid of the cross of Christ. The Epistle shows the insufficiency of Jewish sacrifices, and urges that they typified the one oblation of the Saviour, who made full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world: the Collects contain expressions of boundless charity, praying that the effects of His death may be as universal as the design of it. The proper Psalms were selected at the last revision: they were all composed for times of great distress, and most of them belong mystically to the sufferings of our Saviour; especially the 22d, of which several passages were literally fulfilled by the events of the crucifixion.[2] The first Morning Lesson relates Abraham's readiness to offer up his son Isaac, which has always been regarded as a type of the sacrifice of the

The Psalms.

The Lessons. Gen. xxii. 1–19. Isa. lii. 13 and liii.

veritatis tuæ lūce quæ Christus est, a suis tenebris eruatur.

Oremus et pro paganis: ut Deus omnipotens auferat iniquitatem de cordibus eorum; ut relictis idolis suis convertantur ad Deum vivum et verum, et unicum Filium ejus Jesum Christum Deum et Dominum nostrum: cum quo vivit et regnat cum Spiritu Sancto Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Oremus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui non vis mortem peccatorum, sed vitam semper inquiris: suscipe propitius orationem nostram et libera eos ab idolorum cultura; et agrega ecclesiæ tuæ sanctæ ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui.'

In 1549, the first Collect only was appointed to be said at Mattins; and at Communion, the first Collect and that for the King, followed by the second and third Collects.

[1] St. August. *Serm.* CCXVIII. *De Passione Domini in Parasceve.* (*Opp.* v. 959, ed. Bened.): 'Cujus sanguine delicta nostra deleta sunt, solemniter legitur passio, solemniter celebratur.' The history of the Passion was read from St. Matthew's Gospel (*Serm.* CCXXXII.): 'Passio autem quia unodie legitur, non solet legi, nisi secundum Matthæum: volueram aliquando ut per singulos annos secundum omnes Evangelistas etiam passio legeretur.'

[2] Ps. xxii. was sung on this day in the time of S. Austin: *Enar. ii. in Ps. xxi. Opp.* IV. 94.

The Holy Week.

Son of God: and the first Evening Lesson contains the clearest prophecy of that sacrifice.[1]

Easter-Even.

The last day of the Great Week, called Easter Even,[2] was a fast-day of the universal Church. It is kept holy in memory of Christ's resting in the grave, and of His descent into hell. No services were held on the day itself according to old custom, but with the beginning of the Easter Vigil the liturgical activity recommenced. However, the custom grew up in the early middle age of anticipating the Easter Vigil, and so its services came to be looked upon as those of Easter Even.

The Prayer Book has deserted the customs of antiquity and has provided special services for this day, but taken no account of the services of the Easter Vigil. The Collect first appeared in the Scottish Book,[3] and after much alteration was inserted here in 1661. The Epistle and Gospel are newly selected with reference to the events of the day.

The principal ceremonies of the Vigil were the Vigil-service proper, a long series of lessons, chants and collects; then the baptismal ceremonies, hereafter to be discussed,[4] and finally the Vigil Mass, which, like the service of Good Friday, retained its primitive simplicity of form. Prefixed to these were two subsidiary and later ceremonies of great beauty, viz., the blessing of

[1] Among the rites practised in England on Good Friday was a ceremony of blessing cramp-rings by the King, which were supposed to prevent the falling-sickness. The form used on these occasions is printed in Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* III. p. 335 [p. 391]: Stephens, *B.C.P. with Notes*, pp. 921 and ff.

[2] Τὸ μέγα (or τὸ ἅγιον) σάββατον, *sabbatum magnum.*

[3] 'O most gracious God, look upon us in mercy, and grant that as we are baptized into the death of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, so by our true and hearty repentance all our sins may be buried with Him, and we not fear the grave: that as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of Thee, O Father, so we may walk in newness of life; but our sins never be able to rise in judgment against us, and that for the merit of Jesus Christ, that died, was buried, and rose again for us.'

[4] See Ch. XIV.

The Holy Week.

new fire and the solemn blessing of the Paschal Candle: the roots of these probably lie very far back in pagan times; in their christianized form they appear early in church use, and gain great symbolism and beauty from being brought into close connexion with the Resurrection.[1]

Easter.

The long fast of Lent and the solemnities of the Holy Week are closed by the festival of Easter.[2] The Latin services of mediæval times began then to revert to their ordinary form after the peculiarities and archaisms of the three preceding days. But one special feature has left its mark upon the Prayer Book. After the veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, the Cross itself with the Reserved Sacrament was laid in the 'Sepulchre,' a special place of repose situated generally on the north side of the sanctuary; traces of this are discernible still in a good number of our ancient churches. Before Mattins on Easter morning a procession went to the Sepulchre, the host was taken thence and laid upon the altar; the Cross was then carried in procession to a side altar: meanwhile the Antiphon, 'Christ rising again from the dead' and its Verse were sung; then after a versicle and collect the Cross was again venerated. From this service are derived the present Easter anthems.

The Early Procession.

In 1549 this introductory service was retained :—

'*In the Morning afore Mattins, the people being assembled in the church, these Anthems shall be first solemnly sung or said.*

Christ rising again from the dead, &c. Hallelujah. Hallelujah.

[1] See Duchesne, 239–246. W. *M.G.* 270 and ff. Feasey, l.c. and the Sarum Processional for fuller details.

[2] *Dies dominicæ resurrectionis:* ἑορτὴ πασχάλιος, ἀναστάσιμος· κυριακὴ μεγάλη· τὸ πάσχα· ἡ πασχαγία, or τὰ πασχάγια. Guericke, p. 151. The most probable derivation of Easter is from the Anglo-Saxon goddess, 'Eostre,' in whose honour special sacrifices were offered at the opening of the Spring season. See Beda, *De Temp. Rat.* c. xv. *Opp.* (ed. Giles) vi. 179.

Christ is risen again, the firstfruits, &c. Hallelujah.
The Priest. Shew forth to all nations the glory of God.
The Answer. And among all people his wonderful works.
Let us pray.

O God, who for our redemption didst give thine only-begotten Son to the death of the cross; and by His glorious resurrection hast delivered us from the power of our enemy: Grant us so to die daily from sin, that we may evermore live with Him in the joy of His resurrection; through the same Christ our Lord.'[1]

There was also provision made for two Communions: the first comprised the old Easter Collect,[2] the Epistle of the Vigil Mass, and the Gospel of the following Saturday; the second had an enlarged edition of the old Epistle and Gospel of Easter Day, with a new collect formed from the Epistle; the Collect for the first Communion was to be said also on Monday, and that for the second Communion on Tuesday and on the following Sunday.

At the revision of the Prayer Book in 1552, the above two anthems, omitting the Hallelujahs, were appointed to take the place of *Venite*, and the rest of the service was dropped, as was also the second Communion. The Collect for the first Communion was appointed for Easter Day, Monday in Easter Week, and the Sunday after Easter; and the Collect for the second Communion was appointed for Tuesday in Easter Week. And so it continued until the last revision, when the present new first Anthem was prefixed to the old ones, the Collect

1 '*An.* Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur. Quod enim vivit, vivit Deo. Alleluia, Alleluia. *Vers.* Dicant nunc Judæi, &c.

℣. Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.

℟. Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Alleluia.

Oratio. Deus, qui pro nobis Filium crucis patibulum subire voluisti, ut inimici a nobis pelleres potestatem: concede nobis famulis tuis ut in resurrectionis ejus gaudiis semper vivamus.'

The Invitatory at Mattins was: 'Alleluia, Alleluia. Christus hodie surrexit. Alleluia, Alleluia.'

2 'Deus qui hodierna die per Unigenitum tuum eternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti: vota nostra quæ præveniendo aspiras etiam adjuvando prosequere.'

Easter.

for Easter Day appointed to be used throughout the week, and the Collect for the second Communion (1549) appointed for the Sunday after Easter, where it no longer has any connexion with the Epistle.[1]

The Psalms.

So little variety occurs in our usual services, that even this minimum of change on Easter Day distinctly marks the festival. After the Absolution and Lord's Prayer, the office of praise is begun with Anthems proper to the day instead of the daily Invitatory Psalm. This reference to the festival is maintained in the proper Psalms. Ps. ii. is a prophetical representation of the kingly and priestly offices of Christ, after He had been violently opposed by His adversaries. Ps. lvii., referring to David's deliverance from Saul, in a mystical sense contains Christ's triumph over death and hell. Ps. cxi. is a thanksgiving for all the marvellous works of our redemption, of which the crowning wonder was the resurrection. Ps. cxiii. is a thankful commemoration of the glory and condescension of God, which was never more discernible than in the work of redemption. Ps. cxiv. is a thanksgiving for the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, which was a type of our deliverance from sin and death. And Ps. cxviii., which celebrates the peace of David's kingdom when the ark had been brought into Jerusalem, refers prophetically to the kingdom of Christ.

The Lessons.
Exod. xii.
Exod. xiv.

The first Lessons contain an account of the institution of the Passover, the type of 'Christ our Passover;' and of the deliverance of the Israelites by passing through the Red Sea,—a type of our deliverance from the death of sin by baptism. The Gospel and the second Evening

John xx. 11–18.

[1] A Collect (p. 541) with the Epistle in the Book of 1549, was inserted for and Gospel (1 Cor. v. 6 S; Mar. a first Communion on Easter Day in xvi. 1–8) for the second Communion the American Book (1892).

Easter.

Lesson relate the first appearance of Jesus risen.[1] The Lessons from the Revelation represent Him, as the Son of man, and as the Lamb that was slain, in the glory of heaven. The Epistle shows the effect of the resurrection on the heart and life of the Christian.

Rev. i. 10–18. Rev. v.

The Latin rituals had special Masses for every day in Easter week, but according to Sarum use the first three days were distinguished above the rest as double feasts. In the Prayer Book special provision was made for only two days. The old Collects were discarded, but the Epistles and Gospels were retained, recounting the principal testimonies to the Resurrection. The following Sunday, called in England traditionally Low Sunday, is counted as the Octave of Easter. Throughout the week the newly-baptized wore their white baptismal robes and processions were made to the font: with this Sunday these ceremonies were brought to a close.[2]

Easter Week.

Low Sunday.

The first Lessons on Monday and Tuesday in Easter week point to the joy of the resurrection: the Song of Moses on the escape of Israel from the death which had overtaken the Egyptians: the Bride, after long waiting, now rejoicing in the Bridegroom's presence: the promise of victory over our spiritual enemy as often as we smite in trusting obedience; and the rising from death of those who by faith touch Him who died, and was buried, and rose again: and the calling from the grave of the great

Exod. xv. to v. 22.

Cant. ii. v. 10.

2 Kings xiii. 14–22.

Ezek. xxxvii. to v. 15.

[1] In S. Austin's time the accounts of the Resurrection were read from each Evangelist in turn during Easter Week. Serm. CCXXXII. Cp. CCXXXV.

[2] *Dominica in albis*, or *post albas*, sc. *depositas;* dies novorum, neophytorum; octava infantium; κυριακὴ ἐν λευκοῖς, ἡ καινὴ κυριακή, ἀντίπασχα. 'Saturday *in albis*, that is Saturday in Easter Week or as it is called with us, *Lawson even*': in Hearne's Glossary to Langtoft's Chronicle. *Law* is our modern *low*: *lah* in the Ormulum, 15246. So *Lawson* represents *Low Sunday*, the *close* of Easter, *clausum paschæ*. It is called *Quasimodo*, from the Introit. Dr. Husenbeth (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd Ser. I. p. 491) derived the English term *Low* from *Laudes*, the first word in the Sequence. Others from Close Sunday. Neither suggestion seems satisfactory.

Easter.

army of the resurrection. The Gospels and Second Lessons for these days continue the story of the day of the resurrection; concluding with the appearance of Jesus to the seven disciples on the shore of the sea of Tiberias, the draught of fishes so carefully numbered, and the charge to Peter.

Matt. xxviii. to v. 10. *Luke xxiv. to v. 13.* *John xxi.*

Easter-tide.

The joyful commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection, and the promise of the Comforter, are the principal subjects of the Gospels from Easter to Ascension Day; while the Epistles exhort to the practice of those duties which are answerable to the Christian profession.

The only deviations from the Latin services are in the Collects of the first and second Sundays, which come from 1549.[1] It has already been shown that at an early stage of the Reformation all other religious processions were abolished, except the perambulation of parishes on the three Rogation days before the Ascension. No office, however, was appointed in the Prayer Book for use on such occasions.[2] Only a Homily was provided, which is divided into four parts, three to be read on the

Rogations.

[1] The following are the Collects of the three remaining Sundays:—

Third. 'Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire justitiæ, veritatis tuæ lumen ostendis: da cunctis, qui christiana professione censentur, et illa respuere quæ huic inimica sint nomini, et ea quæ sunt apta sectari.'

Fourth. 'Deus qui fidelium mentes unius efficis voluntatis: da populis tuis id amare quod præcipis, id desiderare quod promittis, ut inter mundanas varietates ibi nostra fixa sint corda, ubi vera sunt gaudia.'

Fifth. 'Deus a quo cuncta bona procedunt, largire supplicibus tuis ut cogitemus te inspirante quæ recta sunt, et te gubernante eadem faciamus.'

The second was translated in 1549: 'Almighty God, which dost make the minds of all faithful people to be of one will,' &c.: this was altered in 1661.

[2] The Elizabethan Injunctions, however, provided that the curate . . . at certain convenient places shall admonish the people to give thanks to God, in the beholding of God's benefits, for the increase and abundance of His fruits upon the face of the earth, with the saying of Ps. civ. *Benedic, anima mea.* At which time also the same minister shall inculcate this and such like sentences, *Cursed be he that translateth the bounds and doles of his neighbour;* or such other order of Prayer as shall be hereafter appointed.' Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* XLIII. § 19. See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, 'Parochial Perambulations in Rogation-week.'

The Ascension.

Rogation Days, and the fourth on the day of the perambulation.

Of the Proper Psalms and Lessons appointed for the day of the Ascension, Ps. viii. is a song of praise for creation, and the appointment of man to be lord of this world; but in a prophetical sense it sets forth the mercy of God in exalting our human nature above all creatures, which was fulfilled when the Son of God took our nature and ascended with it to heaven. Ps. xv. shows how justly our Saviour, as the perfect and the pattern man, ascended to the holy hill of God, and thus points out the qualifications which we must endeavour to attain, if we would follow Him there. Ps. xxi. was eminently fulfilled in our Lord's victory over death, and in His ascension, when, having put all His enemies to flight, He was exalted in His own strength. Ps. xxiv. which celebrates the occasion of bringing the ark into the place which David had prepared for it on Mount Sion, has always been interpreted with reference to the exaltation of Christ, the King of Glory, who passed through the everlasting doors, when He went back to His own glory in Heaven: Ps. xlvii. likewise, a song of praise for the victories of Israel over the surrounding nations, is applied to the Christian Church, whose Head and Lord is the great King upon all the earth, and has gone up with a merry noise: and Ps. cviii. calls upon us to give thanks to God, for setting Himself above the heavens, and being Lord both of Jews and heathens. In the first Lessons, the Son of Man is seen coming with the clouds of heaven—a vision first of the incarnation, then of the glorified humanity of the Saviour: and Elijah taken up, and the communication of a double portion of his spirit to Elisha, which prefigured our Saviour, who after His ascension sent down the Holy Ghost upon His Apostles.

The Lessons. *Dan. vii. 9–14.*

2 Kings ii to v. 16.

The Ascension.

The Collect,[1] Epistle and Gospel for Ascension Day were taken from the old offices.

The ten days after the Ascension are sometimes called Expectation Tide: they commemorate that anxious period during which the Apostles tarried at Jerusalem, in earnest expectation of the promised gift of the Comforter.

Whitsuntide.

Sunday after Ascension Day.

A new Collect was composed in 1549 for the Sunday after Ascension Day, taken from an Anthem which had been sung at Evensong on Ascension Day;[2] but the old Epistle and Gospel were kept.

Whitsunday, or Pentecost.

The festival of Whitsuntide corresponds with the Jewish feast of Pentecost. That commemorated the delivery of the Law on Mount Sinai, fifty days after the Passover; and after the same interval[3] from the true Passover when Christ was offered for us, the Holy Ghost was given to the Christian Church. The name of Pentecost has therefore been retained for the festival, and this has passed into the English Whitsunday.[4] The Vigil no longer retains the special services by which in old days it rivalled the Easter Vigil, nor any special baptismal significance as formerly

Proper Psalms are appointed, the first three of which

[1] 'Concede, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut qui hodierna die Unigenitum tuum redemptorem nostrum ad cœlos ascendisse credimus, ipsi quoque mente in cœlestibus habitemus.'

[2] 'O rex gloriæ, Domine virtutum, qui triumphator hodie super omnes cœlos ascendisti, ne derelinquas nos orphanos, sed mitte promissum patris in nos Spiritum veritatis. Alleluia.' *Brev. Sar.* i.

[3] The fifty days are not counted from the Passover, but from the Sunday following; according to the direction given to the Jews for their feast of Weeks, Levit. xxiii. 15, 16.

[4] Professor Skeat is certain that Pentecost was called White Sunday in the northern Churches, and probably because it was the more usual time of Baptism. In England, *white* was corrupted into *whit*, and this confused with Wit, as by a writer of the fourteenth century.

'This day Witsonday is cald,
For wisdom and wit seuene fald
Was giuen to þe apostles at þis day.'

Camb. Univ. Libr. MS. Dd. 1. i. p. 234. The terms in the Annexed Book, are *Whitsunday*, and *Monday, Tuesday in Whitsun Week.*

Whitsuntide.

The Psalms.

were sung at Mattins in the old offices. Ps. xlviii. is a hymn in honour of Jerusalem, as particularly chosen for the place of God's worship, and also an expression of thankfulness that we are permitted to meet in His service, and wait for His loving-kindness. Ps. lxviii. contains a prophetical description of the ascension of Christ, who went up on high, and led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men ; and, when the Lord gave the word, great was the company of the preachers. Ps. civ. was probably selected for this day from the similitude between the natural and spiritual creation ; and because it speaks of the renewal of the earth by the breath of God. Ps. cxlv. is a song of thanksgiving, recounting the attributes of God, and His care over His creatures, which is chiefly seen in opening His kingdom to them by the atonement of His Son, and the gift of His Spirit.

The Lessons.
Deut. xvi. 1–17.
Isa. xi.
Ezek. xxxvi. 25.
Rom. viii. 1–17.
Gal. v. 16.
Acts xviii. 24.-xix. 20.

The first Lessons contain the law of the Jewish Pentecost, and a prophecy of the conversion of Jews and Gentiles through the ministration of the Spirit of God ; and from the New Testament we read our Lord's promise of this gift, its fulfilment, and the manner of life of those who are led by the Spirit.[1]

The Collect

The Collect[2] Epistle and Gospel are taken from the old Offices.

Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week.

In early times the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of this week were considered as festivals in the same way as Easter week, but here also only the first two days have any special provision : this leaves the

[1] The Acts of the Apostles have been read during Pentecost from very early times : Chrysost. *In Princ. Act.* IV. 5 (Migne *P.G.* LI. 103).

[2] 'Deus, qui hodierna die corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus illustratione docuisti : da nobis in eodem Spiritu recta sapere, et de ejus semper consolatione gaudere.' This Collect was in the English Primer in the fourteenth century ; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* II. p. 28 [III. p. 31]. The words *as at this time*, were substituted in 1661 for *as upon this day ;* this change had already been made in the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637) in the Collect as said on Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week.

Whitsuntide.

way more open for the Ember days following: for under the old system there had been a clashing on the Wednesday between the earlier observance of it as part of the Whitsuntide festival and the later observance as an Ember Day. The Epistles read on the Monday and Tuesday are part of a series of three lessons from the Acts of the Apostles recounting the manifestations of the work of the Holy Spirit: the Gospels for Monday and Tuesday are part of a similar trio from S. John's Gospel, giving our Lord's teaching about Himself as the Light of the World, the Good Shepherd and the Bread of Life. The present first Lessons furnish instances from the Old Testament of the ministry of the Holy Ghost: the confusion of tongues at Babel, which was repaired by the gift of tongues to the Apostles; the resting of God's Spirit upon the seventy elders; the dew of blessing watering the Church with sacramental grace; and the Gentiles coming to the mountain of the Lord, to be taught His ways. The second Lessons teach us to use spiritual gifts to edification; to take heed not to quench the Spirit, nor to despise His prophecies; but because many false prophets are gone into the world, to try all teachers who boast of the Spirit, by the rules of the Catholic Faith.

The Lessons.

Gen. xi. 1–9.

Numb. xi. 16–30.

Joel. ii. 21.

Micah iv. 1–7.

1 *Cor. xii., xiii.*

1 *Thes. v.* 12–23.

1 *John iv.* 1–13.

In early days the Sunday following Whitsunday was kept merely as its octave. The service of the Trinity came into existence first as a Votive Mass: it then became customary (apparently first in England and in the Xth or XIth century) to use this upon the Octave of Pentecost as a day more especially appropriate:[1] and from this arose the festival of Trinity Sunday, designed to sum up all the dogmatic teaching of the first half of the year in a solemn commemoration of God the Blessed

Trinity Sunday a festival of the Western Church.

[1] Another favourite day was the Sunday before Advent. Guericke, 160.

Whitsuntide.

Trinity. Following English custom, the succeeding Sundays are in the Prayer Book reckoned after Trinity and not after Pentecost.

Trinity.

The Jews, living among idolatrous nations, were especially enjoined to remember the unity of God: hence the mystery of the Trinity was not clearly delivered to them. Yet portions of the Old Testament receive their full interpretation from this doctrine, and are therefore read on Trinity Sunday:—the song of the Seraphim; the appearance of Jehovah to Abraham, when three men stood by him; and the work of the Word of God, and of the spirit of God in creation, and the phrase, Let us make man. In the Lessons from the New Testament, the vision is read of the Eternal One, the seven Spirits before His throne, and Jesus Christ, the Saviour and the Judge: S. Paul's seven unities—one body, one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism—one God and Father of all: and the baptism of Jesus, with the testimony of the voice from heaven, and the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the beloved Son. The Epistle and Gospel are the same that were read in the old offices on the Octave of Pentecost, the last day of the more solemn time of baptism, to which the Gospel refers. Yet they are well suited to the festival, under its more modern name of Trinity Sunday: for the three Persons of the Godhead are mentioned in the Gospel; and the portion appointed for the Epistle contains the Hymn of the Angels, with its threefold ascription of praise to God.

The Lessons.

Isa. iv. to v. 11.
Gen. xxiii
Gen. i., ii. to v. 4.

Rev. i. to v. 9.

Eph. iv. to v. 17.

Matt. iii.

The Collect,[1] Epistle and Gospel are continued from the old service.

[1] 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui dedisti famulis tuis in confessione veræ fidei æternæ Trinitatis gloriam agnoscere, et in potentia majestatis adorare Unitatem: quæsumus ut ejusdem fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper muniamur adversis.'

Sundays after Trinity.

The Collects,[1] Epistles, and Gospels for the Sundays after Trinity are taken in the order in which they stood in the Sarum Missal.[2] The Epistles[3] are a series of exhortations to the practice of Christian virtues, and form part of that dislocated series of readings taken in order from S. Paul's Epistles which has already been noticed.[4] The Gospels are selected from the parables, miracles, and conversations of our Lord, and in many cases are meant to be illustrative of the teaching of the Epistle.

The Epistles and Gospels for the first four Sundays of the series are later additions: the former are taken from the Epistles of S. John and S. Peter, and are outside the Pauline series[5]; the corresponding Gospels are wanting in many ancient books.

The Saints' Days.

In the services of the Holy Days the arrangement follows the order of the later Latin Service-books; when the course for the Sundays and fixed festivals of the ecclesiastical year beginning with Advent, has been completed, the Collects are given for those Saints' days, the position of which will continually vary with respect to the Sundays. When the Kalendar was reformed it was necessary to compose a considerable number of new Collects, since many of the old Collects were mainly prayers for the saints' intercession. The Epistles and Gospels

New Collects composed.

[1] See additional Note, p. 553, for the originals of all these excepting the second Sunday, which has a new Collect.

[2] The oldest books vary greatly in contents for this second half of the year: originally provision was made only for a certain few dominical services, which were repeated as required; and the gradual change from this to the fuller later system has not proceeded with the uniformity which is elsewhere characteristic of the old Roman rite in its early days. The variation is especially noticeable in the Gospels.

[3] For the more important changes, see Additional Note.

[4] Above, p. 531.

[5] One evidence of dislocation occurs here: the Petrine Epistle is now placed on the fifth Sunday and a Pauline Epistle on the fourth. There has evidently been some transposition here. Another break in the series is at the 18th Sunday, which is the Sunday of the September Ember tide, and therefore treated differently.

The Saints Days.

The Lessons

that had been read on these days were generally retained; and proper first Lessons were appointed from the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, or from the Apocryphal Books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom. Only four chapters are now read from the Apocrypha on these days. For some few, which have their own proper history, second Lessons are appointed.

The Collects.

The Collect for S. Andrew's Day, composed in 1549, referred to the sufferings of his death:[1] this was changed in 1552 for an entirely new Collect, making mention of his ready obedience to the calling of Christ. The Collect for S. Thomas' Day dates from 1549: that of the Conversion of S. Paul is derived from the Latin: and then follow a series with a similar origin comprising those for the Purification, Annunciation, and S. Mark's Day[2] broken only by the Collect of S. Matthias' Day which was written in 1549. Then follows a series of Reformation Collects for the festivals of SS. Philip and James (which has also a new Epistle), of S. Barnabas (which has the Roman in place of the Sarum Gospel), of S. John Baptist (with a new Epistle), of S. Peter and of S. James

[1] 'Almighty God, which hast given such grace to thy Apostle Saint Andrew, that he counted the sharp and painful death of the cross to be an high honour, and a great glory: Grant us to take and esteem all troubles and adversities, which shall come unto us for thy sake, as things profitable for us toward the obtaining of everlasting life: through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

[2] The following are the originals:

For S. Paul's Day. 'Deus qui universum mundum beati apostoli tui Pauli predicatione docuisti; da nobis, quæsumus, ut qui ejus hodie conversionem colimus, per ejus ad te exempla gradiamur.'

The Purification. 'Omnipotens sempiterne, Deus majestatem tuam supplices exoramus, ut sicut unigenitus Filius tuus hodierna die cum nostræ carnis substantia in templo est præsentatus, ita nos facias purificatis tibi mentibus præsentari. Per eundem.'

The Annunciation. 'Gratiam tuam, quæsumus, Domine, mentibus nostris infunde; ut qui angelo nuntiante Christi Filii tui incarnationem cognovimus, per passionem ejus et crucem ad resurrectionis gloriam perducamur.'

S. Mark. 'Deus, qui beatum Marcum evangelistam tuum evangelicæ prædicationis gratia sublimasti: tribue, quæsumus, ejus nos semper et eruditione perficere et oratione defendi.'

The Saints' Days.

St. Mary Magdalene. St. John the Baptist.

(with a new Epistle). The Prayer Book in 1549 also retained a Collect in commemoration of S. Mary Magdalene.[1] The feast of S. John the Baptist differs from the other festivals in commemorating his birth. It is the only nativity, besides those of Jesus Christ Himself and His Blessed Mother, that is kept by the Church. The reason for this difference appears to be, that the birth of the Baptist was foretold by an angel, and brought to pass after an uncommon manner. He was also the forerunner of our Blessed Lord, and by preaching repentance prepared the road for the publishing of the Gospel.

Of the remainder the festivals of S. Bartholomew and Michaelmas are alike in taking Collect and Gospel from the Latin [2] but having a new Epistle, while the days of S. Matthew, S. Luke and SS. Simon and Jude have a new Collect as well as a new Epistle, and All Saints' Day has a new Collect.

[1] 'Merciful Father, give us grace that we never presume to sin through the example of any creature; but if it shall chance us at any time to offend thy divine majesty, that then we may truly repent, and lament the same, after the example of Mary Magdalene, and by lively faith obtain remission of all our sins: through the only merits of thy Son our Saviour Christ.'

[2] *S. Bartholomew.* 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui hujus diei venerandam sanctamque lætitiam in beati Bartholomei Apostoli tui festivitate tribuisti: da ecclesiæ tuæ, quæsumus, et amare quod credidit, et prædicare quod docuit.'

Michaelmas. 'Deus, qui mirco ordine angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas; concede propitius ut a quibus tibi ministrantibus in cœlo semper assistitur, ab his in terra vita nostra muniatur.'

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The following are the originals of the Collects for the Sundays after Trinity :—

First. Deus, in te sperantium fortitudo adesto propitius invocationibus nostris ; et quia sine te nihil potest mortalis infirmitas, præsta auxilium gratiæ tuæ, ut in exequendis mandatis tuis et voluntate tibi et actione placeamus.

The second Collect dates from 1661.

Third. Deprecationem nostram, quæsumus, Domine, benignus exaudi ; et quibus supplicandi præstas affectum, tribue defensionis auxilium.

Fourth. Protector in te sperantium Deus, sine quo nihil est validum, nihil sanctum ; multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, ut te rectore, te duce, sic transeamus per bona temporalia ut non amittamus æterna.

Fifth. Da nobis, quæsumus, Domine, ut et mundi cursus pacifice nobis tuo ordine dirigatur, et ecclesia tua tranquilla devotione lætetur.

Sixth. Deus, qui diligentibus te bona invisibilia præparasti ; infunde cordibus nostris tui amoris affectum, ut te in omnibus et super omnia diligentes promissiones tuas, quæ omne desiderium superant, consequamur.

Seventh. Deus virtutum, cujus est totum quod est optimum ; insere pectoribus nostris amorem tui nominis, et præsta in nobis religionis augmentum : ut quæ sunt bona nutrias ac pietatis studio quæ sunt nutrita custodias.

Eighth. Deus, cujus providentia in sui dispositione non fallitur, te supplices exoramus, ut noxia cuncta submoveas, et omnia nobis profutura concedas.[1]

Ninth. Largire nobis, quæsumus, Domine, semper spiritum cogitandi quæ recta sunt propitius, et agendi ; ut qui sine te esse non possumus, secundum te vivere valeamus.

Tenth. Pateant aures misericordiæ tuæ, Domine, precibus supplicantium ; et ut petentibus desiderata concedas, fac eos quæ tibi placita sunt postulare.

[1] This Collect was simply translated until 1661.

Eleventh. Deus, qui omnipotentiam tuam parcendo maxime et miserando manifestas ; multiplica super nos gratiam tuam, ut ad tua promissa currentes cœlestium bonorum facias esse consortes.[1]

Twelfth. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui abundantia pietatis tuæ et merita supplicum excedis et vota ; effunde super nos misericordiam tuam, ut dimittas quæ conscientia metuit, et adjicias quod oratio non præsumit.

Thirteenth. Omnipotens et misericors Deus, et cujus munere venit ut tibi a fidelibus tuis digne et laudabiliter serviatur ; tribue nobis, quæsumus, ut ad promissiones tuas sine offensione curramus.

Fourteenth. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, da nobis fidei spei et caritatis augmentum ; et ut mereamur assequi quod promittis, fac nos amare quod præcipis.

Fifteenth. Custodi, Domine, quæsumus, ecclesiam tuam propitiatione perpetua : et quia sine te labitur humana mortalitas, tuis semper auxiliis et abstrahatur a noxiis, et ad salutaria dirigatur.[2]

Sixteenth. Ecclesiam tuam, quæsumus, Domine, miseratio continuata mundet et muniat ; et quia sine te non potest salva consistere, tuo semper munere gubernetur.

Seventeenth. Tuae nos, Domine, quæsumus, gratia semper et præveniat et sequatur ; ac bonis operibus jugitur præstet esse intentos.

Eighteenth. Da quæsumus, Domine, populo tuo diabolica vitare contagia, et te solum Deum pura mente sectari.[3]

Nineteenth. Dirigat corda nostra, quæsumus, Domine, miserationis operatio, quia tibi sine te placere non possumus.[4]

Twentieth. Omnipotens et misericors Deus, universa nobis adversantia propitiatus exclude ; ut mente et corpore pariter expediti, quæ tua sunt liberis mentibus exequamur.

Twenty-first. Largire, quæsumus, Domine, fidelibus tuis indulgentiam placatus et pacem : ut pariter ab omnibus mundentur offensis, et secura tibi mente deserviant.

Twenty-second. Familiam tuam, quæsumus, Domine, continua pietate custodi ; ut a cunctis adversitatibus te protegente sit libera, et in bonis actibus tuo nomini sit devota.[5]

[1] The phrase, *running the way of thy commandments, may obtain thy gracious promises,* was inserted in 1661.

[2] The Epistle was appointed in 1549, instead of Gal. v. 25 –vi. 10.

[3] The phrase, *to withstand the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil,* was inserted in 1661.

[4] The words, *thy Holy Spirit,* were substituted in 1661 for 'the working of thy mercy.' The Epistle, Eph. iv. 17 –32, was appointed in 1549, instead of the short portion, *vv.* 23 —28.

[5] The beginning of the Epistle

Twenty-third. Deus, refugium nostrum et virtus, adesto piis ecclesiæ tuæ precibus, auctor ipse pietatis ; et praesta ut quod fideliter petimus efficaciter consequamur.

Twenty-fourth. Absolve, quæsumus, Domine, tuorum delicta populorum ; et a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus quæ pro nostra fragilitate contraximus tua benignitate liberemur.[1]

Twenty-fifth. Excita, quæsumus, Domine, tuorum fidelium voluntates ; ut divini operis fructum propensius exequentes pietatis tuæ remedia majora percipiant.[2]

was added in 1549 ; it had commenced thus : ' Fratres, confidimus in Domino Jesu, quia qui cepit in vobis opus bonum,' &c. Also the two opening verses were prefixed to the Gospel, showing the occasion on which the parable was spoken.

[1] The Epistle, Col. i. 3—12, was appointed in 1549, instead of *vv.* 9—11 : also in the Gospel the story was completed by the addition of *vv.* 23—26.

[2] The rubric, directing the use of this Collect, Epistle, and Gospel always on the Sunday next before Advent, is simplified from that in the Sarum Missal, col. 536 : ' *Cum prolixum fuerit tempus inter inceptionem historiæ*, Deus omnium, [*i.e.* the first Sunday after Trinity :] *et Adventum Domini, Officium* Dicit Dominus [*i.e.* the Introit for the Sunday next before Advent] *per tres dominicas cantetur, ut supra notatum est. Cum vero breve fuerit tempus, semper proxima dominica ante Adventum Domini, si vacaverit, cantetur, quando de dominica agitur,* Dicit Dominus, *cum oratione,* Excita quæsumus Domine, *Epistola,* Ecce dies veniunt, *Evangelium,* Cum sublevasset. *Si vero dominica non vacaverit, tunc in aliqua feria cantetur. Cæteræ vero dominicæ quæ remanserint in ferialibus diebus cantentur.*'

' If there be twenty-six Sundays after Trinity, the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the sixth Sunday after Epiphany shall be used on the twenty-fifth Sunday. If there be twenty-seven Sundays after Trinity, the Collect, &c., for the fifth Sunday after Epiphany shall be used on the twenty-fifth Sunday ; and the Collect, &c., for the sixth Sunday after Epiphany shall be used on the twenty-sixth Sunday.' This has been the general rule, and it has the sanction of Convocation (1879). Cp. above, p. 525.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BAPTISMAL SERVICES WITH CATECHISM AND CONFIRMATION.

SECT. I.—*The Public Baptism of Infants.*

Public Baptism.

Primitive custom,

THE service of Holy Baptism differs from other rites inasmuch as it has its origin in a definite formula of baptism, which our Lord Himself prescribed for the Church.[1] This formed at once a nucleus for the development of a more elaborate service. One of the first additions to be made was a profession of faith: the earliest extant form is that which was inserted at a very early date into the record of the baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch;[2] this is simply a profession of belief in Jesus as the Son of God; but from very early times the profession took a triple form, expressive of a belief in the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity and corresponding to the baptismal formula. To this positive profession an addition was further made corresponding to it on the negative side, viz., a renunciation of the Devil with all his pomps and works. Thus in these three acts—the renunciation of Satan, the profession of faith and the baptism by water with the use of our

[1] S. Matt. xxviii. 19.

[2] Acts viii. 37, quoted by S. Irenæus. *Heres.* iii. 12. 8.

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Lord's formula—the rite of Christian initiation was carried out.

including Confirmation,

Something more however was considered, from the very earliest times, to be necessary for its completion. The new birth of water and the Spirit was only consummated by the laying on of apostolic hands, conveying in its fulness the gift of the Holy Ghost. This practice is in fact the essential corollary of the act of baptism: it came into prominence in the first days of the gospel in a case where baptism was administered by Philip the deacon, who was not an apostle, and where in consequence the laying on of apostolic hands was a separate ceremony.[1] Elsewhere it is assumed to be an integral part of the rites of baptism practised by the apostles. In one other case only is separate emphasis laid upon it in the Acts of the Apostles, and the reason there is clear: it is the case of converts who had received only the baptism of S. John Baptist, and had 'not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost,' and who therefore needed to have clearly brought home to them both the distinctively Christian Baptism and the further Gift of the Spirit.[2]

and preceded by a preparation.

It is important also to consider the preparation for the rite which was customary in early times.[3] There are many signs that a very small measure of preparation was at first exacted, and this no doubt the circumstances justified. The circumstances of the day of Pentecost were exceptional: there was urgency in the case of the Ethiopian Eunuch and of the jailor at Philippi: moreover a large proportion at least of the early converts had already had the training of Judaism as their schoolmaster to bring them unto Christ.

But under other circumstances another policy was

[1] Acts viii. 14–17.
[2] Acts xix. 1–7.
[3] See Stone, *Holy Baptism*, ch. XII.

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necessary, and it soon became customary to demand a special preparation for Holy Baptism of longer or shorter duration.[1]

Development of the early nucleus.

Here then is already a baptismal system existing in outline: the actual rite with the renunciation and profession, preceded by a preparation and followed by the Gift of the Spirit. It is possible here, as in the case of the Eucharist, to detect the primitive outline: indeed in the case of baptism the task is easier than in the case of the Eucharist, for in some ways the practice is more uniform and the evidence which is forthcoming is more abundant.

Patristic evidence.

The descriptions of the *Didache*[2] and of S. Justin Martyr[3] do little more than describe first the preliminary preparation and fasting in general terms, and then the baptism by immersion or triple affusion in the name of the Holy Trinity. But in the early part of the third century there is considerable evidence available, from which a general idea may be formed of the baptismal customs of that date: and in the middle of the fourth century a still more wide survey of the baptismal customs of various churches is possible, which confirms the impressions gathered from the earlier picture and brings out very clearly the primitive unity of model, which underlies them all.

[1] Some traces of this seem to be visible in the New Testament: when S. Paul says (1 Cor. i. 14–17) that it was not his work to baptize, he is probably meaning something more extended than the mere administration of the brief rite of baptism, and has in view a system of teaching and training.

[2] *The Teaching of the XII. Apostles:*

Κεφ. ζ'. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται· κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

[3] *Apol.* i. 61. See below, p. 596.

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At the former epoch, *i.e.* early in the third century the following points are clear.

At the beginning of the third century.

1. The selection and preparation of candidates was made with care and caution: instruction was given in the renunciation necessary: candidates both men and women were called upon to give up occupations and habits inconsistent with a Christian profession: forty days were spent in special preparation, in teaching and exorcisms, and the candidates, after finally satisfying the Bishop as to their suitability, made their final arrangements on the Thursday in Holy Week, fasted on the Friday, and presented themselves before the Bishop on the Saturday morning for the last stage of their preparation. It consisted of three acts. First the closing exorcism—the Bishop stretching his hands over them as they knelt facing eastwards, prayed for the last time for the ejection of the evil spirit from them; secondly, the exsufflation—he breathed in their faces; thirdly, the *Effeta*—he touched each candidate on the mouth, ears, &c., with spittle or oil, after the example of our Lord's action in healing the deaf and dumb man.[1]

Preparation:

the last stage.

Baptism.

2. The actual baptism took place at night after the lessons and prayers of the Vigil. The holy oils have been already blessed by the Bishop and the water in the baptistery hallowed for use[2]: the candidates finally renounce Satan, facing westwards, and then, descending into the water, face eastwards and make their profession of faith; thereupon they are baptized by triple immersion.

Confirmation.

3. On coming up out of the water the Bishop anoints them with the chrism, signs them with the sign of the cross, and lays his hands upon them. The ceremonies being thus completed, the candidates pass on to the altar

[1] S. Mark vii. 31–37.

[2] The consecration of the water is not so marked a feature as the rest, but it seems to have begun as early as this. Tert. *De Bapt.* 4. For other evidence, see Stone, 132, 268.

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to receive their first communion: and after it milk and honey are given to them, as emblematical of their entry into the Promised Land and of the childlike nature now renewed in them, &c.

In the fourth century.

This very full outline of the service, which may be gathered alike from Tertullian[1] and from the Hippolytean Canons,[2] reappears again in the writers of the middle of the fourth century. The picture then obtainable is the same, though the details are better filled in, and in particular there are now actual formularies available for study, which form part of the Sacramentary of Serapion. Some small additions, which have been made in one or other place, disturb to a small degree the unanimity; but the general impression is that of one uniform baptismal system throughout Christendom, and alike among orthodox and heretics, catholics and schismatics.

A similar view,

but contrasted.

The chief developments which had taken place in this scheme of the early part of the third century since the apostolic times were, (i) the introduction of the use of oil, as a literal interpretation of the unction of the Spirit spoken of in the New Testament, and (ii) the custom of hallowing the water. The subsequent development which becomes evident in the rites of the fourth century concerns mainly the system of preparation immediately preceding baptism.

Development in the catechumenate.

When the peace of the Church was established at the beginning of the fourth century, Church services and discipline came more into the open, and numbers of converts pressed in to the Church. It is natural therefore to find clearer evidence of systematic procedure in the preparation for baptism. The position of a catechumen, or postulant for baptism, had become a regular

[1] See the passages collected by Duchesne, pp. 321, 322, from the treatise, *De Baptismo*, and elsewhere.

[2] §§ 60–149. *Ibid.* pp. 512–514.

status: he was admitted to the catechumenate by a definite service and thenceforward ranked as a Christian. The length of the remoter period of probation varied with circumstances, but in any case there was always the nearer preparation for baptism itself, carried on during the forty days previous to Easter, as has been already seen. Here too there was more system: the candidate gave in his name at the beginning of the period to the Bishop, and was enrolled among the *competentes* or applicants. The training which followed was minute and careful, and varied at different times and places; but the chief features which it is important to notice here were two.

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Probation, remoter,

and more immediate

There was a series of services, called not unfrequently *scrutinia* or Testings, which all the *competentes* were bound to attend; and these served a double purpose. First, they were the occasion of repeated ceremonies of exorcism, such as those employed at the original admission to the catechumenate, or that described above as the final exorcism by the Bishop on the eve of baptism. Secondly, they were the occasion of a systematic instruction in faith and worship, and especially of the learning and recital by the candidates of the Creed and of the Lord's Prayer.

The scrutinies

for (a) *exorcism;*

and (b) *instruction;*

The systematic catechumenate of the fourth century, while differing in different places in detail, was substantially the same everywhere; the same, for example, in Jerusalem as in Africa or in Rome.[1] It came however to maturity only to decay again with great rapidity: for, as the West became Christian, the number of infant candidates came to overpower the adults, and the whole system needed modification in view of this change.

The decay of the system.

[1] Evidence is abundant as to Jerusalem from the Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril and the *Peregrinatio* of S. Silvia. For the West the evidence comes chiefly from S. Augustine and S. Ambrose. See Wiegand, *Symbol und Katechumenat* (Leipzig, 1899), and Stone, *l.c.*

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The modification was made very slowly and on conservative lines: the infants were treated as though they were adults, were admitted as solemnly as ever to the catechumenate, were called up to recite their creed and make their profession by deputy; and generally speaking the whole procedure was kept up, though much of it became symbolical and representative rather than actually and literally applicable. The part of the system which chiefly disappeared was the system of instruction: the 'scrutinies' were retained, but chiefly for the ceremonies of exorcism; and soon all that remained of the systematic instruction was the teaching and recital of the Creed, the exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and in conservative Rome a brief exposition of the opening passage of each of the four gospels.[1]

The service at Rome in the seventh century.

This is the point of the history which is represented in the earliest Roman Service books which bear witness to the use of the seventh century.[2] 1. The preparatory rites for baptism are there reduced to a series of seven 'scrutinies,' beginning in the third week of Lent[3] with the admission to the catechumenate and ending with the final exorcism, imposition of hands, and *Effeta* early on Easter Even. The instruction was all given at the third scrutiny, and the recitation of the Creed took place at the final one. In this preparation, as in other parts of the series of rites, the Roman use had its own peculiarities, and points of contrast are noticeable with the Gallican or non-Roman Western use as a whole or with the peculiarities of individual local Churches.[4]

[1] *Gelas. Sacr.* 537.

[2] The *Gelasian Sacramentary* and the 7th Roman Ordo.

[3] *Gelas Sacr.* 521 and ff.

[4] The *Apertio Aurium*, or formal instruction in the four Gospels, was peculiar to Rome. The ceremonies of unction differed in different places. In Spain a single immersion was customary, as a protest against Arianism (Stone, 135, 271). At Milan and in the sphere of its influence, the baptism was followed by a washing of feet: this was also a Celtic custom. See the Stowe Missal in Warren, *Liturgy of the Celtic Church*, 217.

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2. The consecration of the font followed the Vigil Service of Easter Even: this was performed with great solemnity by the Pope himself, who went with his clergy in solemn procession to the baptistery with lights and incense and the chant of litanies; a preliminary benediction was said, then a long consecratory prayer, at the close of which the chrism was poured into the font in the form of a cross.

3. The baptisms followed with triple immersion corresponding to a triple profession of faith, and each neophyte was anointed with chrism on coming up out of the water, and clad in new clothes.

4. The Pope performed only a few baptisms and then retired from the baptistery to his throne in the church, where the neophytes received their new dress from him. Then as they stood in a circle before him he invoked upon them the sevenfold gift of the Spirit and confirmed them in turn, anointing with his thumb in the form of a cross the forehead of each with the chrism.

From this they passed on to the Mass and to their first communion, and the subsequent food of milk and honey.

Note, the candidates;

the minister.

Two points are especially noticeable: first, the fact that, though the candidates are children, they are still treated throughout as much as possible like adults, and are communicated at the end: secondly, while the Bishop is still in theory the minister of the whole, the functions have in fact been delegated: the consecration of the chrism has universally, in the West as in the East, been retained in the Bishop's hands: and in the West the invocation of the Holy Spirit and signing with the chrism as 'confirmation', is also not delegated[1]: but the

[1] This is the Roman custom: elsewhere in the West the custom of allowing the priest to perform confirmation, by means of the episcopally consecrated chrism, obtained for a time, as it has continuously in the East. But the Roman custom drove it out. See, for example, Innocent's

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rest of the service has been conceded to priests and even deacons to perform as a normal function.

The growth of the Sarum Rite

From this early mediæval Roman service it is a very small step to the later mediæval service of the Sarum Use. The Roman baptismal customs, as brought by S. Augustine, found themselves confronted with other customs to which the Celtic Church passionately clung: the difference between the two uses was a great bone of contention, but it is not clear in what it consisted.[1] It is improbable that any concession was made to the customs of the Celts in this respect, for the difference seems to have been serious, and to have involved in the Roman minds some doubts as to the validity of the Celtic baptism. Consequently such modifications of the service, as took place, may be assigned to two causes independent of this dispute. First, to the adoption of some Gallican customs: the signing on the right hand at the close of the admission to the catechumenate,[2] the solemn triple formularies of impregnating the font with the oil and chrism,[3] and the presentation of a candle[4] as well as the chrysom robe after the baptism,[5] these are features of Gallican origin.

by adoption of Gallican customs,

and modifications to meet new conditions;

by compression;

But apart from borrowing, other changes came about in the service to meet the altered circumstances: the catechumenate, as a period of probation, faded out of existence, and the rites were compressed so as to form a

letter to Decentius (*Epist.* xxv. 3; Migne, *P.L.* xx. 554) quoted in Gratian III. iv. 119. See Hall, *Confirmation*, ch. iv.

[1] Warren, *Liturgy of Celtic Church*, 64.

[2] Martene, I. i. XVIII. Ordo XIII. Cp. *Miss. Goth.* (Muratori, ii. 589), and the Celtic *Stowe Missal* in Warren, *l.c.* 217.

[3] *Sacr. Gallic.* (Bobbio) in Muratori, ii. 850; *Miss. Goth.*, *ibid.* 591.

[4] Mentioned by S. Ambrose, *De lapsu Virg.* 5. Originally on Easter Even the candles were unlighted till the general lighting up of the church from the New Fire. Martene I. i. XV. 10.

[5] The Roman Rite made no special ceremony of this as did the Gallican. See *Missale Gothicum* (Muratori, ii. 590) and *Sacr. Gall.*, *ibid.* 852.

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mere introduction to the baptism itself, though a separate title was still retained for this section of the series of baptismal services to denote that its object was 'the making of a catechumen'[1]: the exorcisms, which had been repeated at each scrutiny, now figured only once, and the system of instruction only survived in the form of the reading of a Gospel; but otherwise the outline remained unchanged, except that the preliminary anointing and the renunciation of Satan were transferred to a later point, so as to precede immediately the act of baptism. On the other hand, the normal baptismal service lost two out of its four main sections: the consecration of the font was only performed rarely, as on Easter or Whitsun Even, but Holy Baptism was now administered at other times than in conjunction with the Great Paschal or Pentecostal ceremonies: consequently it was an exceptional event for the baptismal service to include a consecration of the font: as a rule the water was already consecrated, and stood ready for use in the font.

by the separation of the consecration of the font;

Again, the ceremony of confirmation became separated from the service, because it was only rarely that the Bishop was present at a baptism to administer confirmation; and this rite thus was deferred till the children had reached years of discretion. As a natural consequence of this the newly baptized ceased to go on straight to their first communion; and the confirmation and communion of infants became rare in the Western Church.[2]

and of confirmation.

The following table will show the relation of the earlier and later forms of the Latin Rite, and also the relation of the English forms to these.

[1] Ordo ad faciendum catechumenum.

[2] Queen Elizabeth was baptized and confirmed in the old way at the age of three days by Archbishop Cranmer. Stow, *Annals*.

THE ROMAN RITE OF BAPTISM IN THE VIITH CENTURY.	SARUM MANUAL.
THE CATECHUMENATE.	ORDO AD FACIENDUM CATECHUMENUM.
(*a*) ADMISSION.	
1. [Priest breathed on candidate.]	Breathing on. (At the Door.)
2. Priest names and crosses.	Name and Crossing.
3. Prayer with imposition of hands.	Prayer, &c.
4. Salt placed in mouth and Prayer.	Salt and Prayer.
(*b*) SIX SCRUTINIES IN LENT. After the Collect at Mass.	
5. Introductory private prayer and crossing by the god-parents. Crossing, prayer with imposition of hands, and Exorcism by Acolytes (thrice).	Acolytes' crossing, Prayers and
6. The same, but without Exorcism, by the priest.	Exorcising (thrice).
7. Private prayer and crossing by the god-parents as before, to close with.	Priest's Crossing and Prayer.
8. Instruction, *i.e.* at the 3rd Scrutiny :—	
Gospel *Apertio aurium.*	
Creed *Traditio Symboli.*	
Lord's Prayer *Traditio Pater.*	
(*c*) LAST SCRUTINY at 9 a.m. on Easter Even.	
9. Priest signs with Cross	
10. And with laying on of hands says the final Exorcism.	Exorcism
	The Gospel (Matt. xix. 13).
11. Effeta, anointing ears and lips with spittle.	Effeta (= Ephphatha).
12. Unction with oil on breast and back.	
13. Triple renunciation of Satan.	
14. Recitation of Creed (*Redditio Symboli*) by the Priest, laying his hand on their heads successively.	Recitation of Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and Creed by priest and god-parents.
	Signing of the infant on the right hand, and blessing.
	Introduction to Church.

First English Prayer Book, 1549.	Second English Prayer Book, 1552.
1. Exhortation. (At the Door)	Exhortation. (At the Font.)
2. Prayer.	Prayer.
3. Name and signing.	
4. Prayer (2nd Adjuration).	Prayer (d°).
5. Exorcism (once).	
6. Gospel (Mark x. 13).	Reading of Gospel (Mark x. 13).
7. Exhortation and 8. Recitation of Lord's Prayer and Creed by priest and god-parents.	Exhortation.
9. Prayer by the priest.	Same prayer by all.
10. Introduction to Church.	

THE ROMAN RITE OF BAPTISM IN THE VIITH CENTURY.	SARUM MANUAL.
BAPTISM ON EASTER EVE.	BENEDICTIO FONTIS, *used from time to time.*
15. Litany.	Litany.
16. Benediction of Font.	Benediction of Font.
17. Infusion of chrism.	Triple infusion of oil and chrism.
	RITUS BAPTIZANDI.
	Renunciation of Satan thrice (13).
	Unction on breast & back (12).
18. Profession of Faith (thrice).	Profession of Faith (thrice).
	Desire of Baptism.
19. Baptism by triple immersion.	Baptism by triple immersion.
20. Unction by the Priest with oil and chrism.	Signing with Cross with chrism.
21. Clothed in a new dress.	Giving of chrysom (white robe). Giving of a taper.
	The priest exhorts the god-parents.
CONFIRMATION follows.	CONFIRMATIO PUERORUM.
	Versicles.
22. Invocation of the Holy Spirit by the Bishop.	Invocation of the Holy Spirit.
23. Signing Cross on the forehead with thumb dipped in chrism.	Signing, &c.
	Collect.
	Blessing.
FIRST COMMUNION follows.	

First English Prayer Book, 1549.	Second English Prayer Book, 1552.
11. Address to god-parents.	Address to god-parents.
12. (*a*) Renunciation of Satan (thrice).	Renunciation of Satan (once).
(*b*) Profession of Faith (thrice).	Profession of Faith (once).
(*c*) Desire of Baptism.	Desire of Baptism.
	Obedience to Commandments.
Blessing of Water *to be used at least monthly.*	
i. Blessing of the Water.	
ii. Eight short petitions.	Four short petitions.
iii. Collect.	Collect (*modified in 1661 so as to include a blessing of the water*).
13. Baptism by {triple immersion. affusion.	Baptism by {immersion. affusion.
	Signing with Cross on forehead.
14. Giving of the chrysom.	
15. Unction.	
	Introduction & Lord's Prayer.
	Thanksgiving.
16. Exhortation to god-parents.	Exhortation.
	Address.
Confirmation.	Confirmation.
	[*1661. Preface.* *Bishop's Question and Answer.*]
1. Versicles.	Versicles.
2. Invocation of Holy Spirit.	Invocation of the Holy Spirit.
3. Prayer of the minister.	
4. Signing by the Bishop with	
5. Laying on of hands.	Laying on of hands with prayer. [*Lord's Prayer, 1661.*]
6. Prayer.	Prayer. [*Collect, 1661.*]
7. Blessing.	Blessing.

Public Baptism.

Revision.

In forming the new baptismal office the revisers had to face many problems, because, while the circumstances of baptism had altered so much, the service had never yet been similarly altered. Their models were chiefly two, viz., the current Latin service and the modification of it in Hermann's *Consultation*.[1] Considerable changes were made in 1549, more radical in some respects than those of the *Consultation*, and further alterations followed in 1552.

In 1549, the triple form of the service retained,

The service still retained in 1549 its triple character. 1. The making of a catechumen, which, according to the *Consultation* was to be done on the day before the actual baptism, became in the First Prayer Book, on the contrary, a mere opening section of the baptismal service: it was greatly cut down from the Latin model; exhortations and prayers on the plan of the German Order took the place of Latin ceremonies such as the Gift of Salt or the *Effeta*, which were discarded; but it retained some substantial recognition of its identity with the old admission to the catechumenate in the fact that it was said at the church door, and was consequently still distinct from the rest of the service.

with omissions.

A new form for hallowing the font,

2. The consecration of the font was still a separate rite; it was ordered that the water should be changed and hallowed at least every month; and a form for this was provided, and placed as an appendix at the end of the baptismal services. It was not the old form of the Manual, but was evidently taken from some Gallican source; the exact original, however, has not yet been traced: various parts of it occur in several Gallican formularies of baptism, but, while the connexion is too

[1] These and other sources are very conveniently collected and well handled in Fallow, *The Baptismal Offices Illustrated*, Oxford, 1838. The Latin Service is in Maskell, *Mon.* i. 3 and ff. Cp. York and Sarum Manuals in Surtees Soc., vol. 63.

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obvious to be denied, it seems impossible to say of any of the extant rites, that it is the one, which was before the revisers in doing their work.

The form provided in 1549 ran thus :—

O most merciful God our Saviour Jesu Christ, who hast ordained the element of water for the regeneration of thy faithful people, upon whom, being baptized in the river of Jordan, the Holy Ghost came down in likeness of a dove ; send down, we beseech thee, the same thy Holy Spirit to assist us, and to *be present at this our invocation of thy holy name: Sanctify* ✠ *this fountain of baptism, Thou that art the sanctifier of all things*, that by the power of thy word all those that shall be baptized therein may be spiritually regenerated, and made the children of everlasting adoption. Amen.

1. O merciful God, grant that the old Adam, in them that shall be baptized in this fountain, may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up again. Amen.

2. Grant that all carnal affections, &c.

3. Grant to all them which at this fountain forsake the devil and all his works, that they may have power and strength to have victory, and to triumph against him, the world, and the flesh. Amen.

4. Whosoever shall confess Thee, O Lord, recognise him also in thy kingdom. Amen.

5. Grant that all sin and vice here may be so extinct, that they never have power to reign in thy servants. Amen.

6. Grant that whosoever here shall begin to be of thy flock, may evermore continue in the same. Amen.

7. Grant that all they which for thy sake in this life do deny and forsake themselves, may win and purchase Thee, O Lord, which art everlasting treasure. Amen.

8. Grant that whosoever is here dedicated to Thee, &c.[1]

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

[1] This series of eight short prayers is one of the most easily identified portions of the form ; they all are found in a similar series of sixteen short prayers in the Mozarabic 'Benedictio Fontis,' Migne, *P.L.*, LXXXV. 188, col. 466 (Nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 15, 14, 16) ; the two first prayers of that series also are found here in the two clauses in the prayer italicised above. The same series is found in the *Missale Gallicanum* (Muratori, ii. 740) with three slight differences : in two of these the

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Almighty everliving God, whose most dearly beloved Son, &c. Regard, we beseech Thee, the supplications of thy congregation, and grant that all thy servants which shall be baptized in this water, prepared for the ministration of thy holy sacrament,[1] may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children, through Jesu Christ our Lord.

and amplification of the 'Catechism'

3. The rite of the baptism itself followed the old 'Ritus baptizandi,' but the Renunciation and the Confession of Faith were prescribed in fuller form, so that the first became a triple renunciation, not only of the devil, but also of the world and of the flesh; while the second involved the recitation in full of the baptismal Creed. Smaller changes were the omission of the delivery of the taper, and the postponing of the unction till after the chrysom had been given. An address to the god-parents was provided according to old custom at the end of the service, but a novel address was also introduced, as an introduction to the Renunciation and Confession of Faith.

In 1552

Further changes were made in 1552, partly to secure a still greater unity in the baptismal service, and partly to meet criticisms and objections, which the retention of so many of the old ceremonies had called forth. To secure greater unity, the saying of the early part of the service at the church door was given up, and the whole was assigned to be said at the font. The recital in

further compression.

English version follows the Gallican, and not the Mozarabic, *i.e.* in the wording of the fourth and in the order of the three last clauses; but in the third—the wording of the last clause—it is nearer to the Mozarabic. It is clear that the Mozarabic Missal was accessible at the time of the revision, for it was printed by Ximenes in 1500, and it may very easily have been known to Cranmer; on the other hand the MS. of the *Missale Gallicanum* was not discovered and printed till the end of the seventeenth century. So it is probable that Cranmer had some other Gallican Order of Service before him which has not so far been identified.

The two Gallican prayers are printed side by side in Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, p. 190. Compare other Gallican forms of 'Benedictio Fontis' at pp. 95 and 268 there.

[1] The clause 'prepared for the ministration of thy holy sacrament' was omitted in 1552.

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the first part of the service of the Creed and Lord's Prayer, the last relic of the *Redditio symboli*, was also given up: the Creed was already said in full according to the book of 1549 at the Confession of Faith, and a place was found for the Lord's Prayer at the opening of a section of thanksgiving, which was now for the first time added after the baptism.[1]

The criticisms of Bucer on the office of 1549 have already been described[2]: some of the more important were taken to heart, and changes were made in consequence. The exorcism, the unction and the chrysom were put out of the service: the crossing, however, to which he equally objected, was retained in a simpler form, and placed in a more central position in close connexion with the act of baptism, instead of in the traditional position at the beginning: it had been naturally connected with the admission to the catechumenate at that point, but it no longer retained any special significance there when once that connexion was abandoned, and in its new position it to some extent took the place left vacant by the omission of the giving of the chrysom and of the unction. But further, Bucer was possessed with an unreasoning horror of the benediction of material objects, and wished to have no trace of such a thing in the baptismal service. Accordingly in 1552 the prayer for the hallowing of the font was omitted, and with regard to the rest of the form of blessing prescribed in 1549, four out of the eight short prayers, together with the closing collect in a modified form, were retained, and were set for use at each baptism immediately after the Renunciation and Confession of Faith and before the

and omission of ceremonies,

and consecratory prayer.

[1] This follows S. Cyprian, *Dom. Or.* 9. Compare the transposition of the Lord's Prayer in 1552 to a similar position as the opening of the section of thanksgiving in the Communion Service. Above, p. 473.

[2] Above, pp. 74, 75. They are given in full in Fallow.

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act of baptism.[1] Thus, although Bucer did not get all the changes made that he desired, the chief of those that were made were due to his suggestion.

The present service

After this general survey of the history of changes in the Rites of Baptism, it remains now to review the present office in detail, noting by the way such changes as have been made since 1552. The title was slightly altered in 1661 by the restoration of the word 'Public,' which had formed part of the title in the First Book, and by the insertion of the words 'of Infants,' which were rendered necessary by the setting forth then for the first time of a special service for adult baptism. At the same time a change was also made in the first rubric, which had hitherto been longer, and formed an introduction to the office:—

Opening Rubric.

It appeareth by ancient writers that the Sacrament of Baptism in the old time was not commonly ministered but at two times in the year, at Easter and Whitsuntide,[2] *at which times it was only ministered in presence of all the congregation: which custom now being grown out of use, although it cannot for many considerations be well restored again, yet it is thought good to follow the same as near as conveniently may be: wherefore the people are to be admonished, that it is most convenient that Baptism should not be ministered but upon Sundays and other Holy Days,*[3] *&c.*

Since the custom of observing solemn times of Baptism had long been disused, the mention of the custom was omitted in 1661. It was enough to specify the things

[1] Bucer objected even to the statement that by the Baptism of Christ water had been sanctified to the mystical washing away of sin: but his desire for the removal of the phrase was not gratified.

[2] The Epiphany was in early days a solemn time of baptism from its connexion with our Lord's Baptism (above, p. 323), but this custom was resisted at Rome, and under Roman influence it came to an end in the West. Duchesne, 282, 283.

[3] 'We will that Baptism be ministered only upon the Sundays and Holy Days, when the whole congregation is wont to come together, if the weakness of the infants let not the same, so that it is to be feared that they will not live till the next Holy Day.' Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. cliii.

which were necessary, which are, that, except in cases of necessity, the rite be administered at the font on a Sunday or a Holy Day, '*when the most number of people come together;*' that the time in the service be after the second lesson at Morning or Evening Prayer; and that three sponsors be required for each child:[1] notice must

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Sponsors.

[1] The institution of sponsors is very ancient. At the end of the second century some one was required to be security for the candidate on admission as catechumen (*Can. Hipp.* 103), and again some one to receive him from the font and be security for his future life. The latter persons, called 'sponsores' (Tert. *De Bapt.* 16) or 'susceptores' (cp. Tert. *De cor. mil.* 3), were further required to answer in the name of infants and others unable to answer for themselves (*Can. Hipp.* 113, &c.). In the days of adult baptism by immersion one person, of the same sex as the candidate, received him or her from the font; in some places the rule required a deacon for a man and a deaconess for a woman (*Ap. Const.* iii. 16); but as the manner of baptism changed, this was no longer necessary, and it became natural for one to stand sponsor to the opposite sex. In this way a single baptismal Godparent was all that was required, and some rules forbad more (Decree of Leo IV. in 853 in Gratian IV. iii. 101); but another was required for the catechumenate and another for confirmation (*Ibid.*), making three in all. A false decretal ascribed to Pope Hyginus in the second century, but actually included in the Saxon Penitential of Abp. Theodore (*Penitential*, II. iv. 8 (cp. 10) in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 193, or Schmitz, *Bussbücher*, ii. 569), and inserted in the *Decretum* (IV. iii. 100) allowed that the same person might stand in case of necessity on all three occasions, though the Roman custom was to have a different sponsor at each. In theory the old rule of a single sponsor held good, but it was recognised that in places it was overruled by custom, and three sponsors were allowed at baptism—a survival, possibly, of the older triple sponsorial system.

This custom prevailed in England (Lyndwood, *Prov.* iii. 24). The Sarum rubric slightly altered the old rule, and placed it alongside of the existing customary regulations:—*Non plures quam unus vir et una mulier* (Leo had 'unus, sive vir sive mulier') *debent accedere ad suscipiendum parvulum de sacro fonte . . . nisi alia fuerit consuetudo approbata: tamen ultra tres amplius ad hoc nullatenus recipiantur.* The custom was fully approved in England, which still holds, and was inserted in the Rubric in 1661. The Council of York in 1195 in its fourth canon declared in favour of three sponsors as maximum (Harduin, VI. 1931), and Abp. Edmund's Constitution of 1236 (Lyndwood, *l.c.*) is to the same effect: but in 1240 the Synod of Worcester spoke of it as a minimum: '*Masculum ad minus*' (perhaps for '*ad maius*') *duo masculi et una mulier suscipiant: feminam duo mulieres et masculus unus.* (Harduin VII. 332; Mansi, XXIII. 527; Wilkins, i. 667.) The Roman rule prescribes one sponsor or at most one of each sex.

From at least as early a time as the sixth century (*Code of Justinian* V. IV. 26), sponsorship has been held to involve a relationship which was a bar to marriage, precisely like a natural relationship: consequently the older custom of parents standing for their children, apparently in a

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also be given by the parents at least before the beginning of Morning Prayer.[1] At the last revision (1661) it was directed that the font should be filled with pure water at every time of Baptism.[2]

The Inquiry and Address.

The preliminary inquiry is according to the old rubric,[3] and the address has one slight point of contact with the long opening exhortation in Hermann's *Consultation.*[4] The first prayer was taken in 1549

sponsorial and not merely a parental position at baptism, which was common in S. Augustine's day, was prohibited (Council of Mainz in 813, Canon 55: in Harduin iv. 1016). This prohibition was repeated in the 29th of the Canons of 1603, and it was further required, again following older precedents, that sponsors must have received Communion. The first has been (informally) repealed by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1865, and has been abolished by the Irish and the American Churches; but the second still holds good and is justified both by reason and precedent.

The requirement of a sponsor for confirmation, which has been customary in England at least since the time of Abp. Theodore and the Laws of Ine (c. 690), (See No. 76 in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 218) is continued by the third rubric after the Catechism: the Sarum rubric laid down that this should not be one of the baptismal sponsors, except in case of necessity. Cp. Myrk, *Instruction for Parish Priests* (E. E. T. S) ll. 164–6.

See for the whole subject, Bingham, XI. VIII.; Stone, pp. 100 and ff.; *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, s. v. Sponsor; Van Espen, *Jus. Eccl. Univ.* II. i. 2, v. and II. i. 13, VII.

[1] Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. cliii.: 'But that all things may be ministered and received religiously and reverently, the parents of the infant shall signify the matter betimes to the pastors, and with the godfathers shall humbly require Baptism for their infants. That if the parents, or the godfathers, or both, be subject to manifest crimes, they may be corrected of the pastor if they will admit correction, or if they be incorrigible, that they may be kept from the communion of Baptism, lest they be present at so divine a ministration unto damnation, and with danger of offending the Church....'

[2] The rubric in the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637) ordered the *water in the font to be changed twice in the month at least;* and the following words from the consecration prayer of 1549 (above, p. 571) were inserted into the first prayer, which were to be said before any child was baptized in the water so changed: 'Sanctify this fountain of Baptism, thou which art the sanctifier of all things.'

[3] *Ordo ad faciena. Catech.:* 'inquirat sacerdos, utrum sit infans masculus an femina: deinde, si infans fuerit baptizatus domi.' Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I, p. 3.

[4] 'Beloved in Christ Jesu, we hear daily out of the word of God, and learn by our own experience, that all we, from the fall of Adam, *are conceived and born in sins,* that we are guilty of the wrath of God, and damned through the sin of Adam, except we be delivered by the death and merits of the Son of God, Christ Jesu our only Saviour.' *Consult.* fol. clvi. The exhortation is twenty times as long as that in the Prayer Book, and, except for the above

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The first opening Prayer.

almost verbatim, either from the same book, where it follows the examination and exorcism, or more probably direct from Luther's original German version, which appeared first in the *Taufbüchlein* of 1523,[1] whence it passed to other German services, and eventually to the *Consultation*.[2] In 1552 this prayer was remodelled; the exordium was made much more concise by a masterly hand: the central section which diverged farthest from the original was also curtailed and altered,[3] and an effective close was substituted for the halting end which disfigured the prayer as it stood in 1549.

The Second Prayer before the Gospel.

The second prayer is taken from the Sarum office, where it was one of the prayers said at the exorcism in

similarity of phrase, is of a markedly different character.

[1] Some phrases in it are nearer to Luther's form than to the *Consultation*, and it has all the appearance of being an independent translation. See the Taufbüchlein in Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. No. III.

[2] 'Almighty God, who in old time didst destroy the wicked world with the flood, according to thy terrible judgment, and didst preserve only the family of godly Noah, eight souls, of thy unspeakable mercy; and who also didst drown in the Red Sea obstinate Pharaoh, the King of the Egyptians, with all his army and warlike power, and causedst thy people of Israel to pass over with dry feet; and wouldst shadow in them Holy Baptism, the laver of regeneration: furthermore, who didst consecrate Jordan with the Baptism of thy son Christ Jesu, and other waters to holy dipping and washing of sins: we pray Thee for thy exceeding mercy look favourably upon this Infant; give him true faith, and thy Holy Spirit, that whatsoever filth he hath taken of Adam, it may be drowned, and be put away by this holy flood, that being separated from the number of the ungodly, he may be kept safe in the holy ark of the Church, and may confess and sanctify thy name with a lusty and fervent spirit, and serve thy kingdom with constant trust and sure hope, that at length he may attain to the promises of eternal life with all the godly. Amen.' *Consult.* fol. clxii. It has been supposed that this prayer is a translation from some Latin source (Blunt, p. 218), but no such origin has yet been traced.

[3] A clause had been inserted in 1549, that the children 'may be received into the ark of Christ's Church, *and so saved from perishing*.' This, as excluding unbaptized infants from salvation, was omitted in 1552, together with the mention of the destruction of the old world and of 'wicked king Pharaoh' by water. Cp. Cranmer, *Reform. Legum*, 'De Baptismo:' 'Illorum etiam videri debet scrupulosa superstitio, qui Dei gratiam et Spiritum Sanctum tantopere cum sacramentorum elementis colligant, ut plane affirment, nullum Christianorum infantem salutem esse consecuturum, qui prius morte fuerit occupatus, quam ad Baptismum adduci potuerit: quod longe secus habere judicamus.'

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the baptism of a male.[1] This was also its use in the service of 1549, as it was then still preceded by the crossing and succeeded by the exorcism:[2] when these disappeared in 1552 the collect alone survived.

The Gospel and Exhortation.

The Gospel in the old English office was from S. Matthew: the corresponding passage from S. Mark, now read in our service, was customary in Germany,[3] and appears in the *Consultation*, where also it was followed by a short address, which furnished the idea and the matter of the closing part of our brief Exhortation upon the words of the Gospel.[4] The Gospel

[1] '*Hæc sequens oratio dicitur super masculum tantum.*

Deus, immortale præsidium omnium postulantium, liberatio supplicum, pax rogantium, vita credentium, resurrectio mortuorum: te invoco super hunc famulum tuum N. qui, Baptismi tui donum petens, æternam consequi gratiam spirituali regeneratione desiderat. Accipe eum, Domine: et quia dignatus es dicere, Petite ac accipietis, quærite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis, petenti præmium porrige, et januam pande pulsanti: ut æternam cœlestis lavacri benedictionem consecutus, promissa tui muneris regna percipiat. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.' This Collect is found in the Gregorian Sacramentaries, but not in the Gelasian, though some such prayer in that position seems to be demanded by symmetry. It is also in Luther's office and in the *Consultation*.

[2] The ceremony of making a cross upon the child's forehead and breast, was accompanied by the words, 'N. receive the sign of the holy cross, both in thy forehead, and in thy breast, in token that thou shalt not be ashamed to confess thy faith in Christ crucified, and manfully to fight, &c.' Then after the prayer followed the form of exorcism: '*Then let the priest, looking upon the children, say*, I command thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou come out, and depart from these infants, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchsafed to call to His holy Baptism, to be made members of His body, and of His holy congregation. Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence, remember thy judgment, remember the day to be at hand wherein thou shalt burn in fire everlasting, prepared for thee and thy angels. And presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these infants, whom Christ has bought with His precious blood, and by this His holy Baptism, called to be of His flock.' These are both adaptations of the old service. See Maskell, pp. 7 and ff., and cp. Hermann, *Consultation*, fol. clxiii.

[3] *Antididagma* (Paris 1540), p. 57.

[4] Believe these words, and this deed of our Lord Jesu Christ upon them, and doubt not but that He will so receive your children also, and embrace them with the arms of His mercy, and give them the blessing of eternal life, and the everlasting communion of the kingdom of God. The same Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ confirm and increase this your faith. Amen.' Hermann,

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was formerly followed by the *Effeta* and the recital of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, and when the *Effeta* was given up in 1549, the exhortation was made to lead up to the recital: when the recital was given up in 1552, it was made to lead instead into the thanksgiving. This comes directly from the *Consultation*, where it formed the conclusion of the admission to the catechumenate on the day preceding the Baptism.[1] In the First Prayer Book the introductory service at the church door ended here with the ceremony of introducing the children into the church, and the words,

The Thanksgiving.

'The Lord vouchsafe to receive you into His holy household, and to keep and govern you alway in the same, that you may have everlasting life. Amen.'[2]

The Address to the Sponsors.

The Address to the Sponsors before Baptism was composed in 1549; it slightly resembles the Address in the *Consultation*, with which the service opened on the day of the Baptism; but its whole purpose is different, since this leads up to the baptismal promises, which in the German order had been already made.[3] It is possible

Consultation, fol. clxiv. Comp. also the Exhortation before Baptism, fol. clvi.: '. . . who would have the infants to be offered unto Him, that He might give them His blessing. . . . And be ye most certain hereof, that our Lord Jesus Christ will mercifully regard this work of your charity towards this infant.'

[1] 'Almighty and everlasting God, heavenly Father, we give Thee eternal thanks, that Thou hast vouchsafed to call us to this knowledge of thy grace, and faith towards Thee. Increase and confirm this faith in us evermore. Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant, that he may be born again, and be made heir of everlasting salvation, which of thy grace and mercy Thou hast promised to thy holy Church, to old men, and to children, through our Lord Jesus Christ, which liveth and reigneth with Thee now and for ever. Amen.' *Consultation*, fol: clxiv. The Irish Book orders that this should be said by the people as well as the minister: the English Book does not, and probably does not intend it.

[2] This was the conclusion of the *Ordo ad faciend. Catechumenum:* Maskell, p. 13. '*N.* ingredere in templum dei, ut habeas vitam eternam et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.'

[3] 'Beloved in Christ, yesterday, by the grace of God, we heard how exceeding and unspeakable mercy is exhibited in Baptism. Ye have renounced Satan and the world; ye have confessed the faith of Christ, and ye have promised obedience to Christ and the congregation; and ye

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also that it was meant to counteract certain misconceptions of the spiritual character of the operation of Baptism.[1]

The 'catechism.'

The renunciation and profession have gone through a considerable amount of minor modification. In 1549 this part kept closer than at present to the old service, though considerably amplified.

Then shall the priest demand of the child which shall be first baptized these questions following: first naming the child and saying, N. dost thou forsake the devil and all his works? *Answer.* I forsake them.

Then a separate renunciation of the world and then of the flesh. The anointing was omitted. The profession of faith was not confined to three short propositions as in the Latin, but the second division of the Creed was said in full like the rest, and to all three the answer was made, 'I believe.' Then followed:

Minister. What dost thou desire? *Answer.* Baptism. *Minister.* Wilt thou be baptized? *Answer.* I will.[2]

have required of God the Father, that for His Son's sake, our Lord Jesus Christ, He will deliver these infants from the kingdom of darkness, and settle them in the kingdom of His beloved Son. You must remember these things, and doubt nothing, but that we shall receive all these things that we require, if we believe,' &c. *Consult.* fol. clxv.

[1] Cp. Cranmer, *Reform. Legum*, 'De Baptismo:' 'Plures item ab aliis cumulantur errores in Baptismo, quem aliqui sic attoniti spectant, ut ab ipso illo externo credant elemento Spiritum Sanctum emergere, vimque ejus nomen et virtutem, ex qua recreamur, et gratiam et reliqua ex eo proficiscentia dona in ipsis Baptismi fonticulis enatare. In summa totam regenerationem nostram illi sacro puteo deberi volunt, qui in sensus nostros incurrunt. Verum salus animarum, instauratio Spiritus, et beneficium adoptionis, quo nos Deus pro filiis agnoscit, a misericordia divina per Christum ad nos dimanante, tum etiam ex promissione sacris in scripturis apparente, proveniunt.'

[2] The following is the text of the Sarum Manual:

'*Tunc portetur infans ad fontes ab his qui eum suscepturi sunt ad baptismum: ipsisque eundem puerum super fontes inter manus tenentibus, ponat sacerdos manum dextram super eum: et interrogato ejus nomine respondeant qui eum tenent N. Item sacerdos dicat:* N, abrenuntias Sathanæ? *Respondeant compatrini et commatrinæ:* Abrenuntio. *Item sacerdos:* Et omnibus operibus ejus? Ꝟ. Abrenuntio. *Item sacerdos:* Et omnibus pompis ejus? Ꝟ. Abrenuntio.

Postea tangat sacerdos pectus in-

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In 1552 the renunciation and the profession of faith were each compressed into one question, and these were now addressed to the godparents,[1] and their answers at the same time were made fuller: their position as sponsors answering for the children was further defined in 1661: at Wren's suggestion[2] the words 'until *he* come of age to take it upon himself' were inserted into the preliminary address; and further, the opening question was amplified so as to run thus: 'Dost thou, *in the name of this child*, renounce, &c.': and the last word was now substituted for 'forsake' throughout.[3]

In the closing questions where the First Book followed the Latin exactly, a change was made in 1552, substituting one pointed question for the two vague ones; and in 1661 a still greater change was made by the introduction of a definite profession of life-long obedience to God: this had hitherto been understood from the whole context of the service to be one of the baptismal vows, and it had had explicit expression in the address preceding the vows, but not in the actual form of a question and answer, as was the case with the other vows.

fantis et inter scapulas de oleo sancto, crucem faciens cum pollice, dicens: N, et ego linio te (*super pectus*) oleo salutis (*inter scapulas*), in Christo Jesu Domino nostro: ut habeas vitam æternam, et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Deinde interrogato nomine respondeant N. Item sacerdos. N, credis in deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem cœli et terræ? ℟. Credo. *Item sacerdos.* Credis et in Jesum Christum Filium eius unicum dominum nostrum natum et passum? ℟. Credo. *Item sacerdos.* Credis et in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, et vitam eternam post mortem? ℟. Credo. *Tunc interroget sacerdos.* Quid petis? ℟. Baptismum. *Item sacerdos.* Vis baptizari? ℟. Volo.'

[1] One of Bucer's criticisms concerned this point. 'Optarim igitur omnes illas huius Catechismi (nescio cur ita vocati) interrogationes fieri ad ipsos compatres et commatres.' *Censura*, xiv.

[2] *Fragm. Illust.* 86.

[3] The American Prayer Book has an explanatory rubric before the demands: that '*the questions are to be considered as addressed to the sponsors severally, and the answers to be made accordingly.*'

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The hallowing of the Font.

The changes have already been described by which the four short prayers and the longer collect, which now follow, came into their position as the relics of the service provided in the First Book for the consecration of the font. The want of some consecration of the water was felt in 1637 at the preparation of the Scottish Book, and two insertions were made, one into the first collect of the service,[1] and the other here,[2] to remedy the defect. A similar change was made here for the same purpose in 1661 by the insertion of the clause 'Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin.'

Ceremonies after Baptism.

The sign of the cross.

After the action of Baptism there followed in 1549 the two ancient ceremonies of the chrysom, and the unction.[3] In 1552 they disappeared and the ceremony of making the sign of the cross upon the child, which had occurred at an earlier part of the service, was transferred to this position. The words used, which express that the Sacrament has been completed, and the newly-baptized thereby received into the congregation, belong entirely to our English Prayer Book. The ceremony formed one of the bitterest complaints of the Puritans, but it was retained in spite of all opposition, and in 1603 a special Canon (30) was framed to explain its use.

[1] See above, p. 576.

[2] The Scottish office added here, after the words 'this water,' the words,—'which we here bless and dedicate in thy name to this spiritual washing.'

[3] '*Then the Godfathers and Godmothers shall take and lay their hands upon the child, and the Minister shall put upon him his white vesture, commonly called the chrysom; and say*, Take this white vesture for a token of the innocency which by God's grace in this holy sacrament of Baptism is given unto thee; and for a sign whereby thou art admonished, so long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocency of living, that, after this transitory life, thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting. Amen. *Then the Priest shall anoint the infant upon the head, saying*, Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerated thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath given unto thee remission of all thy sins: He vouchsafe to anoint thee with the unction of His Holy Spirit, and bring thee to the inheritance of everlasting life. Amen.'

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The Bidding, together with the Lord's Prayer [1] and Thanksgiving that follow,[2] was placed here in 1552. It is an important addition, expressing so unequivocally the regeneration of each baptized infant.[3]

The Thanksgiving after Baptism for Regeneration.

The ancient manner, to which the people were accustomed, of dipping the child first on one side then on the other and then face downwards,[4] was retained in the First Prayer Book (1549) with the permission that, '*if the child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it.*' The action was brought to its present simplicity in 1552:—

Method of Baptism.

Simplified in 1552.

Then the Priest shall take the child in his hands, and ask the name, and naming the child, shall dip it in the water, so it be discreetly and warily done, saying, &c. *And if the child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it, saying,* &c.

The Christian name given at Baptism.

From this period also the giving of the Christian name at the time of Baptism was more clearly marked. Previously the child had been called by its future name many times during the earlier part of the service; but this was now omitted, and the name was pronounced for the first time together with the act of Baptism. The alteration of the rubric in 1661 marks this still more clearly; and also shows that Baptism by immersion was no longer the rule:—'*If they shall certify him that the*

[1] The absence of the Doxology was noted for correction by Wren (*Fragm. Ill.* 88), but it was left unaltered: the words *all kneeling* were added to the rubric, which here as elsewhere do not apply to the Priest.

[2] This was altered in two places in 1661 by the substitution at Wren's suggestion of 'Church' for 'Congregation' (*Frag. Ill.* 88): but the latter word was retained above at the crossing, in spite of Cosin's protest (*Works*, v. 520).

[3] For the doctrinal significance of Baptism, see Stone, *Holy Baptism*; Gibson, *Articles*.

[4] *Deinde accipiat sacerdos infantem per latera in manibus suis, et interrogato nomine ejus, baptizet eum sub trina immersione, tantum sanctam Trinitatem invocando, ita dicens:* N, et ego baptizo te in nomine Patris: *Et mergat eum semel versa facie ad aquilonem, et capite versus orientem:* et Filii: *Et iterum mergat semel versa facie ad meridiem:* et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. *Et mergat tertio recta facie versus aquam.*' See *Sarum Manual*, Maskell, p. 23.

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child may well endure it, he shall dip it in the water discreetly, &c.'

The Address to the Sponsors.

The Exhortation to the Godparents was composed in 1549. Besides making mention of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, which had been enjoined in the old charge to the sponsors,[1] the Ten Commandments are added, and sermons are pointed out as the means of obtaining sound instruction. It also shortly reminds them that the duties of a Christian life ought to be found in daily exercise among all who are baptized.

In the Prayer Book of 1549 a rubric followed this Exhortation :—

The Minister shall command that the chrysoms be brought to the church, and delivered to the Priests after the accustomed manner, at the purification of the mother of every child: and that the children be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed of him, so soon as they can say, in their vulgar tongue, the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and be further instructed in the Catechism set forth for that purpose, accordingly as it is there expressed. And so let the congregation depart in the name of the Lord.

Confirmation.

The mention of the chrysoms was omitted in 1552, and the rubric itself was changed in 1661 for a specific form of words, in which the Minister is to give the direction about Confirmation. It was then necessary to bring this ordinance to the memories of the people ; and it was more than probable that many Ministers ended the service without noticing the rubric, or making any mention of

[1] 'Godfathers and Godmothers of this child, we charge you that ye charge the father and the mother to keep it from fire and water and other perils to the age of vii year : and that ye learn or see it be learned the *Paternoster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*, after the law of all holy church ; and in all goodly haste to be confirmed of my lord of the diocese or of his deputy ; and that the mother bring again the chrysom at her purification : and wash your hand or ye depart the church.' *Manual Sar.* Maskell, p. 14. The rubric was more specific : '*et quod confirmetur quam cito episcopus advenerit circa partes per septem milliaria.*' *Ibid.* p. 25 [28].

Confirmation. At the same time the declaration of the undoubted salvation of baptized infants[1] was transposed from the Preface of the Confirmation Service to the end of the Baptismal Office; and the reference was made to the Canon, to explain the object with which the sign of the cross[2] had been retained.

Public Baptism of Infants.

Explanation of the effect of Baptism, and of the sign of the Cross.

SECT. II.—*The Private Baptism of Children in Houses.*

Private Baptism of Infants.

This section has a double purpose, first to provide for private baptism in case of emergency, and secondly if the

[1] This assertion carefully avoids all mention of children unbaptized. It is borrowed from *The Institution of a Christian Man* (1537), in Burton, *Formularies of Faith*, p. 93: 'Item, that the promise of grace and everlasting life (which promise is adjoined unto this sacrament of Baptism) pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and young children; and that they ought therefore, and must needs be baptized; and that by the sacrament of Baptism they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons of God. Insomuch as infants and children, dying in their infancy, shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, *and else not.*' These last words were omitted in *The Necessary Doctrine, &c.* (1543), p. 254, ed. Burton; in 1549 they were not imported into the rubric, and further, the assertion was added, that *it is certain by God's Word;* showing that our Reformers are intending only to speak of that which is revealed—the covenanted mercy of Almighty God.

[2] The following is Dr. Burgess's explanation of the use of this sign, accepted by King James I. and affirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be the intention of the Church. 'I know it is not made any part of the sacrament of Baptism, which is acknowledged by the canon to be complete without it, and not perfected or bettered by it. I understand it not as any sacramental, or operative, or efficacious sign bringing any virtue to Baptism, or the baptized. Where the Book says, "And do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token, &c." I understand the Book not to mean, that the sign of the cross has any virtue in it to effect or further this duty; but only to intimate and express by that ceremony, by which the ancients did avow their profession of Christ crucified, what the congregation hopeth and expecteth hereafter from the infant, viz. that he shall not be ashamed to profess the faith of Christ crucified, into which he was even now baptized. And therefore also, when the 30th canon saith the infant is "by that sign dedicated unto the service of Christ," I understand that dedication to import, not a real consecration of the child, which was done in Baptism itself, but only a ceremonial declaration of that dedication.' Bennet, *Paraphrase*, pp. 206, 207, quoting Burgess, *Defence of Bp. Morton*, pp. 24, 25.

The American Prayer Book allows the sign of the cross to be omitted, *if those who present the infant shall desire it, although the Church knows no worthy cause of scruple concerning the same.*

Private Baptism of Infants.

child survives to deal with the case subsequently, both by making sure that the child either has had or shall have valid baptism, and also by supplying the non-essential parts of the rite, which were omitted in the private baptism.

In the old Latin books these matters were regulated by rubrics appended to the ordinary service, and these form the basis of the provisions of the Prayer Book.[1]

The object of the two first rubrics is to minimize Private Baptism; the old rule had been immediate baptism[2] except in case of children born in the week preceding the solemn baptismal ceremonies of Eastertide and Whitsuntide, who were therefore to be reserved for those occasions: private baptism was forbidden, except in the case of royal or princely families, or else in case of emergency.[3] Similar rules were enacted in 1549 and remain substantially the same still.

Rubrics 1549.

The Pastors and Curates shall oft admonish the people that they defer not the baptism of infants any longer than the Sunday or other Holy Day next after the child be born, unless upon a great and reasonable cause declared to the Curate, and by him approved.

And also they shall warn them that, without great cause and necessity, they baptize not children at home in their houses.

Baptism by Laymen.

The directions given for private baptism at the same time were as follows:

And when great need shall compel them so to do, that then they minister it on this fashion.

First, let them that be present call upon God for His grace, and say the Lord's Prayer, if the time will suffer. And then one of

[1] The custom of private Baptism in case of necessity can be traced back as far as the middle of the third century. (S. Cyprian. *Ep.* lxix. 13.)

[2] '*Incontinenter cum nati fuerint ...baptizentur.*' Maskell, 30.

[3] '*Non licet aliquem baptizare in aula, camera, vel in aliquo loco privato...nisi fuerit filius regis vel principis, aut talis necessitas emerserit propter quam ad ecclesiam accessus absque periculo haberi non potest.*' *Ibid.*, 29.

them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying these words : N, I baptize thee, &c.

Private Baptism of Infants.

It was understood that these carried on the old system whereby lay persons were allowed, and even encouraged, to administer baptism in cases of necessity, and the rubric provided the irreducible minimum for a private baptism by a layman or lay woman.[1] The mention of the Lord's Prayer seems to be due to the influence of the *Consultation* :[2] there is no mention of consecration of the water, nor any rite but the simple act of Baptism with water in the name of the Trinity. The only addition is the saying the Lord's Prayer, and calling upon God for His grace.

Lay-Baptism censured by the Bishops,

An attempt was made to set aside the permission thus continued to laymen to baptize infants in case of necessity,[3] by introducing a Canon of Convocation (1575), as an exposition, which the Bishops considered themselves empowered to give, of a rubric of doubtful meaning.[4] Elizabeth, however, would not sanction the

[1] By the old rubric the parish priest was constantly to instruct his people on Sundays in the essentials of Baptism, and teach them the formula in English and Latin. 'I christen thee, N., in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen: *vel in lingua Latina sic.* Ego baptizo te N. in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. *Aquam super parvulum spargendo, vel in aquam mergendo ter vel saltem semel.*' But they were told that '*Non licet laico vel mulieri aliquem baptizare nisi in articulo necessitatis*' : and a man was always to act in preference to a woman, if competent to do so.

[2] 'The people shall be taught and warned in sermons that they presume not lightly to minister privately this most Divine sacrament. . . . But if extreme necessity presses, that they that be present with the child, being in danger, may join themselves together in the Lord, and lifting up their minds religiously unto God, let them call for His mercy, promised and exhibited in Christ Jesus our Lord, upon the infant; and when they have said the Lord's Prayer, let them baptize him in the name of the Father, &c. . . . If any godly man be present when the infant is in extremity, let his ministry be used to Baptism.' Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. clxviii; Fallow, p. 50.

[3] The licensing of midwives with a recognition of their duty to baptize 'in the time of necessity' was continued by Abp. Parker. See a form of license, dated 1567, in Strype *Annals* I. ii. 537.

[4] 'Where some ambiguity and doubt hath arisen among divers, by what persons private Baptism is to be ministered, . . . it is now by the said Archbishop and Bishops expounded and resolved, that the said private Baptism in case of necessity

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alteration: and the rubrics remained until the revision after the Hampton Court Conference (1604). The question came then into the forefront, and King James expressed a strong opinion; 'that any but a lawful minister might baptize anywhere, he utterly disliked; and in this point his highnesse grew somewhat earnest against the baptizing by women and laikes.'[1] It appears also that the above-mentioned resolution of the Bishops had been very generally acted upon, and that they had inquired into the practice of Private Baptism in their visitations, and censured its administration by women and lay persons.[2] The rubrics were therefore now altered, so as to make no mention of Baptism by any other than a lawful Minister.

and by King James.

Baptism to be administered by a lawful Minister.

An addition was made to the title of the service, 'Of them that be baptized in private houses in time of necessity, *by the Minister of the Parish, or any other lawful Minister that can be procured.*' The direction not to defer Baptism was continued. The warning not to use Private Baptism without great cause was expressed, '*that they procure not their children to be baptized* at home in their houses. And when great need shall compel them so to do, then Baptism *shall be administered* on this fashion. First, *let the lawful Minister, and* them that be present, call upon God, &c. . . . And then, *the child being named by some one that is present, the said lawful Minister shall* dip it in water, or pour, &c.'

From this time, therefore, Lay-Baptism was distinctly discountenanced by the Church of England; but still no

is only to be ministered by a lawful Minister or Deacon, called to be present for that purpose, and by none other: . . . and all other persons shall be inhibited to intermeddle with the ministering of Baptism privately, being no part of their vocation.' Canons of 1575, Cardwell, *Synodalia*, i. p. 135 *n.*

[1] Barlow, *Sum of the Conference*, in Cardwell, *Conf.* p. 172.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 174.

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The service to be used in Private Baptism.

precise service was marked out which the lawful Minister was to use in such Private Baptisms: any prayer for God's grace, with the Lord's Prayer, preceding the action of Baptism, would suffice. At the period of the last revision (1661) every such exercise of the gift of extempore prayer was regarded with disfavour; this liberty therefore was abolished, and the directions to the Minister in these rubrics were brought into a more exact and explicit shape.

The parents are exhorted not to defer the Baptism of their infants beyond the first or second Sunday after their birth. And if great necessity arises that the infant must receive Baptism at home, the Minister of the parish (or in his absence any other lawful Minister that can be procured) is thus to administer the rite. He is to say the Lord's Prayer, and so many of the collects from the office of Public Baptism as the time and present exigence will suffer. Immersion is not mentioned, because, under the supposed circumstances, the child is weak and in danger of death. After the Baptism, the Minister is to give thanks for the infant's regeneration and adoption, in the usual form after a Public Baptism. The particular collects which ought to be used before the act of Baptism are not specified. In a very great emergency, it is enough to say the Lord's Prayer;[1] but, if possible, the prayers in the public office which precede the Gospel, and the four short petitions for the child, with the prayer for the sanctification of the water, should also be used. The remainder of the office will be used, when the child,

[1] According to the Latin rules nothing was said but the formula of Baptism in private, but if the child was brought to church dangerously ill, provision was made for saying some of the ordinary public service. '*Notandum est etiam quod si infans sit in periculo mortis, tunc primo introducatur ad fontem et postea baptizetur, incipiendo ad hanc locum* Quid petis. *Et si post baptismum vixerit, habeat totum residuum servitium supradictum.*'

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Completion of the service in the Church.

if it do afterward live, shall be brought to church to be received into the congregation.

The directions for this second part are also similar to the old Latin rubrics[1] but are more explicit. The rubric directs that a lawfully baptized child is not to be baptized again, but his baptism is to be certified: up till 1604 the necessary inquiries were made on the assumption that it had been a case of lay baptism: from that date onward it was assumed that the baptism had been performed by some Minister. If it was not the parish priest but some other lawful Minister, the Minister of the parish must examine by whom, and how it was done, lest anything essential to the Sacrament should have been omitted: and then either certify to the congregation that all was well done, and in due order, and so proceed with the

The Examination whether Baptism has been rightly administered; if by another lawful Minister:

[1] '*Et si puer fuerit baptizatus secundum illam formam, caveat sibi unusquisque ne iterum eundem baptizet: sed si hujusmodi parvuli convalescant, deferantur ad ecclesiam et dicantur super eos exorcismi et cathechismi cum unctionibus et omnibus aliis supradictis præter immersionem et formam baptismi, quæ omnino sunt omittenda, videlicet,* Quid petis' *et abhinc usque ad illum locum quo sacerdos debeat parvulum chrismate linire.*

Et ideo si laicus baptizaverit puerum, antequam deferatur ad ecclesiam, interroget sacerdos diligenter quid dixerit, et quid fecerit: et si invenerit laicum discrete et debito modo baptizasse, et formam verborum baptismi ut supra in suo idiomate integre protulisse, approbet factum, et non rebaptizet eum. Si vero dubitet rationabiliter sacerdos utrum infans ad baptizandum sibi oblatus prius in forma debita fuerit baptizatus vel non, debet omnia perficere cum eo, sicut cum alio quem constat sibi non baptizatum, præterquam quod verba sacramentalia essentialia proferre debeat sub conditione, hoc modo dicendo: N, si baptizatus es ego non rebaptizo te: sed si nondum baptizatus es ego baptizo, &c., *sub aspersione vel immersione ut supra.*' Compare the Constitution of Abp. Langton, 1222 (Lyndwood Appendix, p. 6), from which a good part of the second paragraph of the preceding rubric is taken. Compare Bp. Poore's Constitutions of 1223, §§ 22–24 in *Sarum Charters.*

The directions in the first paragraph for the saying of the whole service except the central section are of later date. The older English custom was for the priest to say only the part following the baptism and unction. 'Si in necessitate baptizetur a laico, sequentia in unctionem et non precedentia per sacerdotem expleantur.' Langton's Constitution, *u. s.* Cp. Canon 3 of the Council of Westminster in 1200. (Harduin VI. 1958.) But in 1281 the fourth Constitution of Abp. Peckham ordered 'Super sic baptizatis dicatur Exorcismus et Catechismus propter reverentiam ecclesiæ taliter statuentis.' (*Ibid.* p. 27.)

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introduction to the Gospel;[1] or if, through the uncertainty of the answers[2], '*it cannot appear that the child was baptized with water, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (which are essential parts of Baptism)*,' he must then use the office of Public Baptism,[3] and administer the rite with the con-

[1] This follows the order appointed in Hermann, *Consultation* (fol. clxix.), when the baptism is supposed to have been duly administered. '*The preachers shall allow the same in the congregation, using a lesson of the Holy Gospel, and prayer after this sort. The Pastor, when they be come, which bring such an infant unto the Lord, shall first demand of them:* Beloved in Christ, forasmuch as we be all born in sin and the wrath of God, guilty of eternal death and damnation, and can by none other means get remission of sins, righteousness, and everlasting life, than through faith in Christ; and forasmuch as this infant is born subject to these evils,—I mean of death, and the wrath of God,—I ask of you whether he were offered to Christ, and planted in Him through Baptism. *If they answer that they so believe, he shall ask them further, by whom it was done, and who were present. And when they have named them, he shall ask him which by their relation baptized the child, if he be present, or other which then were present, whether the name of the Lord were called upon him, and prayer made for him. If they answer that they did so, he shall ask how the child was baptized. If they then answer*, In water, and with these words, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; *he shall ask them last of all, whether they certainly know that they have rightly used the Word of God; and if they answer that they know and remember that they did so, let the Pastor say this moreover*. Forasmuch as, beloved in Christ, I hear that all things concerning the Baptism of this infant have been done in the name of God and according to His institution, I pronounce in the name of Christ that ye have done well. For infants want the grace of God, which our Saviour denieth not unto them, whensoever it is asked for children, according to His Word. . . . And to confirm this faith, and that we may stir up ourselves to thank the Lord for this His so great benefit ministered to this infant by Baptism, let us hear out of the Gospel, how the Lord will have children brought unto Him, and how he will bounteously bless them which be offered unto Him. *Mark x.:* And they brought children, &c.'

[2] There were six questions adopted from the *Consultation* in 1549, the third was omitted in 1604, and the sixth in 1661. Also in 1604 the enquiry as to the matter and form used was made more solemn by being prefaced by a preamble which is closely connected with similar changes made at the same time in the closing rubric of the office, concerning conditional baptism.

[3] Compare Hermann, *Consultation*, fol. clxxi.: '*But if they which offer the infant cannot answer sufficiently to the said demands, so that they grant that they do not well know what they thought or did in baptizing, being sore troubled with the present danger, as it often chanceth, then, omitting curious disputations, let the Pastor judge such an infant not to be yet baptized, and let him do*

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if by the Minister of the parish;

ditional form of words,[1] 'If thou art not already baptized, *N*, I baptize thee, &c.'

If the Minister of the parish himself baptized the child, he at once commences the service by certifying the fact to the congregation, and then proceeds with the introduction to the Gospel at the words, 'who being born in original sin, &c.'[2]

if by an unauthorised person.

Since 1604, a lawful Minister is the only prescribed substitute for the Minister of the parish in the administration of Private Baptism; but this does not invalidate a lay baptism; hence if the Minister finds by the answer to the first question that the child has been baptized by a woman, or a layman, and yet finds that the Sacrament has been otherwise administered correctly, no directions are given as to his action in the Prayer Book: the baptism is irregular but valid[3]; therefore it seems right that he

all those things which pertain to this ministration: . . . which done, let him baptize the infant without condition.'

[1] The earliest known mention of conditional Baptism is in the Statutes of S. Boniface, No. 28 (Harduin iii. 1944). At an earlier date it was presumably not in use. A canon of the 6th (or 5th, see Hefele, *Hist. of Counc. ad loc.* ii. 424) Council of Carthage or the earlier Council of Hippo (393) (Bruns. i. 139) ordered the Baptism in any case where there was not convincing evidence forthcoming, and this was incorporated, by Gratian in the *Decretum* (III. iv. 111). But it is not quite clear whether this meant a conditional form or not. 'Absque ullo scrupulo hos esse baptizandos' is the phrase, and it reappears in S. Boniface's Statute, ordering *conditional* Baptism.

[2] The form in which the Minister of the parish certifies his own act was added in 1661; at one period in the revision it was proposed that it should run thus:—'I certify you, that according to the due and prescribed order, &c., I administered private baptism to this child: Who being born in original sin, &c. *ut infra*,' referring to the remainder of the old form as a proper transition to the Gospel. (Parker, *Introd.* p. cclii.) But this direction was not finally adopted in the Prayer Book, apparently because it was thought needless, since two forms of certification were provided as far as certain opening words were concerned, but only one ending, which is of course common to them both, serving as an introduction to what is to follow. The ending is given in both cases in the American Book.

[3] The old law on the subject was expressly reaffirmed in 1841 in the Arches Court in the case of Mastin *v.* Escott. 'The law of the Church is beyond all doubt that a child baptized by a layman is validly baptized.' When the validity was questioned early in the eighteenth century, the Bishops declared lay baptism to be irregular, but valid: they wished to pass a formal decision of Convocation to that effect, but the Lower House

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should certify that so far as validity goes 'all is well done and according unto due order' and then proceed accordingly.

The service used in the church, compared with the Office of Public Baptism.

The service for the admission of a child who has been baptized privately is the same that is appointed for Public Baptism from the Gospel onward, with the necessary change of language to express that it follows, instead of preceding, the act of Baptism. And the comparison of these expressions in the several offices will show the meaning which is intended to be conveyed concerning the benefits of this Sacrament. Thus, in certifying that Baptism has been rightly administered, it is said of the child :—'who being born in original sin, and in the wrath of God, is now, by the laver of regeneration in Baptism, received into the number of the children of God and heirs of everlasting life.' In the Address after the Gospel :—'Doubt ye not, therefore, but earnestly believe, that He hath likewise favourably received this present infant; that He hath embraced him with the arms of His mercy; and (as He hath promised in His Holy Word) will give[1] unto him the blessing of eternal life, and make him partaker of His everlasting kingdom.'

regarded it as inopportune, and refused to take it into consideration, because 'the Catholic Church, and the Anglican Church in particular, had hitherto avoided any synodical determination on the subject; and that the inconveniences attending such a determination would outweigh the conveniences proposed by it, especially at a time when the authority of the Christian priesthood and the succession in the ministry were openly denied, or undervalued.' See Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 419 and ff. Bulley, *Tabular View*, pp. 264-268. Stone, 120 and ff.

[1] Before the last revision (1661) this was expressed, 'that He hath given unto him the blessing of eternal life, and made him partaker of His everlasting kingdom.' Nothing more seems to have been originally meant than '*hath given* to him *a title* to the blessing of eternal life, and *made* him partaker *in a right to the enjoyment* of His everlasting kingdom.' However, the words were understood in their plain meaning, as if referring to actual possession; which is more than the heirship which is declared in the Catechism to belong to baptized children: 'wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.' Laurence, *Bampt. Lec.* p. 181.

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In the Thanksgiving after the Lord's Prayer :—'Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant, that he, *being born again, and being made* an heir of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ, may continue thy servant, and attain thy promise, &c.' And in the Address after the reception into the congregation it is said,—'that this child is *by Baptism regenerate and grafted* into the body of Christ's Church.'

Discrepancies.

The changes made in the public service in 1552 were not carried out fully into the private office at the same time. Thus in 1549 the Thanksgiving, used after the Gospel in the public office, had been put, for want of any other, as the closing of the private office : and when in 1552 another closing thanksgiving was provided to follow the Baptism in the public office, this was not taken over into the private office, but the old

till 1661.

arrangement remained till 1661, when the thanksgivings of the private office were placed as in the public office. Again, the Lord's Prayer was transferred in 1552 in the public office from its old position after the Gospel to head the new section of thanksgiving now newly provided to follow immediately upon the Baptism. In the private office, however, it was not transferred. Neither was it transferred in 1661 : but the revisers then corrected the end of the exhortation so as to make it lead up to the Lord's Prayer,[1] and kept it in this place. With this exception the two services are now agreed.[2]

The close.

Godparents are required, and the catechism of the sponsors and the closing exhortations are to be used as

[1] The exhortation up till 1661 still continued to lead up to the Creed, as its wording was not altered in 1552, when the Creed was omitted at this point.

[2] In the American office the Lord's Prayer is placed as in the English, but the first Thanksgiving is omitted : in the Irish Prayer Book it is placed as in Public Baptism.

in the public service. After the first exhortation ending with the words,—'daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living,' followed in the Prayer Books previously to the last revision,—'&c. *As in Public Baptism,*' or, '*And so forth, as in Public Baptism.*' This was omitted in 1661, apparently with the intention of placing here the Address about Confirmation, which was added to the Office of Public Baptism. It was overlooked, however, and the rubric does not supply any direction: but, according to its manifest intention, the Address should be added in this place.[1]

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SECT. III.—*The Public Baptism of such as are of Riper Years, and able to answer for themselves.*

This office was added at the last revision of the Prayer Book in 1661; it was drawn up by a Committee of Convocation and accepted by the Upper House on May 31.[2] The want of such an Office was felt at that time, 'by the growth of Anabaptism' and the general neglect of the ordinances of the Church during the Rebellion, and also 'for the baptising of natives in our

Baptism of Adults.

[1] It is so added in the American Book. In the Irish Prayer Book, a rubric directs the service which is to be used, '*if a child that has been already baptized be brought to the Church at the same time with a child that is to be baptized; the Minister having inquired respecting the sufficiency of the baptism, and having certified the same, shall read all that is appointed for the Public Baptism of Infants until he have baptized and signed the child that has not been baptized; and he shall then call upon the Godfathers and Godmothers of the child that has been already baptized to make answer in his behalf, as here directed, save that he shall not again recite the Apostles' Creed, but say*—Dost thou believe all the articles, &c.? The American more simply notes that *the Minister may make the Questions to the Sponsors and the succeeding Prayers serve for both*, and after the Baptism *and the receiving into the Church, the Minister may use the remainder of the service for both.* But it is hardly possible to avoid the appearance at least of praying for the future regeneration of a regenerate child, or to disentangle the clauses in the part of the service preceding the Baptism, which cannot be applied to the child who has already been baptized.

[2] Cardwell, *Synodalia* ii. 641, 642. Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.* iii. 755) ascribes the leading part in the work to Bp. Griffith of S. Asaph.

Baptism of Adults.

plantations and others converted to the faith.'[1] These two causes still make it a necessary service.[2]

The preparation of a Catechumen for Baptism.

The rubric directs not only examination of the candidate, but that *timely notice shall be given to the Bishop*,[3] *or whom he shall appoint for that purpose, a week before at the least*, to secure a due preparation, and instruction in the principles of the Christian religion. The Catechumen is also exhorted to prepare himself *with prayers and fasting for the receiving of this Holy Sacrament*, according to the rule of the primitive Church.[4]

Variations of the service from that for Infant Baptism.

The service is formed upon that for the Baptism of Infants, with many changes, however, which adapt it to the different circumstances of the persons who are to be baptized. The Gospel is taken from our Saviour's discourse with Nicodemus concerning the necessity of a new birth of water and of the Spirit; and the Exhortation that follows it treats of repentance in connexion with Baptism. Moreover, since the Catechumens are able to make in their own persons the Christian profession of faith and obedience, the demands are addressed to them. Godfathers and godmothers are required to be present, but only in their original capacity.

[1] See Preface to B. C. P.

[2] Cases will occur in which it may seem doubtful whether this office or that for the Baptism of Infants should be used. The rubric at the end of this office directs the use of the latter for the Baptism of *persons before they come to years of discretion to answer for themselves*. And Confirmation and Communion should immediately follow the Baptism of an adult. Hence the Office for the Baptism of Infants should be used for all persons who are not fitted either by age or intelligence for Confirmation, *changing the word* infant *for* child *or* person, *as occasion requireth*.

[3] The American rubric has:—'*timely notice shall be given to the Minister, that so due care may be taken, &c.*'

[4] See the *Didache* above, p. 558. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 61: "Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστί, κ.τ.λ. Tertullian *De Baptismo* 20 and above, p. 559.

Baptism of Adults.

as chosen witnesses of their profession,[1] with the further duty of putting them in remembrance of their vow, and calling upon them 'to use all diligence to be rightly instructed in God's holy Word.'[2] The concluding Exhortation warns the newly-baptized, that as they are 'made the children of God and of the light[3] by faith in Jesus Christ,' it is their part and duty 'to walk answerably to their Christian calling, and as becometh the children of light.'[4]

SECT. IV.—*The Catechism.*

The Catechism.

PREVIOUSLY to 1661 the Catechism was inserted in the Order of Confirmation with the intention that the Bishop should put questions to the children at the Confirmation Service.[5] The title in the Prayer Books

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 12.

[2] In the best days of the systematic catechumenate while the most necessary instruction was given to the candidates before Baptism, a more detailed teaching, especially on the Eucharist (such as has come down to us in St. Cyril's κατηχήσεις μυσταγωγικαί) was reserved until after their Baptism and first Communion.

[3] φωτισθέντες, Justin Mart. *Apol. u.s.*

[4] The American Prayer Book adds the following rubrics: '*Whereas necessity may require the baptizing of Adults in private houses in consideration of extreme sickness; the same is hereby allowed in that case. And a convenient number of persons shall be assembled in the house where the Sacrament is to be performed. And in the Exhortation*, Well-beloved, &c., *instead of these words*, come hither desiring, *shall be inserted this word*, desirous. *In case of great necessity, the Minister may begin with the questions addressed to the candidate, and end with the Thanksgiving following the Baptism.*'

'*If there be occasion for the Office of Infant Baptism and that of Adults at the same time, the Minister shall use the Exhortation and one of the Prayers next following in the Office for Adults; only in the Exhortation and Prayer, after the words*, these Persons, *and* these thy servants, *adding*, and these Infants. *Then the Minister shall proceed to the questions to be demanded in the cases respectively. After the Immersion, or the pouring of water, the prayer shall be as in this service; only after the words*, these Persons, *shall be added*, and these Infants. *After which the remaining part of each service shall be used; first that for Adults, and lastly that for Infants.*'

Directions for Conditional or Private Baptism of adults are given in the Irish Book.

[5] The rubric required that candidates should be able to *answer to such questions of this short Catechism as the Bishop, or such as he shall appoint, shall by his discretion appose them in.*

It is in this form that the Cate-

The Catechism.

of Edward VI. and Elizabeth was, *Confirmation, wherein is contained a Catechism for Children;* and in 1604, *The Order of Confirmation, or laying on of hands upon children baptized, and able to render an account of their faith, according to the Catechism following;* with a further title to the *Catechism* itself, *that is to say, An Instruction to be learned of every Child, before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop.*

Catechising ordered before the Reformation.

The insertion in the Prayer Book of such an authorized exposition of the elements of the Christian faith and practice belongs to the Reformation. English versions and expositions of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed had, however, not only existed in early times, but had formed the staple subject of instruction which parish priests gave to their people in accordance with Canons and Injunctions constantly repeated ever since Anglo-Saxon times.[1] Manuals for use in this duty existed in large numbers, but these were guides for the clergy,[2] not instructions written for the people in dialogue form such as is now implied by the word 'Catechism.' The word was used in the middle ages for the service of making a catechumen and for that part of it in which the profession and renunciation is made. Thence the early German reformers had taken it and applied it either to a more developed form of profession required at confirmation, or even as an independent manual of instruction. In England some

chism is included in the *Consultation*, where, after Baptism, follows (fol. clxxi), 'Of the Confirmation of children baptized: and solemn profession of their faith in Christ, and of their obedience to be showed to Christ, and to His congregation;' and a Catechism is inserted in this order of Confirmation, to be recited in the service as the public confession of those who come to be confirmed. No part, however, of our Catechism was borrowed from this source.

[1] See *e.g.* Canon x. of Cloveshoo (747) (Haddan and Stubbs, III, 366). Cp. Wilkins, *Conc.* III. 11, 59, &c.

[2] Gasquet, *Religious Instruction in England*, reprinted in *The Old English Bible*, pp. 179 and ff.

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In Henry's reign.

steps were made in the same direction in the early days of reform. New injunctions, following the lines of the old episcopal and conciliar injunctions on the instruction of the faithful, were issued by royal authority in the years 1536 and 1538,[1] which ordered the Curates to teach the people the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, sentence by sentence, on Sundays and Holy Days, and to make all persons recite them when they came to Confession.[2] These orders were repeated in the Injunctions of Edward VI.[3] Meanwhile some attempts had been made at a form of instruction for the laity in the shape of a dialogue. Marshall's Primer in 1534[4] contained 'A dialogue between the father and the son' expounding the baptismal covenant with the Creed and Commandments, and other attempts also on similar lines were becoming popular. It was natural therefore that when the new Book of Service was prepared, a Catechism should be placed in it, as an authoritative exposition of the profession and renuncia-

The Catechism placed in the First Prayer Book.

[1] Strype, *Eccl. Mem. Hen. VIII.* I. xlii. 321.

[2] Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* I. Book III. Records, VII. and XI. (Ed. Pocock, IV. 308,341). The later injunction runs thus: '*Item;* That ye shall every Sunday and Holy Day throughout the year openly and plainly recite to your parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftener, if need require, one particle or sentence of the *Pater Noster*, or Creed in English, to the intent that they may learn the same by heart: and so from day to day to give them one little lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole *Pater Noster* and Creed in English, by rote. And as they be taught every sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do. And that done, ye shall declare unto them the Ten Commandments, one by one, every Sunday and Holy Day, till they be likewise perfect in the same. Cp. Can. LIX. (1604).

[3] Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* pp. 7, 25. The Injunction is an abbreviated form of the preceding. The corresponding visitation article runs thus: 'Whether they have not diligently taught upon the Sundays and Holy Days their parishioners, and specially the youth their *Pater Noster*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English, and whether they have expounded and declared the understanding of the same.'

[4] Burton, *Three Primers*, pp. 216 and ff.

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tion in Holy Baptism and in connexion with the service of Confirmation, with directions for its use as the basis of a system of catechizing to be maintained on Sunday afternoons in each parish. This manual still remains in our Prayer Book, with only a few verbal alterations,[1] and the addition of an explanation of the Sacraments in 1604. This appendix does not naturally belong to the Catechism viewed in the light of the original purpose which it was meant to serve, as an exposition of the baptismal covenant: but when it was felt desirable to make it a more complete manual of instruction, this section was added by royal authority, 'by way of explanation,'[2] and in compliance with the wish which the Puritans had expressed at the Conference at Hampton Court.[3] Subsequently with two emendations[4]

The addition of 1604.

[1] The third answer was thus expressed:—'that I should forsake the devil, and all his works and pomps, the vanities of the wicked world.' The preface to the Commandments was added in 1552, and the Commandments were then given at length. which had before been given in a very curtailed form, nearly as they had been in Henry's Primer (1545, ed. Burton, *l.c.* p. 460). In 1661 the words, 'the King *and all that are put in authority under him*,' were substituted for 'the King *and his Ministers*' (in the American Prayer Book it is,—'the civil authority'): and in 1552 the word '*child*' was substituted for 'son' in the address before the Lord's Prayer.

Notice also that in 1661 greater publicity and importance was given to the public catechizing, as it was then directed that it should take place during Evensong, instead of half an hour beforehand as had previously been the case.

[2] The composition of this latter part is generally attributed to Bishop Overall, who was the Prolocutor of the Convocation, and at that time Dean of St. Paul's. Cosin, *Works* v. 491. But it was to a large extent derived from Nowell.

[3] 'Dr. Reinolds complained that the Catechism in the Common Prayer Book was too brief; for which one by Master Nowell late dean of Paul's was added, and that too long for young novices to learn by heart: requested therefore that one uniform Catechism might be made, which, and none other might be generally received: it was demanded of him whether if to the short Catechism in the Communion Book something were added for the doctrine of the sacrament, it would not serve? His Majesty thought the doctor's request very reasonable: but yet so, that he would have a Catechism in the fewest and plainest affirmative terms that may be: taxing withal the number of ignorant Catechisms set out in Scotland, by every one that was the son of a good man...' Barlow's *Sum of the Conference* in Cardwell, *Conf.* p. 187.

[4] 'What is the outward visible

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it was confirmed by Convocation and Parliament in 1661.

A larger Catechism.

An intention was formed, in the time of Edward and Elizabeth, to have also another authorized Catechism, not merely explanatory of baptism, but intended for the instruction of more advanced students, and especially those in public schools, touching the grounds of the Christian religion. The original of this work is ascribed to Ponet,[1] who was Bishop of Winchester in Edward's reign. It was published in Latin and in English[2] in 1553 under royal authority, after receiving episcopal approval.[3] It seems, however, that this was not considered quite satisfactory; nor was it able to supplant the many similar compilations of the foreign Reformers,[4] which were adopted by many teachers, and

Ponet's Catechism.

sign or form in Baptism? *Answer* (1604): Water; wherein the person baptized is dipped, or sprinkled with it, In the name, &c.' 'Why then are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them? *Answer* (1604): Yes; they do perform them by their Sureties, who promise and vow them both in their names; which when they come to age themselves are bound to perform.' See the Presbyterian exceptions to the Catechism, at the Savoy Conference; above, pp. 182, 183.

[1] *Orig. Lett.* (Parker Soc.) LXXI. *Cheke to Bullinger*, June 7, 1553; 'Nuper J. Wintoniensis episcopi Catechismum auctoritate sua scholis commendavit. . .'

[2] Both the English and Latin editions are reprinted in *Liturgies, &c. of Edw. VI.* (Parker Soc.).

[3] 'When there was presented unto us, to be perused, a short and plain order of Catechism written by a certain godly and learned man: we committed the debating and diligent examination thereof to certain Bishops, and other learned men, whose judgment we have in great estimation.' K. Edward's injunction authorizing the use of this Catechism (*ibid*).

A licence for printing the work was granted in September 1552, but it was not published until 1553, when the Articles of the preceeding year were appended to each edition; and also a few prayers at the end of the English edition. Dixon iii. 516, 528.

[4] The Catechism of Erasmus (1547), ordered to be used in Winchester College and elsewhere; the smaller and larger Catechisms of Calvin (1538 and 1545); that of Œcolampadius (1545), Leo Judas (1553), and more especially Bullinger (1559). Even in 1578, when the exclusive use of Nowell's Catechism had been enjoined in the canons of 1571, those of Calvin, Bullinger, and others were still ordered by statute to be used in the University of Oxford. See Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I. p. 300, *note*.

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occasioned much complaint as to the want of a uniform system of religious instruction. Hence it was agreed by the Bishops in 1561 that, besides the Catechism for children which were to be confirmed, another somewhat longer should be devised for communicants, and a third, in Latin, for schools.[1] It is probable that at this time Dean Nowell was already employed upon such a Catechism, taking Ponet's as his ground-work; it was completed before the meeting of Convocation,[2] submitted there early in 1563, approved, and amended, but not formally sanctioned, apparently because it was treated as part of a larger design, which was not realized.[3] The Catechism, therefore, remained unpublished until 1570, when it was printed at the request of the Archbishops, and appeared in several forms, in Latin and in English.[4]

Nowell's Catechism.

SECT. V.—*The Order of Confirmation.*

Confirmation.

Imposition of hands.

The early history of the Confirmation Service has already been treated of in connexion with the baptismal service. When it became a detached service, some slight additions gathered round the single collect and the

[1] Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* p. 299.

[2] '*General notes of matters to be moved by the Clergy in the next Parliament and Synod*:...A Catechism is to be set forth in Latin; which is already done by Mr. Dean of Paul's, and wanteth only viewing.' Strype, *Annals*, I. ch. xxvii. p. 317.

[3] This was to publish Nowell's Catechism, the Articles, and Jewell's Apology, in one book, 'by common consent to be authorized, as containing true doctrine, and enjoined to be taught to the youth in the universities and grammar schools throughout the realm.' *Ibid.* See Acts of Convocation in *Synodalia*, II. 513, 522.

[4] The *Larger Catechism*, in Latin, intended to be used in places of liberal education, was the same year translated into English by Norton. Both were reprinted for the Parker Society. An abridgment of this, called the Shorter, or the Middle Catechism, was prepared by Nowell for the use of schools. He also published a third, called the Smaller Catechism, differing but slightly from that in the Book of Common Prayer. Bp. Overall modified and abridged the questions and answers on the sacraments from this Catechism. See Corrie's Introduction, in the edition of the Parker Society, and Jacobson's edition and Introduction (Oxford, 1844).

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simple rite of anointing the forehead with chrism, which formed the whole of the old service. These additions and the words said at the anointing were not everywhere the same, but the differences were unimportant. The service everywhere began with versicles and the old Roman prayer for the sevenfold Gift of the Spirit said with hands outstretched over the candidates: then followed the anointing of each in turn, next a shortened psalm and a versicle introduced one further prayer which is found in Gregorian but not Gelasian sacramentaries, and the service ended with the Blessing.

The following is the Office for Confirmation in the Pontifical of one of the Bishops of Salisbury in the XVth century.[1]

Confirmatio puerorum et aliorum baptizatorum.

The Mediæval Office.

In primis dicat episcopus :

℣ Adjutorium nostrum in nomine domini.

℟ Qui fecit celum et terram.[2]

℣ Dominus vobiscum.

℟ Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus.

Oratio. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui regenerare dignatus es hos famulos tuos, ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, quique dedisti eis remissionem omnium peccatorum: immitte in eos septiformem Spiritum, Sanctum Paraclitum, de cœlis. Amen. Spiritum sapientiæ et intellectus. Amen. Spiritum scientiæ et pietatis.[3] Amen. Spiritum consilii et fortitudinis. ✠ Amen. Et adimple eos Spiritu timoris Domini. ✠ Amen.

Et consigna eos signo sanctæ crucis ✠, confirma eos chrismate salutis in vitam propitiatus æternam. Amen.

[1] Maskell, *Mon Rit.* I. pp. 34, 35. Cp. *York Pontifical* (Surtees, vol. 61), p. 291; Lacy's *Pontifical*, p. 9.

[2] Palmer (*Orig. Lit.*) cites our second couplet from a Sarum Manual (Rouen, 1543), Sit nomen Domini benedictum. Et hoc nunc et usque in sæculum.

[3] This word is added to the gifts of the Spirit enumerated in Isa. xi. 2, to make the number seven. The Gelasian Sacramentary has this as the third couplet, and ends thus:—timoris dei in nomine DNJC, cum quo vivis, &c. Cp. *Egbert Pontifical* (Surtees, vol. 27), p. 7.

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Tunc inquisito nomine cujuslibet, et pollice chrismate uncto, pontifex faciat crucem in singulorum fronte, dicens: Signo te N, signo crucis ✠ et confirmo te chrismate salutis. In nomine Patris, et Fi ✠ lii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.[1]

Sequatur Psalmus. Ecce sic benedicetur homo : qui timet Dominum. Benedicat tibi Dominus ex Syon : ut videas bona Jerusalem omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ. Gloria Patri. Sicut erat.

℣ Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur.

℟ Et renovabis faciem terræ.

℣ Pax tibi. ℟ Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus.

Oratio. Deus, qui apostolis tuis Sanctum dedisti Spiritum, quique per eos eorum successoribus cæterisque fidelibus tradendum esse voluisti : respice propitius ad nostræ humanitatis famulatum : et præsta ut horum corda quorum frontes sacrosancto chrismate delinivimus, et signo sanctæ crucis consignavimus, idem Spiritus Sanctus adveniens templum gloriæ suæ dignanter inhabitando perficiat. Per Dominum : in unitate ejusdem.

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pa✠ter, et Fi✠lius, et Spiritus ✠ Sanctus. Amen.

Ceremonies of Confirmation (1549).

In the First English Prayer Book the order of the old service was continued ; the definite tactual imposition of hands was restored,[2] but the use of chrism was omitted. After the versicles and the first prayer, it proceeded thus, following the line of the Latin prayer, but substituting a reference to the cross of Christ for a reference to the outward sign of the cross, and substituting inward unction for the outward.

Minister. Sign them, O Lord, and mark them to be thine for ever, by the virtue of thy holy cross and passion. Confirm and strengthen them with the inward unction of thy Holy Ghost, mercifully unto everlasting life. Amen. *Then the Bishop shall cross them in the forehead, and lay his hand upon their head, saying,* N, I

[1] An older form was Accipe signum sancte crucis Christi chrismate salutis in Christo Jesu in vitam eternam. Amen. See the first of the two services in Brit. Mus. MS. Tib. C. 1. f. 43 : cp. *Egbert Pontifical*, p. 7. The earlier forms were simpler still : *e.g. Gelas. Sacr.* 571 and the 7th Ordo Romanus.

[2] For a discussion of this subject see Hall, *Confirmation* pp. 32 and ff.

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sign thee with the sign of the cross, and lay my hand upon thee: In the name of the Father, &c. *And thus shall he do to every child one after another. And when he hath laid his hand upon every child, then shall he say*, The peace of the Lord abide with you. *Answer.* And with thy spirit.

Then followed the collect, 'Almighty everlasting God, which makest us, &c.,' which was composed, in 1549, from the long collect which preceded the laying on of hands in Archbishop Hermann's Order of Confirmation.[1]

Changes.

The section of the service of 1549, printed above was omitted at the revision in 1552, and the present benedictional prayer was inserted in its place, 'Defend, O Lord, this child with thy heavenly grace, &c.,' with the direction for the crossing omitted and only the imposition of hands (or hand) retained.[2]

The present office

The service was brought into its present form at the last revision in 1661. Being separated from the Catechism, its title was: 'The Order of Confirmation, or laying on of hands upon them that are baptized, *and come to years of discretion*,'[3] instead of the words (1604),

[1] 'Almighty and merciful God, heavenly Father, which only workest in us to will and to perform the things that please Thee, and be good indeed; we beseech Thee for these children . . . Increase in them the gift of thy Spirit, that ever going forward in the knowledge and obedience of thy Gospel, in thy congregation they may continue to the end . . . So give these children the thing that we pray Thee for, through thy Son Christ, that when we shall now lay our hands upon them in thy name, and shall certify them by this sign that thy fatherly hand shall be ever stretched forth upon them, and that they shall never want thy Holy Spirit to keep, lead, and govern them in the way of health . . .' Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. clxxix.

[2] The crossing, however, was retained in practice, or at least considered to be within the Bishop's discretion to use. See Blunt, *ad loc.*, and Pullan, p. 209. It is sanctioned in the Scottish Church. See note on p. 607. Hall, 36.

[3] The meaning of *years of discretion* was brought out in the old rubric preceding the Catechism: *it is most meet to be ministered when children come to that age that partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and of the devil they begin to be in danger to fall into sundry kinds of sin.* See Hall, *Confirmation*, ch. vii.

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'*and able to render an account of their faith according to the Catechism following.*' A preface drawn from the opening part of the explanatory rubric which had preceded the Catechism, was appointed to be read at the opening of the service of Confirmation: and instead of putting questions from the Catechism,[1] the Bishop was directed to address a solemn demand of personal acknowledgment of the baptismal vow to the candidates, to be answered by each one for himself Kneeling was prescribed for the candidates at the imposition of hands: the Lord's Prayer was at the same time inserted so as to follow immediately upon it as an act of thanksgiving, and the collect, 'O Almighty Lord, &c.,' was added before the concluding blessing.

Beyond its own intrinsic importance, as the gift of the Spirit and the corollary of Baptism, confirmation occupies further an important position in the economy of the Church, which is pointed out in the last rubric,[2]

[1] Before this revision, a rubric had directed the Curate of every parish, in sending the names of the children to the Bishop, to specify which of them could say *the Articles of the Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments*, and also *how many of them could answer to the other questions contained in this Catechism.* In Hermann's *Consultation* (fol. clxxiv.) the Parish Priests are directed, certain days before the coming of the visitors, 'to prepare the children whom they purpose to offer to Confirmation, to make their confession of faith and profession of Christian communion and obedience decently and seemly, which must be done of them after this sort.' Then follows a long Catechism; and then (fol. clxxviii.), —'After that one of the children hath rehearsed a full confession of his faith, and hath professed the obedience of Christ before the whole congregation, it shall be sufficient to propound questions to the other children after this sort: "Dost thou also, my son, believe and confess, &c." Here it shall suffice, that every one answer thus for himself: I "believe and confess the same, and yield up myself to Christ and His congregation, trusting in the grace and help of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."'

[2] This is taken from the rubric in the Sarum Manual, *Ritus Baptiz.* Maskell, p. 31: 'Item nullus debet admitti ad sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi Jesu extra mortis articulum, nisi fuerit confirmatus, vel a receptione sacramenti confirmationis fuerit rationabiliter impeditus,' which in turn is drawn from the fifth of Abp. Peckham's Constitutions (1281), Lynd. *Prov.* I. tit. 6.

in that it is the admission to full communion: for it is only natural that the reception of the fulness of the gift of the Spirit offered to every member of Christ should be first[1] required of those who come to the Lord's Supper.

[1] In the American Prayer two additions have been made, viz. a form for presenting the Candidates similar to that at Ordination and a Lesson, Acts viii. 14-17: the Preface is made optional and the congregation is directed to be standing until the Lord's Prayer.

The use of the Scottish Episcopal Church is defined by sections 5 and 6 of Canon XL. as follows:

'(5) The Bishop when administering Confirmation may at his discretion, with concurrence of the clergyman, use the following form in addition to that prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer:—"N. I sign thee with the sign of the Cross (here the Bishop shall sign the person with the sign of the Cross on the forehead), and I lay my hands upon thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Defend, O Lord," &c., as in the Book of Common Prayer.

(6) The circumstances of this Church requiring on many occasions such modifications of the Order of Confirmation contained in the Book of Common Prayer as may render it appropriate to candidates who have not had godfathers and godmothers, it is permissible for the Bishop to substitute for the Preface in the Order of Confirmation in the Book of Common Prayer a suitable address, and to modify the question, "Do ye here," &c., as the circumstances may seem to him to require.'

CHAPTER XV.

THE OCCASIONAL SERVICES.

Distinguishing feature.

THE Occasional Services differ from the foregoing in that they are not properly speaking independent services but are designed wherever it is possible to be combined with the Holy Communion. This character will appear as they are discussed one by one in order.

SECT. I.—*Solemnization of Matrimony.*

Marriage primarily a natural compact; secondarily religious.

The essence of Matrimony [1] is a natural compact not a religious ceremony. The blessing pronounced upon a marriage is subordinate to the contract made by the parties, and therefore, though religious rites have habitually accompanied the marriage ceremonies, they are always only secondary, and not essential to the matrimonial bond: but on the other hand a contract can hardly be called Holy Matrimony or Christian Marriage, which is not sealed by the Church's blessing.

Roman marriage.

According to the old customs of Rome in heathen times a sacrifice accompanied the legal transactions of marriage: when Christian Matrimony began the Chris-

[1] For the whole of this section, see vi., and Duchesne, ch. xiv. Watkins, *Holy Matrimony*, esp. ch.

Matrimony.

tian Sacrifice of The Eucharist with a solemn benediction took the place of the heathen rites, but otherwise the old transactions went on and continue down to the present time.

They fell into two parts, sometimes kept distinct and sometimes joined; first came (1) the *Sponsalia* or betrothal, at which the documents were signed and four symbolical ceremonies took place:—(*a*) the giving of presents (*arrhae*) or earnests representing the marriage settlement, (*b*) the kiss, (*c*) the ring, (*d*) the joining of hands: then followed (2) the wedding itself according to the ancient rites called *Confarreatio*.[1] The principal features of this were these; the bridegroom and bride in nuptial attire, both of them wearing crowns and the bride veiled with the nuptial veil, took part in the sacrifices, and especially partook in common of the *panis farreus* or sacrificial cake made for the purpose by the Vestal Virgins.

Early Christian custom.

Already in the time of S. Ignatius it was recognised that the marriage of Christians needs the recognition of the Bishop,[2] and but little transformation was needed to make the foregoing ceremonies acceptable to the Christian conscience. The references to the rites of marriage in early Christian writers are few: but such as there are bear witness to the adoption of the customs of the old Roman law. Thus Tertullian speaks of the happiness of a marriage which is made by the Church, and confirmed by the Holy Sacrifice, and sealed by the Blessing, and reported by the angels, and ratified by the Father:[3]

[1] This form of marriage, the only one involving religious rites, had gone out of popular use among the pagan Romans in the second century, but was retained in a christianized form by the Church.

[2] *Ep. ad Polyc.* 5.

[3] *Ad uxorem*, ii. 9. 'Unde sufficiamus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio, angeli renuntiant, Pater rato habet?

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and elsewhere he speaks of the veil, the kiss, and the joining of hands.[1]

Later evidence.

No fuller description of the Western Rites [2] is forthcoming till the Reply of Pope Nicholas I. to the Bulgarians, given in 866, which shows the continuance of the old customs, and forms a link between the early days and the later mediæval Service-books.[3]

Mediæval

As to the nuptial mass, which at least from Tertullian's time took the place of the pagan sacrifices, it is found in the three early Roman Sacramentaries: in each case, besides the usual collects, a special preface [4] and *Hanc igitur* clause were provided for the Canon, and further a form of nuptial Benediction, with collect prefixed, was inserted after the consecration: the Benediction, which corresponds to the old Roman ceremony of the veiling of the Bride, was originally in the form of a eucharistic prayer,[5] prefaced by the Salutation and *Sursum corda*. The Sacramentaries [6] vary one from another, and in particular the Benediction in the Gregorian differs from that which figures in the other two, but incorporates towards the end a number of its phrases.[7]

[1] *De Virg. Vel.* 11. The crown s of later date. Warren, *A.-N. Liturg.* 138.

[2] For other earlier references see Watkins, *l.c.*

[3] 'Nostrates siquidem tam mares quam feminæ non ligaturam auream vel argenteam aut ex quolibet metallo compositam quando nuptialia fœdera contrahunt in capitibus deferunt: sed post sponsalia, quæ futurarum sunt nuptiarum promissa fœdera, quæque consensu eorum, quæ hæc contrahunt, et eorum, in quorum potestate sunt, celebrantur, et postquam arrhis sponsam sibi sponsus per digitum fidei a se annulo insignitum desponderit, dotemque utrique placitam sponsus ei cum scripto pactum hoc continente coram invitatis ab utraque parte tradiderit; aut mox, aut apto tempore . . . ambo ad nuptilia fœdera perducuntur. Et primum quidem in ecclesia domini cum oblationibus, quas offerre debent Deo per sacerdotis manum, statuuntur, sicque demum benedictionem et velamen cœleste suscipiunt . . . Post hæc autem de ecclesia egressi coronas in capitibus gestant, quæ semper in ecclesia ipsa sunt solitæ reservari.' Cap. iii., Harduin v. 354.

[4] Except in the Leonine Sacr.

[5] See above, p. 523.

[6] Muratori, i. 446; i. 722; and ii. 244.

[7] It is given below, p. 617.

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There is variation also in the other component parts: no lessons for the nuptial Mass are provided in the earliest forms of the *Comes*, and consequently, while the same Epistle is found in general use, different Gospels were adopted, and *e.g.* Sarum differs from York. No special chants were provided for a marriage in the old Antiphonal, and in consequence here again there is considerable variation.

and English custom.

In England the usual custom was to take the Votive Mass of the Trinity as the Mass of Marriage, and to use it in conjunction with the special lessons and prayers provided by the *Comes* and the Sacramentary, but dropping the old *Hanc igitur* clause and substituting the Trinity Preface in the place of the old special Preface:[1] but even in this there was no uniformity:[2] Sarum, Hereford and York all differed in details; and there were also other less defined local differences.[3]

The Sarum Service and the First Prayer Book.

Setting these aside and taking the Sarum service as representative of all, it is to be observed that it embodies (i) the old Roman ceremony of Espousal, followed by (ii) the Benediction and (iii) the nuptial Mass: this arrangement was closely followed in the First Prayer Book. The change was here all the less because it had long been customary to conduct a large part of the service in the vernacular: moreover the changes made subsequent to 1549 in the English service have been few and small, so that a simple comparison of the First Prayer Book with the Sarum service will put the reader in possession of all the main points of interest.

[1] For the curtailment of variation in these two respects, see above pp. 448, 489.

[2] York has a Trinity sequence, but Sarum one for Whitsuntide.

[3] *Ordo ad faciendum Sponsalia.* Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. p. 42 [50]. The York Ordo is printed in the *York Manual* (Surtees Society) p. 24: the Sarum Ordo is in the Appendix, p. 17*; the Hereford Ordo, p. 115*; and other ancient Ordines, p. 157*.

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Final warning,

The Latin service[1] began at the Church door[2] with the following final publication of banns, the parties standing there, the man at the right hand of the woman.[3]

'Lo brethren we are comen here before God and his angels and all his halowes in the face and presence of our moder holy Chyrche for to couple and to knyt these two bodyes togyder, that is to saye of this man and of this woman, that they be from this tyme forthe but one bodye and two soules in the fayth and lawe of God and holy Chyrche, for to deserve everlastynge lyfe, what somever that they have done here before.'

and address.

This was enlarged in 1549 by the addition of an explanation of the purpose of marriage:[4] and then

[1] The service runs thus in the Sarum Manual: the vernacular parts above are taken from the York Manual.

'*In primis statuantur vir et mulier ante ostium ecclesiæ coram Deo, sacerdote, et populo, vir a dextris mulieris, et mulier a sinistris viri.*

Tunc interroget sacerdos banna, dicens in lingua materna sub hac forma:

Ecce convenimus huc, fratres, coram Deo, et angelis, et omnibus sanctis ejus, in facie ecclesiæ, ad conjungendum duo corpora, scilicet hujus viri et hujus mulieris, *Hic respiciat sacerdos personas suas*, ut a modo sint una caro et duæ animæ in fide et in lege Dei, ad promerendam simul vitam æternam quicquid ante hoc fecerint, Admoneo igitur vos omnes, ut si quis sit ex vobis qui aliquid dicere sciat quare isti adolescentes legitime contrahere non possint, modo confiteatur.

Eadem admonitio fiat ad virum et ad mulierem, ut, si quid ab illis occulte actum fuerit, vel si quid devoverint, vel alio modo de se noverint quare legitime contrahere non possint, tunc confiteantur.'

[2] 'Then lete hem come and wytnes brynge
To stonde by at here weddynge;
So openlyche at the chyrche dore
Lete hem eyther wedde othere.'
Myrk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, p. 7 (ed. Early English Text Society).

[3] The direction given above as to the position of the parties was not inserted in the Prayer Book till 1661. The ambiguity of the english rubric is made clear by the latin.

[4] Comp. Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. ccxxviii: at the beginning of the ceremony there is an address, reciting from Gen. ii., Matt. xix., and Ephes. v., and then proceeding:—'Out of these places the despoused persons and rest of the congregation must be warned that they learn and consider, first, how holy a kind of life and how acceptable to God Matrimony is. For by these places we know that God Himself instituted holy wedlock, and that in paradise, man being yet perfect and holy, and that he hath greatly blessed this copulation, and joineth Himself all those together which contract Matrimony in His name, and giveth the husband to be an head and saviour to the wife, as Christ is the Head and Saviour of the congregation, and furthermore giveth the wife a body and a help to the husband, that here in this world they may lead a godly,

followed the address to the parties, also following the old lines.

'I charge you on Goddes behalfe and holy Chirche that, if there be any of you that can say any thynge why these two may not lawfully be wedded togyder at this tyme, say it nowe outher pryuely or appertly in helpynge of your soules and theirs bothe. Also I charge you boythe and eyther be your selfe as ye will answer before God at the day of dome that yf there be any thinge done pryuely or openly betwene yourselfe, or that ye know any lawfull lettyng why that ye may nat be wedded togyder at this tyme say it nowe, or we do any more to this mater.'

The rubric dealing with any case where any impediment was alleged also is continued in the new service.[1]

The Espousal.

The espousal followed also in the vernacular:[2] first

honest, and joyous life together;' and again, in the prayer after the ceremonies of the ring and joining of hands:—'Which also honoured Matrimony with His presence, and with the beginning of His miracles, and would have it to be a token and mystery of His exceeding love towards the congregation.' The three 'causes for which Matrimony was ordained' were commonplaces of scholastic theology: they are also found at considerable length in the Calvinistic services, and in the *Order of Matrimony* printed by Ant. Scoloker (circa 1548), Bodleian Libr., Arch. Bodl., A. i., 56. They have been omitted in the Irish and American Books, though there never was a time when plain speaking was more necessary and false modesty more to be deprecated than the present.

[1] '*Si vero aliquis impedimentum proponere voluerit et ad hoc probandum cautionem præstiterit, differantur sponsalia quousque rei veritas cognoscatur.*'

[2] '*Postea dicat sacerdos ad virum cunctis audientibus sic:* N. vis habere hanc mulierem in sponsam, eam diligere, honorare, tenere, et custodire sanam et infirmam, sicut sponsus debet sponsam; et omnes alias propter eam dimittere, et illi soli adhærere quamdiu vita utriusque vestrum duraverit? *Respondeat vir:* Volo.

Item dicat sacerdos ad mulierem hoc modo: N. Vis habere hunc virum in sponsum, et ei obedire et servire; et eum diligere, honorare, ac custodire sanum et infirmum, sicut sponsa debet sponsum; et omnes alios propter eum dimittere, et illi soli adhærere quamdiu vita utriusque vestrum duraverit? *Respondeat mulier:* Volo.

Deinde detur femina a patre suo vel ab amicis ejus: quod si puella sit, discoopertam habeat manum: si vidua, tectam: quam vir recipiat in Dei fide et sua servandam, sicut vovit coram sacerdote, et teneat eam per manum dextram in manu sua dextra, et sic det fidem mulieri per verba de præsenti, ita dicens docente sacerdote,' &c.. as on p. 614.

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the question addressed to each in turn in slightly varying form.

'N. Wylt thou have this woman to thy wyfe and love her and wirschipe her [*to the woman* and to be buxum to him, luf hym, obeye to him and wirschipe hym, serve hym] and kepe her in syknes and in helthe and in all other degrese be to her as husbande sholde be to his wyfe, and all other forsake for her, and holde thee only to her to thy lyves ende?'

Ans. 'I will.'

The following question came into the English service though there is no sign of it in the Sarum Manual but only in that of York 'Who gyves me this wyfe?'

The Plighting.

Then the plighting of troth is given in both uses in English: the Sarum form lies closer to that of 1549.

'I N. take thee N. to my wedded wife [husband] to have and to hold from this day forward for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, [to be bonere and buxum[1] in bed and at the board] till death us departe, if holy Church it will ordain; and thereto I plight thee my troth.'

When each of the parties had been plighted, the ring with gold and silver were produced by the bridegroom and there followed the blessing of the ring in Latin. This blessing was omitted in 1549 but the 'tokens of spousage' were still retained, only to be superseded in 1552 by the paying of 'the accustomed duty to the Priest and Clerk.' The formula of the ring ran thus:

'With this ring I thee wed, this gold and silver I thee give, and with my body I thee worship,[2] and with all my worldly chattels thee endow?'

[1] *i.e.*, faithful and obedient.

[2] *i.e.*, honour: Cp. Wiclif at S. Mat. xix. 19, 'worschipe thi fadir and modir;' and 1 Sam. ii. 30, in the old translation, 'him that worships me I will worship.' The phrase was objected to by the Puritans in 1604, and again in 1661, conceiving it to mean divine worship or adoration; and on both occasions it was agreed, as a matter of indifference, that it might be, 'worship and hon-

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And while the invocation of the Holy Trinity was said, the ring was placed upon the thumb and fingers of the bride's right hand in order, and finally left upon her fourth finger. This ceremony was not expressly directed in 1549 or since, but the wording of the rubric referred to it and seemed to expect its continuance.[1]

The closing part of the Espousal in the Latin service consisted of (i) a short blessing, (ii) part of a psalm, (iii) suffrages leading up to (iv) a collect and (v) a blessing. In the English service alterations were made: (i) a new prayer of the ring was inserted, based upon the language of the old collects[2] for the blessing of the ring,[3] but turned into a blessing of the bride and bridegroom instead;[4] and the man was directed to put the ring at once on the fourth finger of the woman's left hand instead of following the old custom: (ii) a solemn

our,' or 'with my body I thee honour.' The old word was, however, retained, as in Luke xiv. 10, and as it is still in common use in the phrase '*worshipful*' for 'honourable.'

[1] '*Accipiens sacerdos annulum tradat ipsum viro: quem vir accipiat manu sua dextera cum tribus principalioribus digitis, et manu sua sinistra tenens dexteram sponsæ docente sacerdote dicat:*

With this rynge I the wed, &c.

Et tunc inserat sponsus annulum pollici sponsæ dicens: In nomine Patris: *deinde secundo digito dicens:* et Filii: *deinde tertio digito dicens:* et Spiritus Sancti: *deinde quarto digito dicens:* Amen. *ibique dimittat annulum: quia in medico est quædam vena procedens usque ad cor: et in sonoritate argenti designatur interna dilectio, quæ semper inter eos debet esse recens.*'

[2] '*Benedicat sacerdos annulum hoc modo, cum* Dominus vobiscum, *et cum* Oremus. *Oratio.*

Creator et Conservator humani generis, dator gratiæ spiritalis, largitor æternæ salutis; tu, Domine, mitte benedictionem tuam super hunc annulum, ut quæ illum gestaverit sit armata virtute cœlestis defensionis, et proficiat illi ad æternam salutem. Per Christum.

Oremus. Bene✠dic, Domine, hunc annulum, quem nos in tuo sancto nomine benedicimus: ut quæcumque eum portaverit in tua pace consistat, et in tua voluntate permaneat, et in tuo amore vivat et crescat et senescat, et multiplicetur in longitudinem dierum. Per Dominum.

Tunc aspergatur aqua benedicta super annulum.'

[3] But note the change in the ceremony of the ring.

[4] The allusion to the 'tokens of spousage' of Isaac, which was part of the prayer in 1549, when the 'tokens' were still retained, was omitted from the prayer in 1552, when they ceased to be given. A similar modification was also made in the pronouncement of union which follows.

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joining of hands and (iii) a pronouncement of union were introduced next from the service in the *Consultation*:[1] finally (iv) the Espousal closed with the blessing taken from the Latin service.[2] The joining of hands with its formula and the pronouncement of the union were old customs in many places abroad, but they seem not to have been current in England till they came in to the Prayer Book through the medium of the *Consultation*.[3]

The Wedding.

The second part of the service, the *Nuptiæ* or wedding proper, now follows, comprising the benedictory prayers:[4] the Prayer Book follows very closely the lines of the old service. (i) The psalm was retained, to be sung as the bridal procession moves into the choir,[5] and

[1] '*Then, if perchance they have rings, let them put them one upon another's finger, and so let the Minister join their right hands together, and say:* That that God hath joined, let no man dissever. *And let the Pastor say moreover with a loud voice that may be heard of all men:* Forasmuch as then this John N. desireth this Anne to be his wife in the Lord, and this Anne desireth this John to be her husband in the Lord, and one hath made the other a promise of holy and Christian Matrimony, and have now both professed the same openly, and have confirmed it with giving of rings each to other, and joining of hands, I the Minister of Christ and the congregation pronounce that they be joined together with lawful and Christian Matrimony, and I confirm this their Marriage in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.' Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. ccxxx.

[2] 'Benedicat vos Deus Pater, custodiat vos Jesus Christus, illuminet vos Spiritus Sanctus. Ostendat Dominus faciem suam in vobis et misereatur vestri. Convertat Dominus vultum suum ad vos: et det vobis pacem: impleatque vos omni benedictione spirituali, in remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum ut habeatis vitam æternam, et vivatis in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.'

Sarum Manual, *Ordo ad faciend. Sponsalia*, Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. p. 49 [60]. In 1549 this was simply translated; the sign of the cross was omitted at the revision in 1552, and the blessing slightly altered to its present form. In the American Prayer Book the service ends at this blessing.

[3] In some places the hands were tied together by the Priest's stole, and this is the present custom in many places under the Roman Rite. See Martene. Lib. I. cap. ix., Ord. XII–XV.

And for a full discussion of the ceremonies, see S. Paul's Eccles. Soc. *Trans.* iii. 165 and ff.

[4] Formerly the nuptials were often solemnized some time after the espousal. There is an instance of this *temp.* Charles I. quoted by Blunt, p. 452.

[5] Ps. cxxviii. A second Psalm (lxvii.) was appointed in 1549, to be used when the language of the ancient Marriage-psalm is clearly unsuitable.

the bride and bridegroom take their place, kneeling before the Lord's Table; (ii) The suffrages follow; (iii) the two first Latin prayers were compressed into one English prayer; (iv) the prayer for fruitfulness follows the old lines; but before (vi) the final blessing [1] there is interpolated in the English service (v) a third English Collect which represents the old nuptial benediction of the early sacramentaries which took place after the Canon in the nuptial Mass [2]: it was transferred

[1] '*Hic intrent ecclesiam usque ad gradum altaris: et sacerdos in eundo cum suis ministris dicat hunc Psalmum sequentem:* Beati omnes *sine nota, cum* Kyrie eleison. *Tunc prostratis sponso et sponsa ante gradum altaris, roget sacerdos circumstantes orare pro eis, dicendo:* Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera.

Salvum fac servum tuum et ancillam tuam.

Deus meus sperantes in te.

Mitte eis, Domine, auxilium de sancto.

Et de Syon tuere eos.

Esto eis, Domine, turris fortitudinis.

A facie inimici.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus. Benedicat vos Dominus ex Syon, &c.

Oremus. Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, bene ✠ dic adolescentes istos: et semina semen vitæ æternæ in mentibus eorum: ut quicquid pro utilitate sua didicerint, hoc facere cupiant. Per Jesum.

Oremus. Respice, Domine, de cœlis, et bene✠dic conventionem istam. Et sicut misisti sanctum angelum tuum Raphaelem ad Tobiam et Saram filiam Raguelis, ita digneris, Domine, mittere bene✠dictionem tuam super istos adolescentes: ut in tua voluntate permaneant: et in tua securitate persistant: et in amore tuo vivant et senescant: ut digni atque pacifici fiant et multiplicentur in longitudinem dierum. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oremus. Respice, Domine, propitius super hunc famulum tuum, et super hanc famulam tuam; ut in nomine tuo bene✠dictionem cœlestem accipiant: et filios filiorum suorum et filiarum suarum usque in tertiam et quartam progeniem incolumes videant, et in tua voluntate perseverent, et in futuro ad cœlestia regna perveniant. Per Christum.

Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui primos parentes nostros Adam et Evam sua virtute creavit, et in sua sanctificatione copulavit: Ipse corda et corpora vestra sanctificet et bene✠dicat, atque in societate et amore veræ dilectionis conjungat. Per Christum.

Deinde benedicat eos dicens:

Oremus. Bene✠dicat vos Deus omnipotens omni bene✠dictione cœlesti, efficiatque vos dignos in conspectu suo: superabundet in vobis divitias gratiæ suæ, et erudiat vos in verbo veritatis, ut ei corpore pariter et mente complacere valeatis. Per Dominum nostrum.'

The mention of Tobit in the second prayer was preserved in 1549, but omitted in 1552.

[2] 'Oremus. Propitiare Domine &c.

Oremus. Deus qui potestate virtutis tuæ de nihilo cuncta fecisti; qui dispositis universitatis exordiis, homini ad imaginem Dei facto

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to the present position in 1549 so that all the special ceremonies and prayers of Matrimony might be kept together and be distinct from the Eucharist, which was to be celebrated at the close of the marriage ceremonies in its usual form. The contents and scope of the prayer were at the same time altered. The old prayer had been designed as a solemn blessing especially of the Bride, while she was covered with the veil, which, according to Roman custom even in pagan times, was the symbol of her marriage. Indeed the whole ceremony, like the Mass itself, had the Bride and not the Bridegroom in view and was known as the *Velatio nuptialis*. In later times when the old Roman view was no longer current, the veiling of the Bride was so far modified that a veil or canopy was held over both Bride and Bridegroom, but the prayers still remained unaltered. The English Prayer Book carried the same line of development a stage further and altered the prayer so as to make it include the Bridegroom as well as the Bride; and thus to be both more suitable to its altered position and more agreeable to the altered ideas.

The Mass.

The nuptial Mass thus lost its special significance in 1549: it was still ordered that '*The new married per-*

inseparabile mulieris adjutorium condidisti, ut fœmineo corpori de virili dares carne principium, docens quod ex uno placuisset institui, nunquam liceret disjungi; *Hic incipit benedictio sacramentalis:* Deus, qui tam excellenti mysterio conjugalem copulam consecrasti, ut Christi et ecclesiæ sacramentum præsignares in fœdere nuptiarum; *Hic finitur benedictio sacramentalis:* Deus, per quem mulier jungitur viro et societas principaliter ordinata ea benedictione ✠ donatur, quæ sola nec per originalis peccati pœnam, nec per diluvii est ablata sententiam; respice propitius super hanc famulam tuam quæ maritali jungenda est consortio, quæ se tua expetit protectione muniri. Sit in ea jugum dilectionis et pacis: fidelis et casta nubat in Christo: imitatrixque sanctarum permaneat fœminarum. Sit amabilis ut Rachel viro: sapiens ut Rebecca: longæva et fidelis ut Sara . . . et ad beatorum requiem atque ad cœlestia regna perveniat. Per Dominum, &c. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.'

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sons, the same day of their Marriage, must receive the Holy Communion:[1] but this was altered in 1661, in compliance with the objection of the Presbyterians,[2] or more probably from a conviction that many persons would be married according to the rites of the Church, who were far from being in real communion with it.[3]

The Address.

The Address which was provided in 1549 is of the nature of a homily, showing the relative duties of married persons. Until 1661 it was to be used as the homily in the Communion Service when no other took its place: and the present practice is an adaptation of this to the altered conditions.

The service ends abruptly because it is in fact incomplete and should be followed by the Holy Communion.[4] In the Irish Prayer Book some prayers are added which give a false idea of completeness: in the American Book there is no proper nuptial Benediction at all but only the first part of the service consisting of the Espousal.

[1] Although this is no longer the positive rule, yet the rubric still asserts that it is 'convenient' *i.e.* suitable; this shows that a Deacon should not officiate at a Marriage; and this is the more clear when it is remembered that the office is also, in an ecclesiastical point of view, especially one of benediction. Cp. Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 264 [450].

[2] 'This rubric doth either enforce all such as are unfit for the sacrament to forbear Marriage, contrary to Scripture, which approves the Marriage of all men; or else compels all that marry to come to the Lord's Table, though never so unprepared; and therefore we desire it may be omitted, the rather because that Marriage-festivals are too often accompanied with such divertisements as are unsuitable to those Christian duties, which ought to be before and follow after the receiving of that holy Sacrament.' The Bishops reply to this, that it 'enforces none to forbear Marriage, but presumes (as well it may) that all persons marriageable ought to be also fit to receive the holy Sacrament; and Marriage being so solemn a covenant of God, they that undertake it in the fear of God will not stick to seal it by receiving the Holy Communion, and accordingly prepare themselves for it. It were more Christian to desire that those licentious festivities might be suppressed, and the Communion more generally used by those that marry: the happiness would be greater than can easily be expressed.' Cardwell, *Conferences*, pp. 331, 360.

[3] This was necessarily the case before the Act of 1836 (6 and 7 Gul. IV. c. 85), which allowed a civil contract of Marriage to be made in the presence of a Registrar.

[4] Hooker, *E.P.* v. lxxiii. 8. *Fragm. Illustr.* 93.

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Marriages forbidden at certain seasons.

One or two general points remain which demand notice. First with regard to the occasion of a marriage it is to be observed that matrimony, being an occasion of rejoicing, as early as the fourth century was forbidden together with other festivities, during the solemn fast of Lent;[1] and in the eleventh century at certain other seasons also, such as Advent and Rogation-tide. No such prohibition has been inserted in the Prayer Book,[2] but it still forms part of the Law of the Church, in spite of two attempts made in parliament to alter it. Dispensations may be granted by the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury.[3] But in practice both the law and the dispensing power have been much ignored, though custom has continued to discountenance marriage in Lent. Further the ceremony may only take place within certain hours of the day so that publicity may be ensured.

Publication of Banns.

The rubrics of the Publication of Banns,[4] in the earlier Prayer Books, directed that they should be *asked three several Sundays, or Holy Days, in the time of service, the people being present, after the accustomed manner.*[5] In 1661 the time of service was explained to

[1] *Concil. Laodicense*, (circa 364) Can. LII.: "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ γάμους ἢ γενέθλια ἐπιτελεῖν. Mansi, II. 571. Bruns. I. 78. Gratian, *Decr.* XXXIII. iv. 8.

[2] The following clause was proposed to the Convocation (1661), but was not inserted in the Prayer Book:—'By the ecclesiastical laws of this realm there be some times in the year wherein marriages are not usually solemnized, as from Advent Sunday until eight days after the Epiphany: from Septuagesima Sunday until eight days after Easter; from Rogation Sunday until Trinity Sunday.' See Cardwell, *Synodalia*, I. p. 134, *n.* Also for old English Rules the 18th Canon of Eynsham (1009) in Hard. vi. 777; and for later customs Lyndw. iv. 3. and iii. 16.

[3] Gibson, *Codex* XXII. viii. Ayliffe, *Parergon* 365. Blunt, *Annot. B.C.P.* 447.

[4] A marriage license is an episcopal dispensation setting aside the necessity of Banns.

[5] 'Non fidabit sacerdos nec consentiet ad fidationem inter virum et mulierem ante tertium dictum bannorum. Debet enim sacerdos banna in facie ecclesiæ infra missarum solemnia cum major populi adfuerit multitudo, per tres dies solemnes et disjunctas interrogare: ita ut inter unumquemque diem solemnem cadat

Matrimony.

be *immediately before the sentences of the Offertory*,[1] and the form was also provided in which it should be done. In modern Prayer Books the rubric is often wrongly printed because the printers have altered it without authority on a mistaken interpretation of two Marriage Acts of later date.[2] These do not supersede but only supplement the rubric by providing for the publication of Banns in cases where there is no celebration of the Communion Service.

Prohibited degrees.

The Table of Prohibited Degrees forms no proper part of the Prayer Book but in conjunction with the XXXIX Articles of Religion it is often appended to the book and it deserves mention here. It was issued by Archbishop Parker in 1563 and sanctioned by the 99th Canon of 1603. It rests upon two broad principles: (i) that affinity, or relationship by marriage, is as much a bar to matrimony as consanguinity or relationship by blood, since man and wife are one flesh; (ii) that marriage is not allowable within three degrees of relationship: *e.g.* an uncle and niece may not marry being related in the third degree since the grandparent of one is the parent of the other: but first cousins may legally marry being related in the fourth degree.[3]

In some places civil law has broken in upon this

ad minus una dies ferialis... Et si contrahentes diversarum sint parochiarum, tunc in utraque ecclesia parochiarum illarum sunt banna interroganda.' Sarum Manual, *Ordo ad faciendum Sponsalia;* Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. p. 44 [54, ed. 1882]. The triple publication, *trina denunciatio*, was ordered by the Council of Westminster (1200) Can. XI. Hard. vi. 1961. See also Lyndw. IV. 3.

[1] The Marriage Acts (26 Geo. II. c. 33, and 4 Geo. IV. c. 76), say:— 'The said banns shall be published upon three Sundays preceding the solemnization of Marriage, during the time of Morning Service, or of the Evening Service if there be no Morning Service in such Church or Chapel on any of those Sundays immediately after the Second Lesson.'

By the former Act the minister may require seven days notice of the names and addresses of the parties before the first publication of Banns.

[2] Blunt *Annot. B.C.P.* p. 447.

[3] See Watkins, *Holy Matrimony*, ch. x.

Matrimony.

principle and made exceptions, *e.g.*, in the case of the marriage of a deceased wife's sister; but the Church Law still upholds the clear and intelligible principle and refuses to recognise exceptions.

SECT. II. *The Visitation of the Sick.*

Mediæval practice.

The Church has always been zealous in her care for the sick, the dying and the departed. The Apostolical example and the precept[1] that the sick man should 'call for the elders of the Church' was fully carried out in mediæval times[2] and the present *Order for the Visitation*[3] follows closely the lines of the old service in the Sarum Manual.

The Sarum services.

The old order[4] began with the recitation of the

[1] S. Mark vi. 13. S. James v. 14, 15.

[2] *Constitutiones Richardi Poore, Episc. Sar.* (circ. 1223), §. 94: 'Cum anima longe pretiosior sit corpore, sub interjectione anathematis prohibemus, ne quis medicorum pro corporali salute aliquid ægro suadeat, quod in periculum animæ convertatur. Verum cum ipsis ad ægrum vocari contigerit, ægrum ante omnia moneant et inducant, quod advocent medicos animarum; ut postquam fuerit infirmo de spirituali salute provisum, ad corporalis medicinæ remedium salubrius procedatur.' *Sarum Charters* 159. Wilk. i. 572 and ff.

[3] Canon LXVII. (1603). 'When any person is dangerously sick in any parish, the Minister or Curate, having knowledge thereof, shall resort unto him or her (if the disease be not known, or probably suspected, to be infectious), to instruct and comfort them in their distress, according to the order of the Communion Book, if he be no preacher; or if he be a preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient.'

[4] '*Psalmi septem. Ant.* Ne reminiscaris Domine &c. See above p. 415. *Et cum intraverit domum dicat.* Pax huic domui et omnibus habitantibus in ea: pax ingredientibus et egredientibus.

Deinde aspergat infirmum aqua benedicta, et statim sequatur: Kyrie eleison &c. ℣. Et ne nos. ℟. Sed libera. ℣. Salvum fac servum tuum *vel* ancillam tuam. ℟. Deus meus sperantem in te. ℣. Mitte ei Domine auxilium de sancto. ℟. Et de Syon tuere eum. ℣. Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo. ℟. Et filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere ei. ℣. Esto ei Domine turris fortitudinis. ℟. A facie inimici. ℣. Domine, exaudi orationem meam. ℟. Et clamor meus ad te veniat. Dominus vobiscum. Oremus . . . .

Respice, Domine, de cœlo, et vide et visita hunc famulum tuum N. et benedic eum sicut benedicere dignatus es Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob. Respice super eum, Domine, oculis misericordiæ tuæ: et reple eum omni gaudio et lætitia et timore tuo. Expelle ab eo omnes inimici insidias: et mitte Angelum pacis qui eum custodiat et domum istam in pace perpetua. Per.

Exaudi nos omnipotens et misericors Deus, et visitationem

Visitation.

Introduction.

penitential psalms and their antiphon on the way to the house, and when it was reached the salutation was given as our Lord ordered.[1] In 1549 only one psalm was retained with its antiphon and prescribed for use after the salutation in the sick man's presence. In 1552 the psalm was omitted and now only the antiphon 'Remember not' survives, with a response, which was added in 1661. The suffrages and collects which followed were in the old Order preceded by the sprinkling of Holy Water: this was omitted in the Prayer Book, but the suffrages were retained and two out of the nine collects provided in the Manual. The second of these went through considerable modification in 1552 and 1661.

Testing of faith and repentance.

The second division of the service then began which was designed to help the sick man to acts of faith and repentance especially in view of his communion and unction.[2] This was continued in the Prayer Book though the provision for the unction made in 1549 was omitted in 1552. The Latin Manuals contained

tuam conferre digneris super hunc famulum tuum N. quem diversa vexat infirmitas. Visita eum, Domine, sicut visitare dignatus es socrum Petri, puerumque centurionis, et Tobiam et Saram, per sanctum angelum tuum Raphaelem. Restitue in eo, Domine, pristinam sanitatem: ut mereatur in atrio domus tuæ dicere, Castigans castigavit me Dominus, et morti non tradidit me salvator mundi. Qui . . . .'

[1] S. Mat. x. 13.

[2] The following extracts will give a general idea of this part of the Latin service.

'*Deinde priusquam ungatur infirmus, aut communicetur, exhortetur eum sacerdos hoc modo.*

Frater carissime, gratias age omnipotenti Deo pro universis beneficiis suis, patienter et benigne suscipiens infirmitatem corporis quam tibi immisit: nam si ipsam humiliter sine murmure toleraveris, infert animæ tuæ maximum præmium et salutem. Et, frater carissime, quia viam universæ carnis ingressurus es, esto firmus in fide . . . .'

The priest then expounds at length the articles of the Faith and then asks for a profession of the sick man's faith thus. 'Carissime frater, credis Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum esse tres Personas et unum Deum, et ipsam benedictam atque indivisibilem Trinitatem creasse omnia creata visibilia, et invisibilia? Et solum Filium, de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, incarnatum, &c.?

Deinde respondeat infirmus: Credo firmiter in omnibus, sicut sancta mater credit ecclesia . . . .'

Visitation.

vernacular forms of exhortation for use at this point[1] and a similar provision was made in the Prayer Book. When the man's faith has been tested he is to be exhorted to charity and restitution, though no form is provided for this as was done in the Latin books.[2] Then his conscience is to be satisfied: in the old books it was taken for granted that he would make his confession:[3] in the Prayer Book from 1549 onward it was left to his discretion whether he would or not, but in 1661 it was ordered that the Minister should move him to do so, if he felt his conscience troubled by any weighty matter. The form of absolution provided follows the old Latin form;[4] and it is noticeable that when in 1661 the responsibility of moving the sick man to confession was laid upon the Minister the responsibility of desiring

[1] See Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* iii. pp. 350 [410] and ff.

[2] Then followed an exhortation to charity and restitution:

'*Deinde dicat sacerdos:* Carissime frater: quia sine caritate nihil proderit fides . . . . Exerce ergo caritatis opera dum vales: et si multum tibi affuerit, abundanter tribue: si autem exiguum, illud impartiri stude. Et ante omnia si quem injuste læseris, satisfacias si valeas: sin autem, expedit ut ab eo veniam humiliter postules. Dimitte debitoribus tuis et aliis qui in te peccaverunt, ut Deus tibi dimittat. . .'

[3] '*Deinde stabilito sic infirmo in fide caritate et spe, dicat ei sacerdos,* Carissime frater, si velis ad visionem Dei pervenire, oportet omnino quod sis mundus in mente et purus in conscientia: ait enim Christus in evangelio: Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Si ergo vis mundum cor et conscientiam sanam habere, peccata tua universa confitere . . . .' Then after his confession he urges him to alms deeds in lieu of penance, or if he recovers to the due performance of penance itself.

'*Deinde absolvat sacerdos infirmum ab omnibus peccatis suis, hoc modo dicens:* '

Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro sua magna pietate te absolvat: et ego auctoritate ejusdem Dei Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et auctoritate mihi tradita absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis his de quibus corde contritus et ore mihi confessus es: et ab omnibus aliis peccatis tuis de quibus si tuæ occurrerent memoriæ libenter confiteri velles: et sacramentis ecclesiæ te restituo. In nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. . . .'

[4] The relative sentence introduced at the beginning, "Who hath left &c." is a reminiscence of the *Order of the Communion.* See above, p. 487. In 1549 this form was also prescribed *for all private confessions:* this direction was omitted in 1552, and the words 'after this form' were altered into their present phraseology, *after this sort.*

Visitation.

absolution was laid upon the penitent.[1] The declaratory form of absolution is followed in the English as in the Latin by a prayer of absolution: this had been the principal form of absolution in use in the Western Church up to the XIIth century when for the first time a declaratory form of absolution began to be in use. It is found in the Gelasian Sacramentary as the solemn form used on Maundy Thursday at the Reconciliation of the penitents who have been excommunicate since the beginning of Lent.[2] With this prayer and two others accompanying it the Latin service of the Visitation ended and the service of Unction followed.

Unction.

The psalm and antiphon which began that service[3] are still retained, and the antiphon is used more or less in its proper way and not altered almost beyond recognition, as it is elsewhere in the Prayer Book.[4] Instead of the elaborate unction of the mediæval service a simple ceremony with a single new prayer and the accustomed psalm were provided in 1549 as an optional addition to

[1] In the American Book the rubric and declaratory absolution are omitted. See p. 245. In the Irish Book as formerly in the American, the absolution of the Communion Service is prescribed with a modified rubric. See p. 233.

[2] 'Deus misericors, Deus clemens, qui secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum peccata pœnitentium deles, et præteritorum criminum culpas venia remissionis evacuas: respice super hunc famulum tuum N. sibi remissionem omnium peccatorum suorum tota cordis contritione poscentem. Renova in eo, piissime Pater, quicquid diabolica fraude violatum est: et unitati corporis ecclesiæ tuæ membrum infirmum, peccatorum percepta remissione, restitue. Miserere, Domine, gemituum ejus: miserere lacrymarum: miserere tribulationum atque dolorum: et non habentem fiduciam nisi in tua misericordia ad sacramentum reconciliationis admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.'

Cp. *Gelas. Sacr.* 552.

[3] '*Priusquam ungatur infirmus incipiat sacerdos ant.* Salvator mundi. *Deinde dicatur psalmus* In te domine speravi. *Finito psalmo cum* Gloria patri *tota dicatur ant.* Salvator mundi salva nos, qui per crucem et sanguinem redemisti nos: auxiliare nobis te deprecamur Deus noster.'

[4] *E.g.*, 'Remember not Lord' in the Litany and the opening of the Visitation.

In the American Book the cxxxth psalm is substituted for the lxxist.

Visitation.

the service.[1] These were omitted in 1552, and thus the service ended after the antiphon with a form of blessing newly composed and based on scriptural texts.[2] This was felt to be inadequate in 1661 and the form of Aaronic blessing[3] was added,[4] together with four Occasional Prayers, *For a sick Child; For a sick Person, when there appeareth small hope of recovery; A commendatory Prayer for a sick Person at the point of departure*; and *A Prayer for Persons troubled in mind and conscience*.[5]

SECT. III.—*The Communion of the Sick.*

In the absence of any provision for Unction the Communion of the Sick stands alone as the service to

[1] '*If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the Priest anoint him upon the forehead or breast only, making the sign of the cross, saying thus*:—As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed, so our heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of His infinite goodness that thy soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of all strength, comfort, relief, and gladness: and vouchsafe for His great mercy (if it be His blessed will) to restore unto thee thy bodily health and strength to serve Him; and send thee release of all thy pains, troubles, and diseases, both in body and mind. And howsoever His goodness (by His divine and unsearchable providence) shall dispose of thee, we, His unworthy ministers and servants, humbly beseech the Eternal Majesty to do with thee according to the multitude of His innumerable mercies, and to pardon thee all thy sins and offences, committed by all thy bodily senses, passions, and carnal affections: Who also vouchsafe mercifully to grant unto thee ghostly strength by His Holy Spirit to withstand and overcome all temptations and assaults of thine adversary, that in no wise he prevail against thee, but that thou mayest have perfect victory and triumph against the devil, sin, and death, through Christ our Lord: Who by His death hath overcome the prince of death, and with the Father and the Holy Ghost evermore liveth and reigneth God world without end. Amen.

Usquequo Domine. Ps. xiii.'

[2] Ps. lxi. 3: Phil. ii. 10, 11: Acts iv. 12.

[3] Num. vi. 24.

[4] In the XVIIth century part of the Visitation service was sometimes used after Divine Service in church when a sick person desired the prayers of the congregation. Blunt, 470. Cp. *Fragm. Illustr.* 95.

[5] In the American Book three further forms are added: 1. *For all present at the Visitation*, 2. *In case of sudden surprise and immediate danger*, 3. *A thanksgiving for the beginning of a recovery*. The Irish Book has *A Prayer for a sick person when his sickness has been mercifully assuaged*.

Communion of the Sick.

which the Office of Visitation leads up.[1] In pre-Reformation times this was a very simple matter, for the Holy Sacrament was reserved for the sick according to the universal and primitive custom; also the administration was in the simplest form[2] and, according to the custom in later times prevalent, in one kind only.

Communion with reserved Sacrament (1549).

The rubric of 1549, continuing the practice of Reservation, though with some restriction, directed that, if a sick person was to receive the Communion on the same day in which there was a celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the church, the Priest should reserve at the open Communion so much of the sacrament of the Body and Blood as should serve the sick person, and so many as should communicate with him, if there were any. The service to be used consisted of the general Confession, the Absolution with the Comfortable Words, the distribution of the Sacrament, and the Collect, 'Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank Thee, &c.'

If there was no open Communion on that day, the Curate was directed to visit the sick person afore noon, and to celebrate the Holy Communion in the following form:—

The Celebration of the Holy Communion for the Sick (1549).

'O praise the Lord, all ye nations, laud Him, all ye people; for His merciful kindness is confirmed towards us, and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever. Glory be to the Father, &c.'

[1] The last hours of an Anglo-Saxon were thus occupied, according to the Leofric Missal: '*Incipit ordo in agenda mortuorum.* Mox autem ut eum viderint, ad extremum propinquare, communicandus est de sacrificio sancto etiam si comedisset ipsa die, quia communio erit ei defensor et adjutor in resurrectione justorum et ipsa eum resuscitabit. Post communionem susceptam, legendæ sunt passiones dominicæ ante corpus infirmi seu a presbyteris, seu a diaconibus, usque egrediatur anima de corpore. Primitus enim ut anima de corpore egressa fuerit, ponatur super cilicium et canantur VII. psalmi pœnitentiales, et agenda et letania prout tempus fuerit. Finitis autem sanctorum nominibus, mox incipiatur R. *Subvenite, sancti Dei, occurite angeli Domini.* (p. 198. Ed. Warren.)

[2] '*Interroget eum sacerdos si recognoscat corpus et sanguinem DNJC sic dicendo:* Frater credis quod sacramentum quod tractatur in altari est verum corpus et sanguis DNJC? *Respondeat infirmus* Credo. *Deinde communicetur.*' A prayer and psalm civ. followed.

Communion of the Sick.

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
} *Without any more repetition.*

The Priest. The Lord be with you.
Answer. And with thy spirit.
Let us pray. Almighty and everlasting God, &c.
The Epistle. Heb. xii. My son, despise not, &c.
The Gospel. John v. Verily, verily, &.
The Preface. The Lord be with you.
Answer. And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts, &c. *Unto the end of the Canon.*

If more sick persons were to be visited on the same day, the Curate was ordered to reserve a sufficient portion of the elements from the first consecration, and immediately to carry it and minister it unto them.

The Communion of the Sick (1552).

In 1552 the directions for reservation and for celebrating in the sick man's house were alike omitted: the Collect, Epistle and Gospel were retained, with a rubric authorizing the Curate to 'minister' the Holy Communion, provided there were *a good number to receive the Communion with the sick person.* Thus the Sacrament might be reserved, but no method was prescribed, the Curate was to carry it to the sick man, but he was not sufficiently instructed what service he was to use in administering it.[1]

The shortened Communion of the Sick (1661).

At the last revision in 1661, the number 'three, or two at the least,' was mentioned as requisite to form a company of communicants with the sick person;[2] and the direction was given to *celebrate the Holy Communion*

[1] Calvin. Epistle 361. (Aug. 12, 1561); Hill, *Communicant instructed* (1617) pp. 36, 37.

[2] Cp. the Scottish Book, 'a sufficient number, at least two or three.' It was suggested here by Wren. *Fragm. Illustr.* 97. The rule is the same as for a public Communion, that there must be three at the least to communicate with the Priest. The only exception to this rule is that, in a time of contagious sickness, 'upon the special request of the diseased, the Minister may only communicate with him:' this rubric was added in 1552.

Communion of the Sick.

in a shortened form beginning with the special Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, and then passing to the Communion Office at the Address to the Communicants, 'Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you, &c.'

If the Visitation Service is used at the same time, the Priest ends that service after the Prayer, 'O most merciful God, &c.;' and, instead of the Psalm, proceeds to The Communion of the Sick.[1]

Spiritual Communion.

The rubric which points to spiritual communion, as the consolation to be called to the attention of one who is unable to partake of the Sacrament,[2] is taken from the ancient office.[3]

This rubric does not imply that the actual participation of this sacrament is a matter of indifference. Like the other sacrament of Baptism, it must be received where it may be had. But a faithful Christian need not fear separation from the love of Christ, if 'either by reason of the extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the Curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment,' he do not receive the sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood in his last extremity.[4]

[1] The following was the shortened service ordered in 1549:—'*The Anthem:* Remember not, Lord, &c. Lord, have mercy upon us. &c. Our Father, &c. Let us pray. O Lord, look down from heaven, &c. *With the first part of the Exhortation and all other things unto the Psalm. And if the sick desire to be anointed, then shall the Priest use the appointed Prayer without any Psalm.*'

[2] See this subject treated, and suitable devotions provided, by Bishop Jeremy Taylor (*Worthy Communicant*, ch. vii. § 3, *Works*, VIII. pp. 238, 239), and Bishop Wilson (*Instructions on the Lord's Supper*, Append. 'Concerning Spiritual Communion,' *Works*, II. pp. 130 & ff.).

[3] '*Deinde communicetur infirmus nisi prius communicatus fuerit: et nisi de vomitu vel alia irreverentia probabiliter timeatur: in quo casu dicat sacerdos infirmo:*—Frater, in hoc casu sufficit tibi vera fides, et bona voluntas: tantum crede, et manducasti.' Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. p. 89 [112], and cp. S. Austin. In *Joan.* Tr. xxv. 22.

[4] Two additional rubrics appear in the American Book, one authorizing a still briefer service in the times of contagious sickness, the other sanctioning the substitution of the Collect, Epistle and Gospel of the day for those appointed above, in

Burial of the Dead.

SECT. IV.—*The Burial of the Dead.*

The Mediæval cycle of services.

The tender care which the primitive and mediæval Church bestowed upon the departed is a natural sequel of its care for the sick and dying.[1] A continuous round of prayer was maintained. During the last agony psalms and litanies were said, ending with a solemn farewell in the name of the Blessed Trinity, the orders of angels and the company of saints, and a solemn series of petitions to God to deliver the soul of his servant from all dangers.[2] After death came the service of Commendation,[3] consisting of Psalms with their antiphons, and collects at intervals; and during it the body was prepared for burial. Psalmody again accompanied the carrying of the corpse to the church. Then began the services connected with the Burial; first the Office of the

using this office with aged and bedridden persons, &c.

[1] The history of the early Church is full of tender evidence of a wealth of solicitude and prayer for those at rest. See Luckock, *After Death*, ch. vii., viii., ix.. The early sacramentaries have the prayers of the cycle of services for the sick, the dying, and the departed, and the English forms are derived from the Gregorian sacramentaries. The custom of the Anglo-Saxon Church is described in the Penitential of Archbishop Theodore (688), V. I. :—'Secundum Romanam ecclesiam mos est monachos vel homines religiosos defunctos in ecclesiam portare, et cum chrisma ungere pectora eorum, ibique pro eis missas celebrare; deinde cum cantatione portare ad sepulturas; et cum positi fuerint in sepulcro, funditur pro eis oratio, deinde humo vel petra operiuntur.' Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 194.

[2] 'Proficiscere anima christiana de hoc mundo in nomine dei patris omnipotentis qui te creavit. Amen. &c.', thirteen petitions in all. 'Suscipe itaque domine servum tuum in bonum et lucidum habitaculum tuum. Amen. Libera domine animam servi tui, &c.,' twelve petitions. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i. 102 [128].

[3] '*Sequatur commendatio animarum, et dicatur in camera vel in aula sine nota juxta corpus, et omnia subsequenter similiter usque ad processionem ad hominem mortuum suscipiendum.*' Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. pp. 104 [130]. This *Ordo Commendationis Animæ* in a briefer form figures constantly as *The Commendations*, or *Psalms of Commendation*, or *The Commendations of the Souls*, in the English Primers and Horæ, appended to the Office of the Dead. *Mon. Rit.* II. pp. 156 and ff. [III, 161]. *The Prymer* (E. E. T. S.) 79–89.

dead (Evensong, Mattins and Lauds),[1] then the Requiem Mass,[2] then a short form of Commendation and the censing and sprinkling with holy water of the body,[3] and lastly the actual Burial Service.[4] After the funeral Memorial Services were said, both the Office of the Dead and the Requiem Mass, especially during the month immediately following, and on the anniversary.[5]

Burial of the Dead.

Compared with this the provision made in the Prayer Book is very meagre. A series of three antiphons represents the procession to the Church: the psalms and lesson, as now placed, may represent the Office of the Dead, the Eucharist has been omitted and its collect transferred to the short service at the grave.

The adaptation in the Prayer Book.

The arrangement of the service has been much changed at the several revisions of the Prayer Book. In 1549, though it represented a great departure from the old lines, it had a character of its own, and consisted

In 1549.

[1] The *Officium pro Defunctis*, or *Vigiliæ Mortuorum*, or *Dirge*, consisted of two parts: the Evensong, or *Placebo*, so called from the antiphon with which the service commenced, —'Placebo Domino in regione vivorum;' and the Mattins (with Lauds), also called *Dirige* from its first antiphon,—'Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam meam.' These offices were constantly said at other times, and as a private devotion, and thus formed a part of the Primer, (see Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* II. pp. 110 and ff. [III. 115]; *The Prymer* (E. E. T. S.) 52 and ff.), and also of the Breviary (see Psalter, col. 271).

[2] *Missa pro Defunctis*, called also *Requiem*, from the beginning of the Introit, or *Officium*, 'Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis.' *Miss. Sar.* col. 860*; *Brev. Sar.* Psalter, col. 521.

[3] *Inhumatio Defuncti*, Maskell, I. p. 114 [142].

[4] *Ibid.* 118 [146]. The foregoing services may also be seen, and in some respects more plainly, in the York and Sarum Manuals. (Surtees Soc. vol. 63).

[5] Thirty masses were said on as many different days, and this was called *Trigintale*, a Trental. Special collects were inserted in the office *in die tricennali*, or *in trigintalibus*; and also *in anniversario depositionis die*. 'Though the corpse had been buried, the funeral rites were not yet over. All through the month following, *Placebo*, and *Dirige*, and masses continued to be said in that church, but with more particular solemnity on the third, the seventh, and the thirtieth day; at each of which times a dole of food or money was distributed among the poor.' Rock, *Ch. of our Fathers.* II. 516. Comp. the Penitential of Theodore, *ubi sup.*: 'Prima et tertia et nona necnon et tricesima die pro eis missa agatur et exinde post annum, si voluerint, servatur.'

Burial of the Dead

The service of 1549.

of (i) a procession to the church or grave, (ii) the service of actual burial ; and to these there were added (iii) a brief form of Office of the Dead, and (iv) a special Eucharist.

I. *The priest, meeting the corpse at the church-stile, shall say, or else the priest and clerks shall sing, and so go either in to the church, or towards the grave,*

I am the resurrection, &c.

I know that my Redeemer, &c.

We brought nothing, &c.

II. *When they come at the grave, whiles the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth, the priest shall say, or else the priest and clerks shall sing,*

Man that is born of a woman, &c.

In the midst of life . . . . to fall from thee.

Then the priest, casting earth upon the corpse, shall say,

I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty, and thy body to the ground, earth to earth, &c.

Then shall be said or sung,

I heard a voice from heaven, &c.

Let us pray. We commend into thy hands of mercy, most merciful Father, the soul of this our brother departed, N. And his body we commit to the earth, beseeching thine infinite goodness to give us grace to live in thy fear and love, and to die in thy favour : that when the judgment shall come, which Thou hast committed to thy well-beloved Son, both this our brother, and we, may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce, &c. (*as in the present last Collect*)

This Prayer shall also be added.

Almighty God, we give thee hearty thanks for this thy servant, whom thou hast delivered from the miseries of this wretched world, from the body of death and all temptation, and, as we trust, hast brought his soul, which he committed into thy holy hands, into sure consolation and rest : Grant, we beseech Thee, that at the day of judgment his soul, and all the souls of thy elect departed out of this life, may with us, and we with them, fully receive thy promises, and be made perfect altogether, through the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

III. *These Psalms, with other suffrages following, are to be said in the church either before or after the burial of the corpse.*

Ps. cxvi., cxxxix., cxlvi.

Burial of the Dead.

Then shall follow this Lesson, 1 Cor. xv. [ver. 20 to end][1]
The Lesson ended, then shall the Priest say,
Lord, have mercy upon us, &c.
Our Father, &c.
Priest. Enter not, O Lord, into judgment with thy servant.
Answer. For in thy sight no living creature shall be justified.
Priest. From the gates of hell.
Answer. Deliver their souls, O Lord.
Priest. I believe to see the goodness of the Lord.
Answer. In the land of the living.
Priest. O Lord, graciously hear my prayer.
Answer. And let my cry come unto Thee.

Let us pray. O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead; and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity:[2] Grant unto this thy servant, that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed unto him, but that he, escaping the gates of hell and the pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow, nor heaviness; and when that dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible: set him on the right hand of thy Son Jesus Christ, among thy holy and elect, that then he may hear with them these most sweet and comfortable words: Come to me, ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom, &c.

The Communion Office at Burials (1549).

IV. *The Celebration of the Holy Communion when there is a Burial of the Dead.*[3]

Introit. Ps. xlii.

Collect. O merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesu Christ,

[1] Part of this lesson is one of four alternative lessons in Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. ccxliv.

[2] This exordium is taken from the Gregorian prayer 'Deus apud quem mortuorum spiritus vivunt et in quo electorum animæ, deposito carnis onere, plena felicitate lætantur, &c.': this, with the rest of the Gregorian prayers, figures in the later manuals: the remainder of the English prayer follows their language very closely, but is not drawn from any one of them directly. The end comes from elsewhere, viz., the Mass *De quinque vulneribus D. N. J. C.*: 'Te humiliter deprecamur, ut in die judicii ad dexteram tuam statuti a te audire mereamur illam vocem dulcissimam, Venite, benedicti, in regnum Patris mei.' *Missale Sar.* col. 751.*

[3] This was a very ancient, if not a primitive, custom; 'whereby the friends of the departed testified their belief that the Communion of the saints in Christ extended beyond the grave;' Guericke, p. 278. See Bingham, *Antiq.* XXIII. 3 § 12.

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who is the resurrection and the life . . . who also hath taught us by his holy apostle Paul not to be sorry as men without hope for them that sleep in him: we meekly beseech Thee O Father to raise us from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness;[1] that when we shall depart this life we may sleep in him, as our hope is this our brother doth:[2] and at the general resurrection in the last day both we, and this our brother departed, receiving again our bodies, and rising again in thy most gracious favour, may with all thine elect saints obtain eternal joy. Grant this, &c.

The Epistle. 1 Thess. iv. [ver. 13 to end]

The Gospel. John vi. [ver. 37 to 40]

Changes made in 1552.

In 1552 this clear structure was thrown into confusion: the Office of the Dead and the Eucharist were both given up:[3] the prayers at the graveside were abolished and there were substituted for them some parts of the discarded sections, viz. the lessons, the Lord's Prayer and collect from the third section, and the collect from the fourth section. Three minor alterations were also made; (i) the rubric after the lowering of the body into the grave was altered to its present terms,—'*Then, while the earth shall be cast upon the body by some standing by, the Priest shall say*, &c.: (ii) the commendation was altered to the

[1] Cp. a collect at the end of the *Dirige* in Bishop Hilsey's Primer, 1539 (Burton's *Three Primers*, p. 420), and in King Henry's Primer, 1545 (*ib.* p. 492): 'O God, whiche by the mouth of St. Paule thyne apostle hast taught us, not to wayle for them that slepe in Christ: Graunt we beseche the that in the comyng of thy sonne our lorde Jesu Christ, bothe we and all other faithfui people beying departed may be graciously brought unto the joys everlasting.'

[2] These expressions of thankfulness and hope were objected to by the Presbyterians in 1661 (above p. 128), but the Bishops simply replied, that 'it is better to be charitable, and hope the best, than rashly to condemn:' Cardwell, *Conf.* pp. 333, 362. 'We are often said to hope that which we do only wish or desire, but have not particular grounds to believe; only we are not sure of the contrary, or that the thing is impossible:' Bennet, *Paraphr.* (1708) p. 236. These clauses are altered in the American Prayer Book:—'We give Thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all those Thy servants who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours:' and the words, 'as our hope is this our brother doth,' are omitted. See Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. 75, § 4.

[3] The latter appears, however, in the Latin Prayer Book of 1560, together with the 'Commemoration of Benefactors' as an appendix. See above, p. 122, and Additional Note I., p. 644.

present declaration, so as to be a mere committal of the body instead of, as before, a commendation also of the soul: 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of His great mercy to take unto Himself the soul of our dear brother, here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground, &c.'; [1] (iii) the collects were recast in such a way that the beginning of the old prayer at the end of the third section was made the beginning of the new prayer in that section: while the end of it was tacked on to the collect which was now brought out of the fourth section. The object of all these changes was to exclude the direct prayers for the departed.

The old rubric remained as to proceeding to the church, but no direction was given which part of the service, if any, should be said in the church, nor was any Psalm

[1] Cp. Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. ccxxxix. '*Another funeral Sermon.* Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God that according to His mercy He would take this our brother out of this world unto Himself. . . .' The declaration, that 'it hath pleased God to take unto Himself the soul,' was objected to by the Presbyterians in 1661, on the ground that it 'cannot in truth be said of persons living and dying in open and notorious sins' (Cardwell. *Confer.* p. 333)). But it is founded upon the Scriptural expression, concerning the death of every man, that 'dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it' (Eccles. xii. 7); not necessarily to eternal life, but to His righteous judgment. Also the certain hope is of the resurrection, and of the change of our vile body; referring not only to the general resurrection of true Christians to eternal life, but to the general resurrection of all mankind: compare the corresponding form, introduced in 1661, to be used *At the Burial of their Dead at Sea;* 'We therefore commit his body to the deep, to be turned into corruption, looking for the resurrection of the body (when the sea shall give up her dead), and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ; who at His coming shall change our vile body that it may be like His glorious body. . . .'

In the American Office our two forms of burial are united: 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, in His wise providence, to take out of this world the soul of our *brother* departed, we therefore commit *his* body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; looking for the general resurrection in the last day, and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ; at whose second coming in glorious majesty to judge the world, the earth and the sea shall give up their dead; and the corruptible bodies of those who sleep in Him shall be changed, and made like unto His own glorious body; according to the mighty working whereby He is able to subdue all things unto Himself.

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appointed: and in this state it continued until the last revision (1661); then the disorder was partly remedied: the lesson was taken from its anomalous position[1] and appointed to form with two psalms a brief Office of the Dead to be read in the church before proceeding to the grave.

The present office.

Turning now to review the present service, it is to be noted that the first rubric was added in 1661, directing

In what cases it may not be used.

that the office should not be used *for any that die unbaptized,*[2] *or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves.* The interpretation which the law puts upon this rubric is certain; that valid baptism by any hand, however irregular, secures the Church's rites of burial; excommunication is a punishment which can only be inflicted by the sentence of a competent tribunal; and the question of suicide is determined by the coroner's inquest.[3]

The procedure.

The second rubric directs the Priest to meet the corpse *at the entrance of the churchyard;*[4] and then to go *into the church or towards the grave;* that is, into the church on all ordinary occasions; and to the grave, if the person has died of any infectious disease, or for some such reason.

The Anthems and Psalms.

Of the texts which are said or sung in the procession, the first and second have long been used in some part of the funeral offices; the former was an Antiphon, the latter a Respond.[5] The third sentence as it now stands

[1] The reading of the lesson at the grave-side was one of the practices to which the Puritans took exception. See above, p. 187.

[2] The Irish Book makes special provision for '*unbaptized, being infants.*'

[3] However painful may be the circumstances under which the Burial Service will at times be used, a clergyman may not treat an individual as a suicide, or excommunicate, without any previous legal sentence, or by setting aside the verdict of an authorized, though perhaps mistaken, jury.

[4] Comp. the injunctions of Edw. IV. (1547): Forasmuch as priests be public ministers of the Church. . . they shall not be bound . . . to fetch any corse before it be brought to the churchyard.' Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* II. § 30.

[5] '*Antiphona:* Ego sum resurrectio et vita, qui credit in me etiam si mortuus fuerit vivet, et omnis qui

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is a revised edition of two texts which were first appointed in 1549. The present Psalms[1] were inserted in 1661, and did not form part of the older funeral services; but part of the lesson had been read as the Epistle in the Mass of the Dead.[2]

The Lesson.

At the grave.

The latter part of the sentences appointed to be said by the priest, or sung by the priest and clerks while the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth, is taken from an Antiphon with Verses which was sung with the *Nunc dimittis* at Compline during a part of Lent.[3]

vivit et credit in me non morietur in æternum.' *Man. Sar.* Inhumatio Defuncti; Maskell, I. p. 126 [155]; Vigiliæ Mortuorum, In Laudibus, *Brev. Sar.* Psalter, col. 281.

Resp. 'Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit: et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum. Et in carne mea videbo Deum salvatorem meum. *Vers.* Quem visurus sum ego ipse et non alius: et oculi mei conspecturi sunt. ℟. Et in carne mea, &c.' In Vigiliis Mortuorum, Ad Matutinas: post Lectionem primam Responsorium, *Brev. Sar.* Psalter, col. 274.

[1] The American Service has 'an Anthem,' or selected verses 'from the 39th and 90th Psalms.'

[2] '*Hæ duæ sequentes epistolæ leguntur per totum annum ad missam quotidianam pro defunctis alternis vicibus per hebdomadam. Lectio libri Apoc. c. xiv. . . .* 1 *ad Corinthios, c. xv.* Fratres, Christus resurrexit a mortuis, primitiæ dormientium. Quoniam quidem per hominem mors: et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur: ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur. Unusquisque autem in suo ordine.' *Miss. Sar.* Officium Mortuorum. 'And for the consolation of the faithful in the Lord, and moving the zeal of godliness, it shall be convenient, when the corpse is brought to the burying-place, to propound, and declare before the people gathered there together, the Lesson following: 1 Cor. xv., But now Christ is risen from the dead, &c., unto this place, What do we, &c.: or, from this place, This I say, brethren, that flesh and blood, &c., unto the end of the chapter.' Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. ccxliv.

[3] 'Media vita in morte sumus: quem quærimus adjutorem nisi te Domine? qui pro peccatis juste irasceris. Sancte Deus: Sancte fortis: Sancte et misericors salvator: amaræ morti ne tradas nos.' The verses are of later date, and are differently given in different places: the following are those of the Sarum antiphon. '*Vers.* Ne projicias nos in tempore senectutis: cum defecerit virtus nostra, ne derelinquas nos, Domine. ℟. Sancte Deus, &c. *Vers.* Noli claudere aures tuas ad preces nostras. ℟. Sancte fortis, &c. *Vers.* Qui cognoscis occulta cordis parce peccatis nostris. ℟. Sancte et misericors, &c.' *Brev. Sar.* Psalter, *Ordo Completorii Dom. iii. quadr.* Cp. Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.* II. 329. The composition of the anthem has been ascribed to Notker, the monk of S. Gall, who began the Sequences, and was at the head of the great School of S. Gall, in the IXth century. At any rate it probably belongs to that school and that date, and the use of the Trisagion probably points to Gallican influence. Cp. the reproaches sung on Good Friday. Upon this ancient

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The Burial.

The practice of casting the earth[1] upon the body is a retention in its most simple form of an old ceremony which in the Latin Service followed a long series of psalms and collects and the form of hallowing the grave.[2]

The verse that follows (Rev. xiv. 13) was read as part of the Epistle in the Mass for the Dead but was not otherwise utilized in the service except that the first part was one of the antiphons in the Office for the Dead.[3]

SECT. V.—*The Churching of Women.*

This service of 'Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth,' can be traced to early days of the Christian Church[4] but is ultimately derived from the Jewish rite of The Purification.[5] This name for the rite was preserved in

anthem Luther composed a German hymn, which was translated among Coverdale's *Ghostly Psalms*. (Parker Soc., 554); and this translation seems to have affected the version which was introduced here into the Burial service in 1549. See *Dict. Hymn*, 721: Schubiger, *Sängerschule St. Gallens*, 56: Dowden, *Workmanship*, ch. xv.

[1] '*Finitis orationibus executor officii terram super corpus ad modum crucis ponat, et corpus thurificet et aqua benedicta aspergat: et dum sequens Psalmus canitur, corpus omnino cooperiatur, cantore incipiente antiphonam:* De terra plasmasti me. *Ps.* Domine probasti me. *Qua dicta dicat sacerdos sine* Dominus vobiscum, *et sine* Oremus:

Commendo animam tuam Deo Patri omnipotenti, terram terræ, cinerem cineri, pulverem pulveri, in nomine Patris, &c.' *Man. Sar.* Inhumatio Defuncti; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. 124 [153].

[2] *Miss. Sar.* Offic. Mortuorum, col. 863*. The first part of the verse was also the antiphon to *Magnificat* in *Placebo*. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* II. 118 [III. 122]; *Brev. Sar.* Psalter, col. 272.

[3] The custom of ringing a bell on the death of any person was very anciently observed in England. Bede speaks of it as common in his time: *Hist. Eccl.* IV. c. 23, 'notum campanæ sonum, quo ad orationes excitari vel convocari solebant, cum quis eorum de sæculo fuisset evocatus.' Canon (1603) LXVII.: 'When any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the Minister shall not then slack to do his last duty. And after the party's death there shall be rung no more but one short peal, and one other before the burial, and one other after the burial.'

[4] It is referred to in the correspondence between S. Gregory and S. Augustine as to the services of the newly-founded English Church. Beda. *H.E.* I. xxvii. 8.

[5] Lev. xii.; S. Luke ii. 22.

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the Title of 1549 but disappeared when it was altered into the present form in 1552 owing to objections and mistakings.[1] The service follows very closely the mediæval line,[2] but opens with an explanatory address in the style of the reformation period.

Rubrics.

The place of the service has been variously defined: in the Latin rubrics of the Manual as "*before the Church door*"; in 1549 as "*nigh unto the quire door*"; in 1552 as "*nigh unto the place where the Table standeth*": in 1661 it was left to custom or special order to decide. At the same time it was directed that the woman should be *decently apparelled i.e.* "suitably"; and the reference is to the English custom of wearing a veil:[3] this till then was not prescribed either in the Latin or English rubric: nevertheless it was not merely usual but was actually enforced by law, both ecclesiastical and civil, when the Puritans attempted to give it up.[4]

Service.

The old psalm (cxxi) was displaced in 1661 by two alternative psalms: the first (cxvi) is applicable to any

[1] Hooker *E.P.* v. lxxiv.

[2] '*Ordo ad purificandam mulierem post partum ante ostium ecclesiæ.*

Primo sacerdos et ministri ejus. dicant Psalmos sequentes: Ps. Levavi oculos meos. *Ps.* Beati omnes. Gloria Patri. *Sequatur:*

Kyrie eleison. Pater noster.

℣. Domine salvam fac ancillam tuam:

℟. Deus meus sperantem in te.

℣. Esto ei Domine turris fortitudinis:

℟. A facie inimici.

℣. Domine exaudi orationem meam:

℟. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Oratio. Deus qui hanc famulam tuam de pariendi periculo liberasti, et eam in servitio tuo devotam esse fecisti, concede ut temporali cursu fideliter peracto, sub alis misericordiæ tuæ vitam perpetuam et quietam consequatur: Per Christum Dominum.

Tunc aspergatur mulier aqua benedicta: deinde inducat eam sacerdos per manum dextram in ecclesiam dicens. Ingredere in templum Dei ut habeas vitam aternam et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.' Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. 38 [46].

[3] *Fragm. Illustr.* 97.

[4] Case of Eliza Shipden, in James I's. reign, Gibson *Codex.* xviii. 12, quoting Palmer *Reports*, 296. Hale, in his *Precedents and Proceedings*, pp. 237, 259, quotes other cases in 1613 and 1636. See Blunt *ad loc.* and Sparrow *Rationale* (Oxford, 1840), p. 286.

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deliverance from peril and therefore concerns the woman, while Ps. cxxvii has more reference to the birth of the child. The suffrages and collect come direct from the Latin but the prayer was altered in 1661 so as to include a definite expression of thankfulness.

Relation to the Eucharist.

The service ends abruptly[1] because it is meant to precede the Holy Communion,[2] as was the case in pre-reformation times.[3] This is not only pointed out by the closing rubric, but is involved in other places: the position assigned to the woman in 1552 near the altar is significant: also the choice in 1661 of psalm cxvi with the verse "What reward shall I give unto the Lord for all the benefits that He hath done unto me? I will receive the Cup of Salvation." The "accustomed offerings" appeared first in the rubric of 1549 together with the mention of the baptismal chrysom, which according to old custom was brought back to church at the churching. When the giving of this robe was omitted at Baptism, the mention of it disappeared here also, and only the reference to the offerings remained: they properly belong to the offertory in the Communion following,[4] and form another link between the two services.[5]

[1] The Irish Book has again here as in the Marriage Service added a closing portion. The American Book has instead of psalms a 'hymn,' drawn from Ps. cxvi.; the suffrages are mutilated, the collect is altered, and more freedom of use is secured by rubrics.

[2] Sparrow, *Rationale*, 291.

[3] Injunction of Bishop of Norwich in 1536, cited by Nicholls, *Comment on the B.C.P.* (1710), *Addit. Notes*, p. 66.

[4] The American Book directs that these *shall be applied by the Minister and Churchwardens to the relief of distressed women in child bed.*

[5] The service should not be used for unmarried women, except where signs of penitence have been shown, or more strictly except when penance has been done. See Grindal's Injunction of 1571 (*Doc. Ann.* i. 370), and the reply of the Bishops at the Savoy, above, p. 187. For the method of penance see Nicholls, *Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline*, ed. 1715, p. 350.

The Commination

SECT. VI.—*A Commination, or Denouncing of God's anger and judgments against sinners, with certain Prayers to be used on the first day of Lent, and at other times, as the Ordinary shall appoint.*[1]

This addition to the ordinary service on Ash Wednesday is a memorial of the solemn public penitence, which formed so distinct a feature in the discipline of the early Church.[2] It is called a *Commination,* from the opening warning, or Exhortation to Repentance, in the course of which the curses of God which rest upon sin are solemnly recited.[3] This address, like the similar forms in our other services, is a composition of the Reformers; the prayers which follow it are taken from those which were used on this occasion in the pre-Reformation Church, and go back to early days, as the solemn devotions of Ash Wednesday.[4]

Six solemn collects were said, prefaced by the peni-

[1] This title was added in 1661. In the First Prayer Book it was simply, '*The first day of Lent, commonly called Ash Wednesday;*' and in 1552, '*A commination against sinners, with certain prayers to be used divers times in the year;* the alteration was made in accordance with a suggestion of Bucer, who wished this service to be used at least four times in the year. See above, p. 76. No special days, however, were appointed; but, in the reign of Elizabeth, Archbishop Grindal inquired whether it was used at divers times; and 'for order sake' named 'one of the three Sundays next before Easter, one of the two Sundays next before the feast of Pentecost, and one of the two Sundays next before the feast of the birth of our Lord, over and besides the accustomed reading thereof upon the first day of Lent.' *Visit. Art.* (1576) § 3; Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* I. p. 398. It does not seem that these very unsuitable occasions were widely adopted.

[2] Bingham, XVIII. ch. i., ii. On the Penitential system of the Middle Ages, see Marshall, *Penitential Discipline,* in Anglo-Cath. Library. Robertson, *Church Hist.* II. 237; Hardwick, *Middle Age,* p. 307.

[3] Comp. the *Form of the Greater Excommunication* (Sarum Manual) in Maskell *Mon. Rit.* II. pp. 286–305 [III. 309]. This was a long declaration of general curses, ordered to be read four times a year; Bishop Shaxton in 1538 ordered the reading of Deut. XXVIII instead, and thus prepared the way for the Commination. Pocock's Burnet, vi. 212.

[4] See *e.g. Gelas. Sacr.* 504. *Greg. Sacr.* 209, for four of the six Sarum Collects.

The Commination.

The Latin service of ashes.

tential psalms and a set of suffrages, and followed by the solemn absolution of the people at large. Then followed the blessing and distribution of ashes: while anthems were sung, a cross was marked with ashes on the foreheads of the people, and to each the solemn warning was given, 'Remember, O man, that thou art ashes and unto ashes shalt thou return.' Then, after two collects, those who were to be under penitential discipline during Lent were solemnly excluded from church by the bishop.

The Prayer Book service. 'O most mighty God, &c.

In the Prayer Book service only the fifty-first psalm was retained, followed by the suffrages and the first collect.[1] The beginning of the prayer following, 'O most mighty God, &c.' is taken from the form for blessing the ashes, and the remainder is formed from one of the preceding collects.[2]

[1] '*Post sextam in primis fiat sermo ad populum si placuerit: deinde prosternant se clerici in choro, et dicant septem Psalmos pœnitentiales cum* Gloria Patri; *et antiphona*, Ne reminiscaris . . . .

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster.

℣. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

℟. Sed libera nos.

℣. Salvos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas.

℟. Deus meus sperantes in te.

℣. Mitte eis Domine auxilium de sancto.

℟. Et de Sion tuere eos.

℣. Convertere Domine usque quo:

℟. Et deprecabilis esto super servos tuos.

℣. Adjuva nos Deus salutaris noster:

℟. Et propter gloriam nominis tui, Domine, libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum.

℣. Domine exaudi orationem meam.

℟. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

℣. Dominus vobiscum.

℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus. Exaudi, Domine, preces nostras, et confitentium tibi parce peccatis: ut quos conscientiæ reatus accusat, indulgentia tuæ miserationis absolvat. Per Christum.'

Miss. Sar. 123, or *Proc. Sar.* 26.

[2] 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui misereris omnium, et nihil odisti eorum quæ fecisti . . . .

Domine Deus noster, qui offensione nostra non vinceris, sed satisfactione placaris: respice, quæsumus, super famulos tuos, qui se tibi graviter peccasse confitentur: tuum est enim absolutionem criminum dare, et veniam præstare peccantibus, qui dixisti pœnitentiam te malle peccatorum, quam mortem: concede ergo, Domine, his famulis tuis, ut tibi pœnitentiæ excubias celebrent, et, correctis actibus suis, conferri sibi a te sempiterna gaudia gratulentur. Per Christum.'

The Commination.

The Supplications, 'Turn thou us, &c.'

The general supplication, said by the people after the Minister, is closely connected with Joel ii., which formed the Epistle for Ash Wednesday and it has also reminiscences of the anthems sung at the distribution of the ashes in the ancient service.[1]

The Aaronic blessing was added in 1661 : till then the service ended abruptly because of the Communion service, which should follow.[2]

[1] '*Et interim cantentur sequentes antiphonæ.* Exaudi nos, Domine, quoniam magna est misericordia tua : secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum respice nos Domine. . . . . *Alia antiphona.* Juxta vestibulum et altare plorabant sacerdotes et Levitæ ministri Domini, dicentes : Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo ; et ne dissipes ora clamantium ad te, Domine.'

[2] *Fragm. Illustr.* 99.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I.—*THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD.*

The Office of the Dead.

A form of this service appeared in the Primer of 1545, the Edwardian Primers of one type,[1] and again in the Elizabethan Primer of 1559. It was solemnly used as a 'Memorial Service' at the death of Henry II. of France on September 8 of that year in S. Paul's Cathedral. Parker, Barlow and Scory executed the service in surplices and hoods, and on the day following a sermon was preached by Scory, and a solemn communion was celebrated in copes, 'with a rich hearse,' and with six great personages to communicate.[2]

The '*Dirge*' consists of three parts: the first, corresponding to the old vespers of the dead, comprised three psalms (cxvi. 1–9, xli., cxlvi.), with anthems followed by versicles and two collects; the second, corresponding to the Mattins, comprised three psalms (v., xxvii., xlii.), with anthem, Lord's Prayer, and three lessons (Job x. 8–13, S. John v. 24–30, 1 Cor. xv. 51–58), each followed by an anthem, so-called; the third part corresponding to Lauds, comprised three psalms (xxx., Song of Hezekiah (Isaiah xxxviii. 10–20), lxxi.) with anthem, followed by Lesser Litany, Lord's Prayer, suffrages and three collects. The suffrages and collects are very explicit in their prayer for the dead,[3] and are similar to those in the burial service of the First Prayer Book.

II.—*FORMS OF PRAYER TO BE USED AT SEA.*

These forms, which now stand in the Prayer Book, do not form a service in themselves, but are merely supplemental devotions, to be used as occasion requires at sea.

The first attempt at having special Forms of Prayer for use at sea was made under the Commonwealth, by the Parliament, as a supplement to the *Directory*, when it was found that the proscribed Book of Common Prayer was used in all ships in which there was

[1] See above, p. 126.
[2] Heylyn, *Ecclesia Restaurata* (Parker Soc.), pp. 57–67. (ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.), ii. 305.
[3] *Private Prayers of Q. Eliz.*

any observance of religion at all,[1] and that therefore some substitute must be provided.

Prayers to be used at Sea.

At the Restoration therefore it was natural that some proper forms for use at sea should be added to the revised Prayer Book. They are not a complete office ; nor are they arranged in any particular order : but as additions to the Common Prayer,[2] or as particular supplications, or thanksgivings for deliverance from the perils of the sea or from the enemy, they are well adapted to their several occasions.[3]

III.—*A FORM OF PRAYER WITH THANKSGIVING TO ALMIGHTY GOD, TO BE USED IN ALL CHURCHES AND CHAPELS WITHIN THIS REALM, EVERY YEAR, UPON THE TWENTIETH DAY OF JUNE; BEING THE DAY ON WHICH HER MAJESTY BEGAN HER HAPPY REIGN.*

The State Holy Days

Four special services[4] were "annexed to" the Book of Common Prayer, until the year 1859, by the authority of a proclamation customarily issued at the commencement of each reign. This is indeed the only authority for the special service on the anniversary of the Sovereign's Accession, or for observing the day itself.[5] The

[1] See above, p. 162; Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 497, 498.

[2] The following is the first of the ARTICLES OF WAR :—'Officers are to cause Public Worship, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, to be solemnly performed in their ships, and take care that prayers and preaching by the chaplains be performed diligently, and that the Lord's day be observed.'

[3] These forms are retained in the American Prayer Book, with the necessary changes of expression, such as *ships of war* for *Her Majesty's Navy*, &c. The Irish revised Prayer Book also has the forms, but omitting all direct mention of the Navy, and shortening the first or daily Prayer, as for use in any single ship; yet retaining the Prayers to be said *before a Fight at Sea against an Enemy*.

[4] See *The Original Services for the State Holy Days with Documents relating to the same*, by the Rev. A. P. Percival (1838).

[5] There is no Act of Parliament enjoining the observance of this day; but it has been observed with special prayers in every reign since the Reformation. The Service (1576, 1578) is printed in *Elizabethan Liturgical Services* (Parker Soc.) pp. 548 and ff. Canon II. of 1640 enjoined the observance of the day, and recognised 'the particular form of prayer appointed by authority for that day and purpose' (Cardwell, *Synodalia*, I. p. 392; Percival, p. 25); but a later statute of 1661 (13 Car. II. c. 12) forbade the enforcement of these canons (Percival, p. 8). A new form was compiled by command of James II.; some considerable alterations were made in the time of Queen Anne; at the accession of George I. the Prayer for Unity was added, and the First Lesson, Josh. i. 1—9, was sub-

The Queen's Accession.

observance of the three other days (Nov. 5, Jan. 30, May 29) rested upon Acts of Parliament and the services themselves had some ecclesiastical authority. The 5th of November was kept in memory of the Gunpowder Treason, or Papists' Conspiracy;[1] the 29th of May, in memory of the birth and return of the king, Charles II.;[2] and the 30th of January as a fasting day in memory of the murder of King Charles I.[3] After the Convocation had been completed the revision of the Prayer Book, (1661) the service for the 5th of November, which had been put out by royal authority in 1606 and was now revised, and with it the offices for the 29th of May and the 30th of January,[4] were sanctioned. But these offices were not sent to the Parliament, and when they were put forth in 1662 they had only the sanction of Convocation and the Crown.

Offices for the three days sanctioned by Convocation.

In process of time changes were introduced into them. James II. ordered the 29th of May to be observed in a more general memory of the Restoration of the Royal Family, and accordingly altered the service which had been provided by Convocation for that day.[5] And William III. ordered the 4th of November to be observed also in memory of his landing in England, and altered that service accordingly.[6] Hence these offices, in the shape in which they were annexed to the Prayer Book,[7] had only the authority of the Crown.

Altered by Royal authority.

These services were all constructed upon one model. They

stituted for Prov. viii. 13—36. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 385, *note*; Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 387 and ff.

[1] Stat. 3 Jac. I. c. 1; Percival, p. 17.

[2] Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 14; *ib.* p. 20.

[3] Stat. 12 Car. II. c. 30; *ib.* p. 19.

[4] Two offices for the 30th of January had already appeared one in 1661 and one in January 1662. The former of these contained a petition in allusion to the martyrs: 'that we may be made worthy to receive benefit by their prayers, which they, in communion with the Church Catholic, offer up unto thee for that part of it here militant.' This was laid aside, and a second form was issued for use in 1662, which again was superseded when the Convocation issued their forms of service later on in the year. Cardwell, *Synodalia*, ii. 671. Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 305 and ff., and *Hist. of Prayer Book*, p. 334. Blunt 703.

[5] 'Some alterations were made in the services for the 30th of January and the 29th of May by the Bishops, by authority of the Crown, neither the Convocation nor the Parliament being consulted.' Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* p. 313.

[6] Percival, p. 15. It was revised by Patrick. See Lathbury, pp. 333, 334.

[7] The particulars of the extensive changes introduced into these offices may be seen in Mr. Percival's comparative arrangement of them, as sanctioned by Convocation, and as commonly printed.

began with proper sentences of Scripture: a Canticle was appointed instead of *Venite*, compiled of single verses from the Psalms: Proper Psalms, and Lessons followed; additional suffrages were provided after the Creed, and long proper Collects instead of the Collect for the day with a long Prayer to be inserted at the end of the Litany: and a proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel were appointed in the Communion Office.

The Queen's Accession.

Construction of the Services

The only special service now retained is that for the day of the Sovereign's Accession: the same authority which annexed the other three Forms to the Prayer Book has caused them to be removed from it, by a Royal Warrant dated the 17th day of January, 1859. New forms of service for the Accession Day were prepared by Convocation; in deference to a petition signed by a number of liturgical scholars, the old style of service was given up and three Forms of prayer were provided: the first provides psalms, lessons, and prayers which may be used at Mattins and Evensong: the second prescribes a special Collect, Epistle and Gospel to be substituted for those of the day: the third is an independent service consisting of the *Te Deum* with suffrages and collects. These Convocation rites were authorized by Royal Warrant on Nov. 9, 1901.

IV.—*ADDITIONS TO THE AMERICAN PRAYER BOOK.*

Before the Psalter, are inserted *A Form of Prayer for the Visitation of Prisoners*, taken from the old Irish Prayer Book; *A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the Fruits of the Earth, and all the other blessings of his merciful Providence; to be used yearly on the* first Thursday in November, *or on such other day as shall be appointed by the Civil Authority* (taken from the "Proposed Book"); and also, *Forms of Prayer to be used in Families*, taken from those composed by Bishop Gibson of London.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ORDINAL.

SECT. I.—*The Early Days of the Ministry.*

Early History.

In the New Testament.

* IT is plain from the New Testament that our Lord Himself instituted a Ministry for His Church, and that those Apostles and others who first held a place in it derived their authority immediately from Him.[1] It is also clear that provision was made for the continuance of this ministry through the handing on of ministerial powers by those, who had the authority of the Church to do so, to others who were appointed to receive them in their turn.[2] The ministers of the Church had thus a double commission: they were from the earliest times selected or at least approved by the body of Church members,[3] and at the same time, besides the human authorization from below, they received a divine commission, through this transmission to them in their turn of the divine gifts of ministerial power, with which our Lord had endowed the Church.[4]

It is equally clear that our Lord did not leave a definite form by which this function of ordination was to be

[1] S. John xx. 21, 22.
[2] Acts xiv. 23; 1 Tim. v. 22.
[3] Acts vi. 1–6. Cp. 1 Tim. iii. 7 and ff.
[4] See Gore, *The Church and the Ministry:* ch. IV. especially, and ch. V. as to the Biblical question: ch. II. as to the meaning of Apostolic Succession.

Early History.

carried out, as He had done in the case of Holy Baptism: nor was there any action of His own in the matter, so conspicuously impressed upon the mind of the Church, that it was an obvious model which the Church was bound to follow,—as was the case with the Holy Eucharist. But, in spite of this absence both of direct charge and of precedent, the Church was able at once to lay down a definite method of ordination, of which the essential features were (i) imposition of hands, and (ii) appropriate prayer. This comes out in the appointment of the deacons,[1] and the same points are pointed to by S. Paul in writing to S. Timothy as the prominent features of his ministerial commission, which he will do well to bear in mind.[2]

The essentials.

In the first age of the Church the three orders of the Ministry, now familiar, do not stand out with the clearness which afterwards was the case. This does not imply that men were free to take ministerial functions upon themselves, nor yet does it imply that there was no gradation in the ministry: some had powers that others had not:[3] there was a definite commission and it involved 'differences of administration.' It was not any absence of method, but the richness of the Pentecostal gift, which was the cause of the variety of ministerial functions, and of the number of grades of ministry, which are seen to have been prominent in apostolic times. In later times, just as the gifts of the Spirit in general became confined to more normal forms, and the extraordinary gifts disappeared, so there disappeared

In apostolic times.

Great variety and richness

[1] Acts vi. 6. The laying of hands on SS. Barnabas and Paul at Antioch (Acts xiii. 3) is probably not to be regarded as an ordination service, but as a valedictory service.

[2] 1 Tim. iv. 14; cp. i. 18; and 2 Tim. i. 6.

[3] The position of the deacons exemplifies this, and especially the restriction, which prevented S. Philip the Deacon from confirming those whom he had baptized, and rendered necessary the intervention of the Apostles. Acts viii. 12 and ff.

Early History.

settle into the normal triple ministry.

also the extraordinary ministries (*e.g.* that of the prophet[1]), and the normal type of ministry for the organized Christian Church became the three-fold form, with which Church history is familiar, comprising the episcopate, the priesthood and the diaconate.

Forms of Ordination.

The earliest forms of ordination, which are extant, correspond with what would be expected from the New Testament and from the history of the early days of the Church. The first are those of the Hippolytean Canons,[2] which are mainly remarkable because the same prayer is assigned for the consecration of a bishop and the ordination of a priest, with only a change of word, where mention is made of the grade which is being conferred.[3] Other forms are to be found in *The Testament of our Lord*, the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Sacramentary* of Serapion. These show that, while the forms of prayer varied, the two features which were evident in apostolic times are still the two chief features of the service, viz. the imposition of hands and the appropriate prayer.

Appearance of the Minor Orders.

They show also the existence in the Church of Minor Orders,[4] that is of ministerial grades inferior to the diaconate, which have not come down from apostolic times, but have developed since then, and in different methods and degrees, to meet varying needs of the Church.[5]

[1] This comes next to the apostolate in S. Paul's list in 1 Cor. xii. 28.

[2] *Can. Hipp.* 7–42. For only the three sacred orders is a formula provided, and imposition of hands prescribed: but mention also is made of Reader, Subdeacon, and Virgin.

[3] This is less remarkable if, as has been suggested, the Hippolytean Canons were really Alexandrine in their origin (see above, p. 313): for Alexandria was exceptional in this respect.

[4] The Sacramentary of Serapion gives forms of ordination only for the three sacred orders, which it reckons in accordance with the N. T., as being of divine institution. But it mentions three minor orders. (*Journ. Theol. Stud.* i. 253 and ff.). The *Testament* gives also formulas for Widow, Subdeacon and Reader (chapters xli, xliv, xlv.): the *Apostolic Const.* for Deaconess, Subdeacon and Reader (viii. 19, 21, 22), and mentions Confessors, Virgins, Widows, and Exorcists as not ordained (*ibid.* 23–25) with imposition of hands.

[5] For their history see Morin, *De Sacra Ord.* III. i. 2, 26. Gore, p. 171.

SECT. II.—*The Mediæval Latin Services.*

The Mediæval Services.

Early Latin Service-books. The Roman and Gallican Rites.

We do not get upon the direct line of ancestry of the actual formulas of the English Ordinal till the Latin Sacramentaries and *Ordines*[1] are reached in the VIth, VIIth and VIIIth centuries. The purely Roman documents (that is to say the Leonine and Gregorian Sacramentaries and the *Ordines*) present a certain contrast with the Gallican canons about ordination in the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua* and with Roman Service-books which have been modified under Gallican influence. It is the latter composite books which are here most in question, since the English services derived from the mixed use. The orders recognized in the Church are now seen to comprise five minor orders besides the three chief grades, viz (4) subdeacons (5) acolytes (6) exorcists (7) readers (8) porters: these had been so recognized at Rome ever since the middle of the IIIrd century;[2] and they therefore represent the orders current in the English Church from the earliest times down to the Reformation.

The Minor Orders.

A broad distinction existed at first between the appointment to the minor orders and the ordination to the sacred orders; while the latter was effected by the imposition of hands with prayer, in the case of the former there was in the West no imposition of hands,[3] and

[1] *Leonine Sacr.* pp. 421 and ff. *Gelasian Sacr.* pp. 512 and ff.; 619 and ff. *Gregorian Sacr.* pp. 357 and ff. *Missale Franc.* pp. 661 and ff. *Ordines*, viii. and ix. Later services are given in the Appendix to the Gregorian Sacramentary, pp. 405 and ff. The *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua*, a collection of Gallican canons, dating from the beginning of the VIth century, gives the only pure testimony extant as to the Gallican Rites. See Bruns, *Canones*, i. 140, where it is (as often) wrongly ascribed to the fourth Council of Carthage. For the whole of this part of the subject see Duchesne, *Origines*, ch. x.

[2] See letter of Pope Cornelius in Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 43.

[3] Compare the statement above, p. 650, note 4.

The Mediæval Services.

no solemn prayer, but merely a symbolical ceremony—the handing to the candidate of some instrument representative of his function, as an authorization to him to exercise that function.[1] At Rome for example during the Mass[2] at the time of communion the acolyte was given a linen bag, the receptacle then in use for the Holy Eucharist, and the subdeacon was given a chalice: the "tradition of the instrument" appropriate to the office constituted the whole ceremony.[3]

The Roman and

the Gallican services.

In the Gallican rite the minor orders had meanwhile been dignified with a much greater service. To each candidate, as he received his instrument, a solemn charge was given, and this was followed by a bidding of prayer and a solemn benediction: in the case of each order all the three formulas employed were specially connected with the office and grade which was being conferred. At a later date these were adopted into the Roman series of ordination services; they ousted the simple old Roman rite and thus came to form the service for the minor orders in all the later mediæval Pontificals in England as well as elsewhere.[4]

This type of service also, as will be shown later, had

[1] This followed the analogy of civil life. Gore, 170.

[2] Minor orders were conferred at any time of the year: but the holy orders were restricted to solemn times of ordination, and eventually to the Ember Days. See above for them, p. 332.

[3] For the 'clerk' or acolyte the Bishop '*porrigit in ulnas eius sacculum super planetam et prosternit se in terram cum ipso sacculo: et dat ei orationem sic:*—Intercedente beata et gloriosa semperque virgine Maria et beato apostolo Petro, salvet et custodiat et protegat te Dominus. Amen.' In the case of the Subdeacon, '*porriget ei archidiaconus vel episcopus calicem sanctum in ulnas foras planetam: et se in terra prosternet et dat ei orationem ut supra diximus.*' The prayer thus is common to all the minor orders: probably it is a later addition to the ceremony. Ordo Romanus viii. 1 and 2. Migne. *P. L.* LXXVIII. 1000. It is not given in the Roman services as prescribed in the Leonine and Gregorian Sacramentaries. Duchesne, *Origines*, 339.

[4] See p. 295, where a specimen is given of the services for admission to minor orders.

The Mediæval Services.

an influence on the development of the ordination services for the three sacred orders (as the Prayer Book reckons them) of Bishops,[1] Priests and Deacons.

The Gallican supersedes the Roman,

When the Gallican rite was confronted with the Roman, the question of minor orders offered no difficulty, since the very slender Roman rite readily disappeared in favour of the Gallican rites: but in the case of the holy orders it was different, since there was a substantial Roman rite in possession of the field: the result was that here the two rites coalesced: and thus the ordination services of the latter middle ages were in the case of the minor orders wholly Gallican, and in the case of the sacred orders were the result of a fusion of Roman and Gallican rites.

or coalesces.

The Holy Orders.

The Roman Rite.

The Roman rite for the ordination to each of the holy orders was made up of a series of four items inserted into the Mass:—(1) a bidding to prayer, (2) the litany, (3) the collect, which corresponded to the bidding and summed up the petitions of the Litany,[2] (4) the eucharistic prayer of consecration said by the Bishop. The candidates had previously been presented by the Archdeacon to the Bishop and a final opportunity had been given for any one to raise objections to their ordination. During the actual ceremonies after the Litany they knelt before the Bishop for the imposition of hands: when the consecratory prayer was ended, they saluted the Bishop and other clergy, and took their places with the other clergy of their

[1] In mediæval times the episcopate and priesthood were popularly reckoned as one order: and latterly the subdiaconate was reckoned with them among holy orders, thus making four minor orders and three holy orders; but all the Church's rites and best traditions are in favour of making the episcopate a separate order: and of reckoning the subdiaconate among minor orders. See Morin, *De Sacra Ord.* III. i. 2. 26: Gore, p. 105, for the first point.

[2] The Litany here occupied the interval (or most of it) which it was customary to leave for private prayer between the bidding and the collect. See above, p. 523. It included special clauses of intercession for the ordinands.

The Mediæval Services.

order, each vested in the vestment appropriate to his new order.

The Gallican Rite.

The Gallican rite was similar in construction : (1) The bishop invited the people's approval of the candidates, and, when they had expressed it by the reply *Dignus est*, "He is worthy," the Bishop said (2) a bidding prayer and (3) the eucharistic or consecratory prayer with hand outstretched over the candidate's head ; but the formulas were entirely different from the Roman formulas.[1] Further there were incorporated into the service as rubric the provisions of the Gallican lawbook called the *Statuta ecclesiæ antiqua*[2] which laid down the ceremonial of ordination : and at the end of the ordination of priests (and later of deacons as well) there was added a prayer for the consecration of their hands with holy oil and chrism.[3]

The fusion of the two.

The fusion of the Gallican and Roman rites is already found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, which is otherwise almost entirely Roman, and in the *Missale Francorum* which is mainly Gallican : it must have taken place as early as the VIIth century, and by the end of the IXth century it had become general. The method of the fusion was simple and in one respect was important : the Gallican bidding and consecratory prayer, was added after the Roman consecratory prayer, and the Gallican quotations from the *Statuta* were prefixed to the service

[1] Except the consecratory prayer for the episcopate, where the same prayer (in two forms) occurs in both uses : one original formula, either the Gallican or the Roman, has disappeared. *Origines*, 361. Possibly it is preserved in the prayer *Pater sancte, omnipotens, deus, qui per* DNJC. See below, p. 672.

[2] See above, p. 651, note 1.

[3] This is given in the *Gelasian Sacr.* at the end of the Gallican appendix, containing the formulas for the minor orders (p. 622), and not with the rest of the prayers for the priesthood (p. 514) : but elsewhere it is in its right place, *e.g. Missale Franc.* 669 (two formulas) for the priesthood : *Egbert Pontifical* (Surtees Soc. Vol. 27), 21 for the diaconate. This MS. is not itself that of Archbishop Egbert (766), but is a later copy with additions dating from the Xth century.

For the whole of the services, see above, pp. 296 and ff.

The Mediæval Services.

as rubric. In the case of the Deacon, Priest and Bishop these prescribed the imposition of hands and in the case of the Bishop a further ceremony as well, viz. the holding over his head of the gospel-book. The result of the incorporation of these provisions was, that at a later date the imposition of hands was transferred to this point of the service, and thus took place in silence and not in connexion with either of the consecratory prayers.

Later developments.

In course of time further developments took place. (1) Formulas were inserted in connexion with the vesting of the candidates in the vestment appropriate to their new order.[1] (2) The symbolical ceremony of "the tradition of the instruments," which had hitherto been the distinctive feature of admission to minor orders, was grafted on to the ordination services for sacred orders, probably in the XIth century: thus the gospel-book was handed to the deacon, with a charge to take it and read the Gospel: the paten and chalice, with hosts and wine prepared ready for use, were given to the priest, and he was charged to take authority to offer the Holy Sacrifice: similarly to the bishop at his consecration there was given the ring and pastoral staff, and he was charged to maintain discipline and to be sound in the faith. (3) The ceremonial unction and consecration of hands was amplified and there was added to it an anointing of the head also, drawn no doubt from the consecration of Aaron: but this did not survive into the later Pontificals except in the case of the

[1] The ninth Roman *Ordo* shows that the stoles in Rome were placed upon the 'confession' *i.e.*, the tomb of S. Peter to hallow them, as is still done with the pallium. In later times a prayer of hallowing was said (see *e.g. Egbert Pontifical*, p. 16 *Leofric Missal*, p. 215), but these prayers did not survive into the later Pontificals. The formulas which did survive were words to be said at the investiture. See pp. 297, 299, 304. For the history of these additions, see Braun, *Die priesterlichen Gewänder*, pp. 79, 90, 110, 148; and *Die pontificalen Gewänder*, pp. 55, 85.

The Mediæval Services.

Bishop.[1] (4) Later still there was added an instruction in the duties of each order.

The English Pontificals.

These represent the main features in the growth of the ordination services in mediæval times: they are common to all the English Pontificals,[2] but in other respects the books varied slightly from one another even down to the time of the Reformation: there was no printed edition of the Pontifical, and no uniformity, for each Bishop had his own book in MS. and followed such traditions as seemed best to him: but the ordination services were substantially the same, though differing in arrangement.[3]

SECT. III.—*The Ordering of Deacons and Priests.*

The Ordering of Deacons and Priests.

The revision in the Prayer Book.

The following table gives an outline of the Latin service in its latest pre-Reformation shape: the old **Roman** and old **Gallican** elements are distinguished by different type from the later accretions. These latter are not inserted always in the same places in the various books: the order given here is that of the Sarum

[1] See Maskell *ad loc.* and *Egbert*, pp. 3, 24: Brit. Mus. Cotton MS., Claudius A. III. and the Pontificals of S. Dunstan and Robert of Jumieges, Abps. of Canterbury, in Martene, Lib. I. Cap. VIII. Ordo III. The ceremonies of unction were probably British in their origin: they are first mentioned in the VIth century by Gildas (*Epist.* 106), with regard to the hands. It was only subsequently to the IXth century that they were adopted at Rome, as Nicholas I. witnesses with regard to the hands, (Ep. 63, ad Rodulfum Bit., in Migne, *P.L.* CXIX. 884=Gratian, I. XXIII. 12), and Amalarius with regard to the head (*De Offic.* ii. 14).

[2] The Surtees Society has printed two, those of Abp. Egbert and of Abp. Bainbridge: the latter volume contains a list and description of all the known MSS. The Exeter Pontifical of Bp. Lacy was printed in 1847 by R. Barnes; the Salisbury Pontifical was reproduced in large measure in Maskell's *Monumenta* with a collation of other books. A Scottish Pontifical of Bp. de Bernham was reprinted in 1885 by Chr. Wordsworth.

[3] *E.g.* the position of the Litany varied: sometimes it was said before the admission to minor orders, but more commonly, according to Roman custom, before the ordination of deacons. Similarly different traditions were current as to the presentation of candidates: in some cases the candidates for the diaconate and priesthood were presented separately from the rest.

The Ordering of Deacons and Priests.

Pontifical as printed by Maskell and reproduced above.[1] Parallel with the outline of the Latin service is an outline of the present Prayer Book services for Deacons and Priests, combined as is commonly done in actual practice. When the Ordinal was first put out in 1550 the two services were not parallel in structure: the presentation of candidates for the priesthood with the Litany following was deferred till after the Gospel, instead of preceding the Communion Service, as in the case of deacons. The *Veni Creator* then preceded the Presentation. In 1661 the Presentation and Litany were in each case appointed to precede the Communion Service: further the *Veni Creator* was deferred till after the examination of the candidates, so that it preceded the solemn prayer. Another slight change was also made which affected both services: the special prayer for the candidates, which in 1550 was appended to the Litany, was in 1661 transferred from that position to become the Collect in the Holy Communion Service. These are the only structural alterations whereby the book of 1550 differs from that of 1661. Other variations in the successive books will be dealt with later.

THE PONTIFICAL.	THE PRAYER BOOK.
1. [Eucharist begins.]	
2. Presentation and Final Enquiry, Orders jointly.	Presentation and Final Enquiry, Orders separately.
3. Admission to Minor Orders.	
4. **Litany and Special Clauses.**	Litany and Special Clauses.
	[Eucharist begins.]
	Special Collect for each Order.

[1] See p. 294 where the same distinction of type is made, and the sections are numbered to correspond with this table. See also a table giving in full the development of the service for the ordination of a priest in C. H. S. Tract XLI. *Priesthood in the English Church.*

The Ordering of Deacons and Priests.

THE PONTIFICAL.	THE PRAYER BOOK.
5. Instruction of Deacons in their duties.	Examination and Instruction.
6. **Imposition of hands in silence.**	Imposition of hands and charge.
7. **Bidding and Collect.**	
8. **Consecratory Prayer.**	
9. Vesting with Stole.	
10. Tradition of Gospel Book.	Tradition of Book.
11. **Bidding.**	
12. **Consecration.**	
13. Vesting in Dalmatic.	
14. [The Gospel follows.]	[The Gospel follows.]
15. Instruction of Priests.	Instruction of Priests and Examination. Bidding, *Veni Creator* and Solemn Prayer.
16. **Imposition of hands by Bishop and Priests in silence.**	Imposition of hands and charge, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.* (See 26.)
17. **Bidding and Collect.**	
18. **Consecratory Prayer.**	
19. Vesting with Stole and Chasuble.	
20. **Bidding.**	
21. **Consecration.**	
22. *Veni Creator.*	
23. Blessing and **Consecration of hands.**	
24. Tradition of Instruments.	Tradition of Bible.
25. [Offertory to the Communion].	[Offertory to last Collect.]
26. Imposition of hands and charge, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.*	Solemn Prayers.
27. Kiss and Pax.	
28. Special Blessing	
29. Exhortation.	
30. [Postcommunion, &c.]	[Benediction.]

The Ordering of Deacons and Priests.

The Principles of the revision.

The general character of the reform in the Ordinal can easily be understood from the comparative table. Neither in 1550 nor in 1661 had the revisers the advantage of knowing the history of ordination in the way in which it is now known. In 1550 they could merely look at the Pontifical, as it lay before them, in the light of the current theories of the nature of Holy Order and in the light of Holy Scripture. Their main object was clearly set forth in the preface of the English Ordinal, viz. to 'continue' in valid succession the three orders of the ministry as they had been received 'from the apostles' times' by episcopal consecration: their method was to ensure the essentials of ordination as they are discernible in the New Testament, viz. 'public prayer with imposition of hands' by the Bishop. Having secured this, they had secured all that is essential. But in other respects the reform kept close to the old customs. The ordination was still to form part of the Holy Communion Service: the Litany with special clauses and the *Veni Creator* were retained, as well as a form of tradition of instruments. The last was a measure of some importance, for according to mediæval theory this ceremony was held to be the essential feature of ordination: it had been so defined by Eugenius IV. in 1439,[1] and the theory to a considerable extent held the field in Roman theology until the XVIIth century, when the ceremony was proved to be only an innovation made

The object,

and method;

How far conservative.

Tradition of instruments.

[1] In his decree addressed to the Armenians at the Council of Florence. 'Sextum sacramentum est ordinis, cuius materia est illud per cuius traditionem confertur ordo: sicut presbyteratus traditur per calicis cum vino et patenæ cum pane porrectionem. Diaconatus vero per libri evangeliorum dationem.' Harduin. IX. 440. The 'matter' having been thus defined, he continues: 'Forma sacerdotii talis est "Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium in ecclesia pro vivis et mortuis: in nomine, &c."' *ibid.* This pefinition was promulgated by Pole in the Marian times (1556) as the current doctrine. See Wilkins, *Conc.* IV. 121. The language is borrowed from Aquinas, *Expositio in articulos fidei.*

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in the Xth century, and the theory was seen to be untenable.[1] The Revisers of 1549 therefore while securing the real essentials, viz. prayer and imposition of hands, were careful also to retain the tradition of instruments and not go against the current scholastic theories.

Imposition of hands.

Another point of special interest is their treatment of the imposition of hands: it has been already shown how in mediæval times this had been transferred from its proper place and was no longer done in connexion with the great central prayers, but was done in silence at an earlier point in the service. In the ordination of priests there had been added to the Latin service at a late period a second imposition of hands accompanied by the charge 'Receive the Holy Ghost' (*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum* &c.) based on S. John xx. 22. The revisers restored the imposition of hands to its central position and accompanied it with the solemn words of a charge to the candidates authorizing them in their new order. In the ordination to the priesthood they brought together the two impositions of hands from the beginning and the end of the service into one central place, and took, as the words of the solemn charge accompanying it, the biblical formula already in use, 'Receive the Holy Ghost &c.' This action was very significant: it had the effect of bringing out the essentials of ordination, and concentrating into one brief moment the true significance of the whole service,[2] which was much less clear in the complex Latin rite, with its clumsy fusion of two original uses, overlaid with subsequent accretions.

How far radical.

At the same time those who are familiar with the

[1] Morin begins his third book by disproving this theory. See Gore 61, 62, n.

[2] See the *Responsio* of the English Archbishops (*Sacpius Officio*), p. 32.

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old services will regret that the revisers abandoned the great consecratory prayer prefaced by the solemn bidding, the salutation and the *Sursum Corda*. The prayers themselves were fine, and there was nothing in them to which exception could be taken: and further it is now seen that the use of such a type of prayer as the central point of the service is a characteristic deep-rooted in the ancient services; such a prayer is in fact the central feature not only of the Liturgy proper, where it has been retained by us, but of other services such as Baptism, Ordination, where it has been lost, not to mention other ancient services, such as The Consecration of a Church, Churchyard or Altar, The Profession of Nuns, The Blessing of Abbat or Abbess, &c.,—services not known to the Prayer Book, but of which again this type of eucharistic prayer is the central feature. Such prayers were abandoned, no doubt, because of the wish to shorten, simplify and compress the ordination, coupled with the belief, generally held at the time, that it was the imperative formulas rather than the prayers, which were the crucial parts of the service.[1]

Influence of the affairs of the time.

Such results as these, which the comparative study of Service-books in modern days has brought out, were not present to the mind of the Revisers: on the other hand, there were present the results of other inquiries and questionings current at the time, and these have left their mark upon the Ordinal.

First there was a great desire to recover a wider and truer view of the functions of the ministry, to include the pastoral and prophetical side of the office as well as the specially sacerdotal side. Again it was felt very necessary, especially in such times of change, that candidates should be 'first called, tried, examined, and

[1] *Responsio*, p. 32.

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The instructions and examinations.

known to have such qualities as were requisite.'[1] It was for such reasons as these, that there were introduced into the services the instructions and the examinations. Neither of them were new features, for of late the Pontificals had included a brief description of the functions of each order: and an examination of the ordinand in the course of the service had long been a regular feature in the consecration of a bishop[2] and an occasional feature in the ordination of priests:[3] but both of these features assumed quite new proportions.

Already in Germany these desires had found practical expression in Lutheran schemes and services,[4] and the Revisers had before them a draft of Ordination Services drawn up by Martin Bucer probably for their special benefit. While they rejected Bucer's doctrinal standpoint, they accepted much of his plan, and drew largely upon him for the exhortations and examinations.

The present service.

After this general description of the objects of the Revisers, which shows that they were in the main conservative, though not unwilling to give a fuller expression than had been customary to the needs and wishes of their time, it will be well to turn to the present service, and note in order the detailed points which call for notice, either (i) because they exemplify these general principles, or (ii) because they underwent revision in the successive changes from 1550 to 1661.

Preface.

The Preface defines the purpose of the whole Ordinal: it went through some modification of language in 1661; (i) to make more abundantly clear the difference between the Ministry of the Church and the Ministries of the various sects, which had usurped its place under

[1] Preface to Ordinal.
[2] See below, p. 670.
[3] See note on p. 664.
[4] See *e.g.* Hermann's *Consultation*, 'Of the appointing and instituting of pastors,' fol. CCXXIII. and ff: where similar wishes are expressed.

the Commonwealth: (ii) to raise the age for the diaconate from twenty-one to twenty-three:[1] (iii) to prescribe that ordinations should normally take place at the Ember Seasons in accordance with Canon xxxi.[2]

The Ordering of Deacons and Priests.

The opening rubrics of the Ordering of Deacons have been altered as regards the dress of candidates: in 1550 it was ordered that they should be in albs, this order was omitted in 1552, and when the rubrical directions were made more ample in 1661 it was provided that they should be 'decently habited.' Similar changes were made elsewhere in 1552 to agree with the lower standard then prescribed for the ornaments of the minister. The Sermon, Presentation, and Litany follow the line of the Latin service, but the final 'Si quis' inquiry, in the case of the priests, follows closely the service drafted by Bucer in 1549 for Ordination:[3] the transference of the prayer after the Litany to form the Collect at the Eucharist has been already noticed, but the change of the word 'congregation' into 'church' may also be noted as it falls into line with similar changes made elsewhere in the book. The Oath of Supremacy has taken various shapes:[4] it now is taken before the service[5] in a very

Influence of Bucer's Draft.

[1] The age for orders has varied greatly at different times and places. See Blunt *ad loc.* Martene, I. viii. 3.

[2] For the ancient rules see Martene, I. viii. 4.

[3] See above, p. 62. This was first printed in 1577, among his *Scripta Anglicana*, pp. 238–259, under the title, *De ordinatione legitima ministrorum ecclesiæ revocanda.*

The form there used is as follows: '*Finita evangelica lectione . . . . mox primarius ordinator advocatis ordinandis ad mensam domine vel in alium locum . . . dicit populo:* En hi sunt quos ad sacrum ecclesiæ ministerium proposuimus, adjuvante Domino, ordinare. Nam facta eorum canonica examinatione, deprehendimus eos . . . esse ad hunc functionem legitime et vocatos et probatos. Si autem adhuc quisque vestrum sciat eos aliquo teneri vel vitio vel crimine, propter quod ad hoc sanctum munus ordinare eos non conveniat, eum in Domino hortamur, si charam habeat gloriam Christi et ecclesiæ Christi salutem et honorem, ut id modo indicet vel uni ex nostris vel palam prout ei videatur, ne alienis et se et nos peccatis involvat.' *Ibid.* p. 256.

[4] For Hooper's trouble about the form prescribed in 1549 see above, p. 61.

[5] By the Clerical Subscription Act of 1865.

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simple form. The Epistles and Gospels in each of the services are proper to the occasion. Some of them were suggested by Bucer's draft, as were also the psalms appointed in 1550 for the Introit in the Ordering of priests.[1] Still more noticeable is the influence of that form upon the Examinations of the three orders in the Ordinal. Bucer made practically no distinction in the service for the three nominal grades of ministry which he recognised,[2] so that his draft is only a single service: but the influence of it may be traced in each of the three examinations in the English Ordinal.[3]

It is also conspicuous in the Bishop's exhortation preliminary to the examination of the candidates for priesthood,[4] and in the prayer which follows upon

[1] *Ibid.* p. 255.

[2] 'Cum autem tres ordines sunt presbyterorum et curatorum ecclesiæ . . . . ita ordinatio quoque attemperatur ut, cum ordinetur aliquis, superintendens, id est episcopus, omnia aliquanto plenius et gravius gerantur et perficiantur quam cum ordinatur presbyter secundi ordinis vel tercii. Ita etiam fit nonnullum discrimen inter ordinationem presbyterorum secundi et tercii ordinis.' *Ibid.* p. 259 and cp. p. 238.

[3] The eight questions in 'The Ordering of Priests' lie closest to Bucer's questions: the phraseology is modified, but the general scheme and method is followed; the ninth and last of Bucer's questions, exacting a promise from the ordinand that he will not desert his church except in response to a legitimate call, has no equivalent in the English service.

[4] After the 'Si quis' follows this exhortation:

'Audistis fratres et in canonicâ vestri examinatione et nunc in concione atque in recitatis sacris lectionibus apostolicis et evangelicis, quantae sit dignitatis et molis munus hoc ad quod estis accessiti et nunc in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi solemniter instituendi. Hortamur ergo in Domino vos et obtestamur per Dominum nostrum Jesum CHRISTUM, memores sitis in quantam vos ipse Filius Dei dignitatem evehat, ut illud ipsum munus administretis ad quod ipse in hunc mundum venit, et mortem acerbissimam obiit, cuique regni dignitatem postposuit. Vocavit enim vos et nunc instituet vos uti oves ejus et dispersos in hoc perdito mundo filios Dei quæratis ipsique in æternum salvandos adducatis. Cogitate item continenter quantus sit thesaurus qui vobis committitur. Oves enim Christi sunt quas ille pretio animæ suæ sibi comparavit. Sponsa ejus et corpus est ecclesia cui debetis ministrare et ad vitam æternam [? adducere], quæ si aliqua vestra culpa accipiat injuriam aut damnum, agnoscitis quanto vos scelere obligaturi sitis et quam horrendum vobis supplicium ipsi adducturi. Postremo volvite semper animis vestris et quis finis sit ac terminus hujus vestri ministerii erga hos fidei vestræ commendatos filios Dei, sponsam et corpus Christi. Nam antea de nullâ vobis est cogitandum remissione

it.[1] But here the similarity ends, and when the more crucial parts of the service are reached there is no sign of Bucer's influence.

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solicitudinis, curæ et operæ vestræ, quam omnes eos, qui vestræ curæ sunt commendati, adduxeritis administratione doctrinæ et disciplinæ Christi, vitæque vestræ exemplis, ad eam fidei et agnitionis Filii Dei unitatem et perfectionem, ad eamque mensuram plenæ adultæ aetatis Christi, ut nullus omnino vel errori in religione, vel vitio in vita, locus apud quemquam detur.

Cum itaque sit munus vestrum tantæ simul et excellentiæ et dignitatis et molis atque difficultatis, videtis quanta oporteat vos et curâ et solicitudine in illud incumbere ut et gratos vos ei Domino praestetis, qui tanto vos honore afficit tantamque vobis confert dignitatem, et nullum vobis ipsis et ecclesiæ ejus damnum detis. Jam autem nihil potestis hujus ex vobis cogitare, omnis hæc facultas a solo Deo datur; quantopere ergo pro bono Spiritu ejus orare vos sit necesse cernitis. Cumque nulla alia re tantum humanæ salutis opus, quod vobis imponitur, possitis perficere, quam doctrina et exhortatione ex divinis Scripturis deprompta et vita huic doctrinæ respondente, agnoscitis quanto etiam studio incumbere vos oporteat legendis et perdiscendis D. scripturis meditandis quoque et formandis moribus cum vestris tum vestrorum ad earundem scripturarum regulam. Et hac ipsa de causa quam procul etiam a vobis omnia mundi negocia et studia submovenda perspicitis.

Haec vero omnia confidimus vos diu multumque et religiose ante cogitasse considerasse probeque ponderasse, atque ita vocationi Domini ad hoc munus obsequi, ejus confisos ope, sic decrevisse, ut velitis hoc unum totis viribus agere, cunctasque huc curas et cogitationes vestras conferre, ut et Spiritum Sanctum facultatem cælestem munus vestrum sancte et salubriter obeundi a Patre Domini nostri Jesu CHRISTI per hunc unum mediatorem et propitiatorem nostrum indesinenter oretis et jugi vos ac religiosa D. scripturarum lectione et excussione ad hoc ipsum ministerium vestrum indies amplius instruatis et corroboretis: et vitam quoque vestram atque vestrorum sic laboretis quotidie sanctificare et ad CHRISTI doctrinam conformare, ut salutaria gregis Domini exemplaria vos et vestros præstetis. Et quo in ista omnia possitis et liberioribus animis atque fælicius etiam incumbere omnes hujus saeculi curas et negocia longe a vobis rejiciatis, sicut haec omnia in examinatione vestra freti Dei auxilio promisistis. Ut vero et præsens CHRISTI ecclesia de his mentem et voluntatem vestram quoque intelligat, et vos hoc vestra promissio etiam ecclesiæ facta magis ad officium sollicitet, respondebitis clara voce ad ea quæ de his ipsis officiis vestris vos ecclesiæ nomine interrogabimus.' *Ibid.* 256.

[1] *Post haec jubetur etiam ecclesia eadem orare (pro) ordinandis in silentio, hisque precibus datur justum spacium, quo finito subjicit primarius ordinator.*

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus. Deus omnipotens, Pater Domini notri Jesu CHRISTI, gratias agimus Tuae divinae majestati et immensae in nos charitati et benignitati per hunc ipsum Filium Tuum Dominum et Redemptorem nostrum quod eum donasti nobis et Redemptorem et ductorem ad vitam beatam et sempiternam. Et voluisti ut postquam nostram morte suâ redemptionem perfecisset et ad dexteram tuam in cœlis consedisset instaurator omnium quæ sunt in cœlo et in terra daret nobis miseris et perditis hominibus, mitteretque, sicut tu eum misisti, Apostolos Prophetas Evangelistas

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In the Ordering of priests the *Veni Creator* follows the examination and precedes the prayer, and thus is placed in between two Bucerian sections, having been moved there from the beginning of the service in 1661. At the same time an alternative translation of the hymn was given, drawn from the collection of *Private Devotions* made by Bishop Cosin, which has already been noticed as influencing that revision:[1] and the older version was retouched.

The imperative formulas.

The two formulas in the Ordering of Deacons for the imposition of hands and tradition of the New Testament call for no further comment: but with regard to the two corresponding formulas in the ordination of priests, it is to be noted that a change of some interest has been made in the wording of the charge based upon S. John xx. 22. In 1550 it was taken in

Doctores et Pastores, quorum ministerio dispersos in mundo filios tuos ipse ad te colligeret, eosque te eis, in semetipso manifestato, tibi ad perpetuam laudum nominis sancti tui regigneret et renovaret. Inter quos placuit misericordiæ tuæ et nos tibi per eundem filium tuum et eodem sancto eius ministerio adduci et regenerari, hancque ex nobis, ut nunc adest coram te in tuo sancto conspectu, constitui ecclesiam. Pro his itaque tantis tam ineffabilibus æternæ bonitatis tuæ beneficiis tum etiam pro eo quod præsentes famulos tuos ad idem salutis humanæ ministerium vocare et nobis ad id ordinandos offerre es dignatus, quantas possumus agimus gratias teque laudamus et adoramus. Atque per eundem filium tuum supplices te rogamus et precamur ut Sanctum Spiritum tuum in nomine Filii tui opulente in hos ipsos tuos ministros effundas, eoque semper eos doceas et gubernes, quo tuo populo gregi boni pastoris nostri filii tui ministerium suum et fideliter et utiliter præstent: ac eo quam plurimos gloriæ tuæ quotidie adducant: eosque quos adduxerint ad omnem tuam sanctam voluntatem indies perfectius instituant et conforment. Da quoque illis omnibus, quorum saluti vis istos ministrare, animos verbi tui capaces. Atque nobis omnibus hic et ubique nomen tuum invocantibus gratos nostros tibi semper præstare pro his et omnibus aliis beneficiis ejus: sicque quotidie in cognitione et fide tui et filii tui proficere per Spiritum Sanctum tuum, ut per hos ministros tuos et eos, quibus nos dare ministros voluisti, nosque omnes, nomen sanctum tuum semper amplius glorificetur et beatum regnum filii tui latius propagetur, potentiusque quocumque pervenerit obtineat. Per eundem filium tuum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate ejusdem Spiritus Sancti per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.' *Ibid.* p. 258.

[1] Above, pp. 337, 343.

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its simple scriptural shape direct from the Latin rite, thus: 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins, &c.,' *i.e.*, the passage descriptive of the priesthood: only there was added to the original clause, the second clause now in use, 'Be thou a faithful dispenser, &c.'[1] A similar formula was at the same time adopted in the consecration of bishops, 'Take the Holy Ghost: and remember that thou stir up, &c.,' *i.e.*, the passage from 2 S. Tim. i. 6, 7, which is descriptive of the work of a bishop. These very similar formulas were fastened on by the Puritans as an argument that no distinction was drawn by the Church between the episcopate and the priesthood. The plea was most insecure, as in reality the scriptural texts sufficiently made clear that in one case the reference was to the episcopate, and in the other to the priesthood. But to make the differentiation more abundantly clear these formulas were expanded in 1661, and there was introduced a definite mention of the particular 'office and work' 'now committed by imposition of hands.'[2]

The tradition of instruments in the case of the

[1] The reference here to Acts vi. 4 still more clearly defines the meaning of the formula as intended for the priesthood in contradistinction to the diaconate, while the idea of stewardship accords with S. Luke xii. 42, and 1 Cor. iv. 1.

In the American book an alternative is provided. 'Take thou authority to execute the office of priest .... hands. And be thou a faithful,' &c.

'*Post hanc precem primarius ordinator cum presbyteris praesentibus imponit iis, qui ordinantur. in genua sua procumbentibus, manus et dicit.*

'Manus Dei omnipotentis Patris Filii et Spiritus Sancti sit super vos, protegat et gubernet vos, ut eatis et fructum vestro ministerio quamplurimum afferatis, isque maneat in vitam æternam. Amen.'

[2] Objections have also been raised to these two formulas from the Romanist side, on the ground that it is essential that in the form of ordination the order conferred should be clearly determined: and it is no doubt true that some such determination is needed, so as to make clear what is being done: but it is not necessary that this should be done simultaneously with the imposition of hands: it is not so in the Roman rite, and the old ordination prayers are not all explicit on the point. There are plenty of passages all through the English Service which determine the

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The correction of instruments.

deacon followed closely the Latin rite: in the case of the priest there was a change: instead of the chalice and paten prepared for use, he was given in 1550 the Bible in one hand and the chalice in the other: in 1552 the latter was omitted. The formula expressed his authorisation to do the work of a priest 'by administering the Holy Sacraments,' *i.e.*, in less narrow terms than the Latin formula, which only authorised him to say Mass.[1]

Ceremonies abolished.

The other ceremonies of the Latin rite disappeared, such as the anointing of hands and the vesting, and in their place there were provided solemn prayers for each order, to be said immediately before the close of the Communion Service,[2] where formerly there had been lately added to the Pontifical the second imposition of hands with a Benediction and a final charge.

The relic of Concelebration.

The rubrical direction that the newly ordained priests '*shall remain in the same place where hands were laid upon them until such time as they have received the Communion*' continues the custom of the Latin rite, but the actual wording seems to be drawn from Bucer's draft.[3]

order which is being conferred, and no possible room is left for doubt on the point. See *Priesthood in Engl: Ch:* pp. 40, 41. *Responsio*, p. 23.

[1] Another Roman objection has been raised here on the ground that it is necessary that the formula, if it fails to mention priesthood, must allude to it as being the power of offering sacrifice. But it is clear that this is not necessary; for the oldest ordination prayers, such as those of the Hippolytean Canons and of Serapion, have no such explicit mention of offering sacrifice: and it may be further replied (i) that such mention was not originally part of the Roman rite: and (ii) that such powers are included as a matter of fact in the general phrase of the English formula. See *Priesthood in the English Church*, pp. 42 and ff. *Responsio*, p. 19.

[2] '*After the last collect and immediately before the Benediction.*' The phrase is important, because it implies, what is not elsewhere stated, that one or more post-communion collects are said normally at the Eucharist after the *Gloria in Excelsis* and before the Blessing. Cp. the similar rubric prescribing two prayers '*for the last collect*' in the Consecration of Bishops. See above, p. 498.

[3] Contrast the form in Bucer's draft. '*His finitis, canit ecclesia Symbolum fidei et prqceditur ad communionem quam ordinati una sumant: qui etiam, dum communionem sumpserint, in eo loco manent ubi impositæ eis manus sunt.*' Bucer, p. 259.

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The custom has its roots far back in the history, and represents a survival of the old custom of the priests joining with the Bishop as concelebrants.[1]

SECT. IV.—*The Consecration of Bishops.*

Consecration of Bishops.

Similarity and contrast to the preceding.

The general features of the history of this service are the same as those of the previous services, and have been described with them: there was the same fusion of Gallican and Roman rites, the same transference of the imposition of hands to the silent Gallican ceremony prescribed by the *Statuta Antiqua*: and further in this case the laying of the gospel-book on the head of the elect at his benediction: the same addition of further ceremonies, in this case the tradition of Pastoral Staff, Ring, and, at a later date, of Mitre and Gospel Book, and the putting on of the Gloves; the same enlargement of the ceremonies of unction including the anointing of the head as well as of the hands. But it is noticeable that the fusion of the two rites was less systematic: in many Pontificals the silence at the Gallican imposition of hands and of the gospel-book

[1] In describing the position of the newly ordained, after the ceremony of ordination is completed, the most ancient Roman *Ordines* show that they stood with the rest of the priests and took their part in the service: this meant at that date, that they held each one his paten with two hosts and joined with the Bishop, consecrating as he consecrated. The tradition that they should share in the consecration was kept up in the later middle ages, even after the practice had been given up of the priests joining habitually in the consecration with the Bishop: the question was much discussed as to whether there could be several consecrators with only one host as had come to be the case: (see *e.g.* S. Thomas, *Summa* III. 82. 2.) but it was decided in the affirmative and the custom was accepted and universally used (as it is to this day in the Roman Pontifical), though it was not explicitly required in the English Pontificals. Thus the position of the newly ordained in standing before the altar throughout the consecration is a relic of the former custom of the priests participating in the Eucharistic consecration effected by the bishop as principal celebrant. See Morin, III. viii. on the question of concelebration and its survival at the ordination of priests and bishops. Also Georgi, *De Liturgia Rom. Pont.* iii. 1.

Consecration of Bishops.

was broken at a late date by the addition of the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' (*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*) or by the singing of the *Veni Creator* at this point. It is noticeable also that there was great variety of use in the English Pontificals with regard to the additional and later ceremonies, their order and contents.[1]

The examination.

But there is one special feature which distinguished the service of the consecration of a bishop from the other services, viz., the long and minute examination with which the service opened. The importance of the episcopal office made it necessary that additional precautions should be taken, both to ascertain and to assure the people of his worthiness to be consecrated. Thus, while the testing of candidates for other orders came to be less and less connected with the ordination, the testing of the bishop elect became more and more formally a part of the service. His election and the public confirmation of his election represent the legal and constitutional side of his appointment, while the testing in the service represents the theological and spiritual side.[2] The form which is found in the later pontificals seems to have taken shape as early as the IXth century,[3] but it was freely adapted in different ways in different books.

[1] A comparative study of a number of the later English Pontificals shows that the service practically fell into two divisions: the first comprising the fused Gallican and Roman Rites as found in the earlier English books: in this division the amount of variation is small: the second comprising the ceremonies of unction and tradition of instruments of which only some small beginnings are to be seen in the earlier English books: in this the variation is extremely large.

Clifford's Pontifical at Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge (MS. 79) gives two services one called Roman and the other called Anglican, agreeing in the main but differing in detail.

[2] Regulations for the whole are found in the early Roman Ordo, VIII. ii. (Migne, *P. L.* LXXVIII. 1001).

[3] The form of examination beginning *Antiqua sanctorum Patrum* is in the Gregorian Sacramentary of the Vatican Library published by Rocca in 1605 and reprinted in S. Gregory's Works (see also Morin, pt. II. Ordo, 5.) and in Radbod's Pontifical (Martene, I. viii. Ordo, vi.) both of the IXth century.

Consecration of Bishops.

The revision.

The following table gives an outline of the service in its most fully developed English form, and parallel with it an outline of the service of the Prayer Book. The bracketed items are those which are least common. The fusion of rites is, as before, expressed by differences of type.[1]

PONTIFICAL.	PRAYER BOOK.
	Eucharist up to Creed.
1. Examination.	
	Presentation and Oaths.
2. Eucharist up to Collect.	
[3. Instruction.]	
4. **Bidding.**	
5. **Litany.**	Litany and Prayer.
	Examination.
6. **Imposition of hands and Gospel Book.**	
[7. *Veni Creator.*]	*Veni Creator.*
8. **Collect.**	
9. **First Consecratory Prayer.**	
10. Unction of head.	
11. Second Consecratory Prayer.	Prayer.
12. **Third Consecratory Prayer with outstretched hands.**]	Imposition of hands and charge.
[13. Sevenfold Blessing.]	
14. Unction of head and hands (*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*)	
[15. Putting on of the Gloves.]	
16. Tradition of Pastoral Staff (*a*) (*b*)	
17. Tradition of Ring (*a*) (*b*)	
[18. Of Mitre. (*a*) (*b*).]	
[19. Of gospel-book.]	Tradition of Bible and Charge.
20. Eucharist to the end.	Eucharist to last Collect.
	Prayer.
	Blessing.

[1] Cp. the service as printed above, p. 301.

Consecration of Bishops.

The old redundancies

It is at once obvious that there is a great deal of reduplication in the service. Besides 9, the old Roman consecratory prayer, there are two other prayers in the same solemn form, viz. 11, which is in the ancient style, but does not occur in the older English Pontificals, and 12, which is very possibly the old Gallican consecration prayer, surviving in English pontificals,[1] though not in the Gallican-Roman services such as those of the Gelasian Sacramentary and the *Missale Francorum*. Again, the ceremonies of unction (10 and 14) are repeated several times over in the Salisbury Pontifical, from which this service is taken, though other Pontificals have generally only one or two of the alternatives.

curtailed.

In face of this reduplication and this multiplication of ceremonies it is natural to find that the revision made in the Prayer Book aimed at greater simplicity. The principles were those stated above. The examination was already there in the service, and did not need to be added: the solemn prayer, imperative formula[2] and imposition of hands were again made the central feature of the service, followed by a tradition of instruments.

Changes in the later books.

In the First Prayer Book this ceremony took a double shape: first, *The Archbishop shall lay the Bible upon his neck, saying* 'Give heed unto reading,' &c.; secondly, *Then shall the Archbishop put into his hand the pastoral staff, saying* 'Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd,' &c. These were combined, substantially in their present form, in 1552. At the same time the rule as to the vestments prescribed in 1550 was omitted:[3] so when mention of

[1] It is in the Dunstan, Jumieges, Leofric and later Pontificals. Possibly *vice versa*, 9 is Gallican and 12 Roman: see p. 654, note 1.

[2] See above, pp. 660, 661.

[3] But the transference of the prayer after the Litany, to be the Collect at the Eucharist, effected in the other two services, was not effected here.

Consecration of Bishops.

the surplices and copes with pastoral staves as the ornaments of the bishops and the elect was gone, there was no rule given as to the dress of any of the persons until the present directions were inserted in 1661. Beyond the addition of another question to the examination and the alteration, already described, of the formula 'Take the Holy Ghost', the other changes then made were not of great magnitude.

CHAPTER XVII.

EPILOGUE.

In the foregoing chapters it has been necessary to pass very rapidly over great tracts of history, partly concerned with the Prayer Book as a whole, and partly concerned with the individual rites which it contains: consequently very little attempt has been made to discuss the broad questions involved or the general principles which appear in the course of the history. But in conclusion a short chapter must be devoted to calling attention to some of the main features of the history, and of their bearing upon the interpretation of the Prayer Book.

Representative character of Prayer Book.

Perhaps the most prominent feature of all is the representative character of the Book: it has drawn from many sources: apart from the Bible, the old traditional Latin services of the English Church have provided by far the greater part of the contents: this is not merely true of actual bulk, but it is still more markedly true of the whole spirit and method of the Prayer Book: it has drawn also from other sources—Greek, Gallican, Lutheran and Swiss, in their measure: but nowhere is the Catholic temper of the Book better shown than in the treatment of the matter which is

adopted from 16th century sources, such as *The Consultation* or the suggestions of Bucer; and even when the borrowing has been most extensive, there are still the clear signs of careful editing, and the excision of what might sound out of tune with the old devotional temper preserved in the traditional prayers of the Church.[1]

and comprehensive,

While thus the Prayer Book has combined 'things new and old,' it has also been comprehensive in another sense: it has attempted, and to a large extent been enabled, to combine together in common worship schools of thought, which, while united upon the fundamentals of the faith, differ, and even differ widely, on matters of theological opinion. This is no fortuitous result of the play of events, but was clearly the deliberate purpose alike of the original compilers of the Prayer Book, and of the Revisers who at the various stages carried on their work. It was no small testimony to the excellence of the First Prayer Book that it won acceptance and even some measure of approval from the leaders of the Old Learning.[2] In 1552 the object of the revision was to comprehend the opposite extreme, and the insertion of the Black Rubric shows how the State was anxious to outstrip the Church in comprehensiveness, and even make room for those who were really contending for views which were antagonistic to the Catholic Faith.[3] When the choice had to be made at the opening of Elizabeth's reign between the two Edwardine Books, it was a choice between two different forms of comprehension: but even when it was seen that the Second Book would command more support in the country than the First, it was not adopted

[1] For instances of such care see above, pp. 368, 488, 662–667.

[2] See p. 49.

[3] See p. 83.

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without further attempts made to comprehend those who would like it least, *e.g.*, by the omission of the Black Rubric and the petition against the Pope, and by the addition of the Ornaments Rubric.[1]

The Conferences at Hampton Court and at the Savoy were still more obviously designed to facilitate comprehensiveness: it is true that they failed to a great extent in reconciling the malcontents, but this circumstance also is illuminating: for the failure shows clearly the limits that must be set to comprehensiveness: and these too must be recognised. Compromise is an attractive way of dealing with difficult situations; but very rapidly compromise becomes compromising. The Church had to show that it would allow liberty of opinion and diversity of view and use, so far as such liberty and diversity did not prove dangerous: but also to show that it could draw a definite line of limitation, and refuse such compromises as would be derogatory either to the Catholic faith or to liturgical order and decency. Room could be made for considerable divergency of opinion, even on matters of so much importance as sacramental doctrine, so long as the minimum teaching of the Church as to the reality and efficacy of its sacraments was not denied[2]; ambiguous phraseology might (within the same limits) cover a good deal of divergence,[3] but no toleration could be extended to attempts to tamper with the faith and discipline of the Church. Thus attacks upon the faith, such as those continually made in the interests of arians and deists, and growing

but not compromising.

[1] See p. 102.

[2] Thus the book contains both the Prayer of Humble Access and the modified Black Rubric. But Zwinglian views are expressly excluded, implicitly by the whole service, and explicitly by the Catechism *inter alia*.

[3] For examples, see the word 'oblations' (p. 482), or scrutinise the change of language in the closing section of the first Exhortation in the Communion Service.

in power from 1689 onwards, were uniformly resisted. Similarly the attack upon the disciplinary power of the Church in liturgical matters, which really underlay all the complaints of the Puritans as to ceremonies and uses both great and small, was continuously resisted.[1]

The balance struck.

The comprehensiveness of the Prayer Book therefore is distinguished not only by its large generosity in matters indifferent, but also by its clear limitations where matters of importance are called into question. The Church does not wish to overdrive the flock, but a clear distinction is maintained between the weak members who lag, and the wilful ones who stray.

The Puritan rebelliousness.

It is too much to expect that a generous temper such as this will not be abused: of this abuse the Prayer Book history shows at least one long and continuous instance. The Puritan party from the days of Elizabeth to the present time has never honestly accepted the Prayer Book: its members have been too much of Churchmen to leave the Church, but too little of Churchmen to value its principles: they have thus remained in a false position, attempting to subvert the system to which they nominally conformed. It has been pointed out how openly the attempt was made in Elizabethan times[2]; and, though it has in God's good Providence failed all along to win any substantial recognition, it has been able at times to establish an evasive and false tradition of Prayer Book interpretation which has practically popularised and sought even to justify a system of disloyalty to the Prayer Book. The party has had its conflicts with the more loyal and whole-

Their evasive interpretation

[1] The Puritan wished (in theory at least) for nothing to be imposed for which there was not an express direction of Scripture: his modern descendant still argues in the same fashion, but the Church will have none of such narrow and crude reasoning.

[2] See pp. 110 and ff.

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has set up a false tradition.

Contest between Puritanism and loyalty;

hearted churchmanship, and the issues have hitherto not been finally decisive. The failure of the Elizabethan attempt to puritanize the Church inaugurated the period of loyalty of the early Stuart times: the success of this recovery was too rapid and too injudicious, and so the revenge came speedily; for a while sectarianism and puritanism had their way, until a short experience of their results under the Commonwealth produced a fresh reaction. The failure of the Puritans at the Savoy inaugurated another period of loyalty under the later Stuarts, but, when Church life was systematically crushed in the 18th century by Whig politicians and Latitudinarian bishops, the reign of the false tradition and the evasive, disloyal or merely torpid attitude to the rules of Church worship again set in; and those who tried to be loyal to the Church system, whether early followers of Wesley, Clapham Evangelicals or Oxford Tractarians, were all alike in turn charged with innovation, disloyalty, and even with Popery. The contest still survives: the Puritan party still works for a system, which is not the system of the Catholic Church or of the English Prayer Book, and defends its disregard of plain rubrics (*e.g.*, as to fasting or daily services), and its want of sympathy with the system (*e.g.*, as to the frequency and discipline of Communion) by appealing to the evasive tradition, which in the dark days of the history it has been able to form, and would like to fasten permanently upon the Church. Thus there is no feature more marked in the history of the Prayer Book than this contest between the Church system of worship expressed in the Prayer Book and the false interpretation which has grown up through a continuous tradition of evasion and rebellion.

still surviving.

In more recent times further confusion has been

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Another disastrous system of interpretation.

introduced into the question by a legal system of interpretation. The result of the attacks made in these last fifty years upon the more active and progressive side of Church life has been that law courts have been invoked to decide as to the meaning of the rubrics, partly as to doctrine and partly as to ceremonial. It might have been foreseen that the result would not be encouraging. Rubrics in their nature are not like statutes, which have one definite ascertainable force: they are merely a body of directions, varying greatly in lucidity, authoritativeness and completeness. Moreover, as has been shown, the Prayer Book is meant to be comprehensive, and many phrases and rules are designedly vague and patient of several interpretations. Thus the most characteristic features of rubric are just those which legal acumen cannot undertake to recognise. The tradition of the ecclesiastical courts differed from civil courts in this respect and their whole method of interpretation differed: they were therefore better able to deal with the circumstances of the case: and in old days the civil courts, when invoked in such matters, referred the interpretation at issue to the ecclesiastical authorities, and decided the legal consequences in accordance with the interpretation which the ecclesiastical authorities supplied.[1] But the anomalous position of the Privy Council, adjudicating in ecclesiastical matters, has apparently made such a wise procedure impossible; and the anomaly of the position has spread from the disputed jurisdiction of the Court of the Privy Council to

[1] The history of the case of Eliza Shipden, or of the varied fortunes of the attack on Bp. John Cosin at Durham are very illuminating. See for the former p. 639, and for the latter Parker's *Introduction*. Cp. in later days the action of the Queen's Bench in the S. Paul's reredos case. There has been no difficulty when civil courts have kept in their own proper spheres.

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the undisputed ecclesiastical courts, which are subject to it. The result is that the interpretation of the Prayer Book is a matter of great difficulty: not only are its provisions more than two hundred years old, and their application to present circumstances therefore very difficult, but the difficulty has been intensified by the unsatisfactory character both of the old traditional and of the new legal system of interpretation.

The power of liturgical custom acting independently of rule.

Against these forces, which, to say the least, make for stagnation and rigidity in days when progress and orderly freedom are most necessary, another great force is to be set, which also forms a conspicuous feature of the history, *viz.*, the power of rapid formation of liturgical custom. The rapidity with which usages are formed and fixed, often independently or even in defiance of express order, is seen conspicuously throughout. The rapidity with which Puritan customs overpowered the rules of the Prayer Book in Elizabeth's reign is paralleled by the rapidity with which the Prayer Book rules were recovered and additional unrubrical customs arose, and became general, under the earlier or the later Stuarts. Some of the unrubrical, but not necessarily unauthorised, restorations or innovations of the Caroline divines became part of the rubrical directions of the book of 1661, *e.g.*, the manual acts or ceremonial of the offertory[1]: while others, such as turning to the east in the Creeds or the response before the Gospel,[2] have continued in use, though still unrubrical.

Similarly the black gown has come and gone again, and it is only one instance out of many ceremonial observances, which have come and gone in independence or even in defiance of the rubrics.

[1] See p. 481.

[2] See pp. 152, 391, 479.

Even the recent legal decisions have not prevented this free and rapid play of liturgical custom; for example, the directions of the Privy Council as to vestments are disregarded in nearly every church in England, from cathedrals downwards,[1] and even by those who profess to accept the ruling of the Court.

This is necessary liberty, not lawlessness

It is important to see the meaning of this fact: ceremonial observances are only relative things, and they depend upon time and place and character and even fashion. Liturgical customs are therefore always and of necessity in a state of flux: and attempts at enforcing uniformity, whether Anglican or Tridentine, have served to bring this fact out into prominence. It could hardly be otherwise: for worship that has no freedom is in imminent danger of becoming formalism.

To be under living ecclesiastical control

On the other hand, there must be some check to prevent liberty from becoming licence, and to ensure that worship shall be orderly and intelligible: the controlling force must rest in the hands of the Living Church, for otherwise it will be a case of 'new wine in old bottles.' To secure this control is the object of the episcopal *jus liturgicum:* the Bishop is finally responsible for the discipline of worship, just as he is for all other parts of discipline in his diocese: and here, as in other respects, exercising his office constitutionally, that is with due regard to the rights of his clergy and laity on one side, and on the other side to those of his comprovincials, his metropolitan, his national synod, it may be, and ultimately to the whole Catholic Church, he is the appointed safeguard and the efficient authority in all matters liturgical.

It may be true that this method of liturgical order

[1] In most cathedrals copes are not worn, and in most parish churches stoles are.

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Security lies in that Divine Government of the Church.

offers no ultimate finality in inveterate disputes, but that is true of all episcopal government: that bishops have made mistakes in the past or been untrustworthy, or that they are so now, or that they may be so in the future, is no valid objection to their liturgical authority. Such considerations, misgivings and fears will not justify either the people in refusing to obey the bishops' legal and honest commands, or the bishops in refusing the responsibility of making and enforcing them. But they necessitate a deep-seated belief in the reality of the Providence of God directing His Church, and in the guidance of the Holy Spirit as a power transcending all questions of ecclesiastical organization or policy, and overruling the administrative efforts of alike the best and the worst of human agents. And certainly few tracts of history can supply more cogent reasons for such a belief, or show more striking instances of the action of the Divine Providence in bringing order out of confusion, and truth out of conflicting errors, than the History of the English Book of Common Prayer.

Which the history of the Prayer Book conspicuously exemplifies.

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